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IN

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&c., &c., &c.

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CONTENTS.

Authors' names arranged alphabetically.

MISCELLANEA.

BOOK NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HILL FORTRESS OF PÂWÂGAḌH, IN GUJARÂT, &c.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

GUJARÂT in former times included a considerable portion of what is now called Râjputânâ,—Âbû, Sirohi, Dungarpur, and even Nâgor, being included in its limits; towards the south it comprised Sultânpur and Nandurbâr, now part of Khândesh; while the sea-coast as far as and including Bombay formed part of its dominion. It included many first-class fortresses, amongst which the most famous were those of Junâgaḍh-Girnâr in Soraṭh, Achalgaḍh on Mount Âbû, Idar in the Mahi Kânṭhâ, and the subject of the present sketch. Of all these, that of Pâwâgaḍh was incomparably the strongest, so much so as to have been impregnable in latter times except by famine. I distinguish between latter times and the times when it was ruled by the Khichi Chohâns, because under these last-mentioned chiefs Páwâgaḍh fortress hardly included the almost impregnable summit, and it is doubtful whether before the Muhammadan times buildings of any consequence existed there. In fact under its Chohân rulers the fortress occupied that lower portion of the hill commencing at the Buriâ Darwâzâ and ending with the palace of Pâtâi Râwal (as he is fondly called), which lies on an isolated portion of the hill some 1500 feet below the summit. And when we read of the siege of Pâwâgaḍh by Mahmûd Begaḍhâ, we must disabuse our minds of any idea that the upper plateau was invested,—for it was in those days probably not even fortified, being defended, if at all, by a gate only. And it is under these circumstances alone that we can fully realize the conditions of the siege by Mahmûd Begaḍhâ, which otherwise would be incomprehensible, for no breach could be made in the stubborn rock, nor could guns be got into position; nor, if breaches be dismissed as out of the question, would it have been possible to escalade the place, save under circumstances which would imply the grossest negligence on the part of the garrison.

The earliest mention of Pâwâgaḍh is that of the time of Bhim Deva I., of Ânhilwâḍâ, quoted from the bard Chand by Mr. Kinloch Forbes at pp. 95 and 97 of the *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. There Râm Gaur the Tuâr is styled 'Pâwâ's lord.' The first authentic account, however, that we find of it is that, after the taking of Ranthambhor and Gaḍh Gágráwn in Khìchiwâḍâ by the army of Sultân Alau'd-dîn Khilji, a large body of the Chohâns emigrated to Gujarât, and soon, whether by marriage or conquest, became the lords of Pâwâgaḍh and Châmpâner and the surrounding country. The hill itself is called in the local *Mâhâtmya*, Pâwakachal, and this name is preserved in an inscription found at Nâhâni Umarwân under Hâlol, which is valuable as furnishing the genealogy of the Chohân rulers antecedent to the chief from whom Mahmûd Begaḍhâ conquered it. This chief is styled in the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*, one of the most accurate of the Persian histories of Gujarât, Jêsingh

son of Gangâdâs, and the inscription in question attests the accuracy of the Muhammadan historians, and it may probably be conceded that now no reasonable doubt exists but that this was his correct name. The name by which he is familiarly known throughout Gujarât, viz. Pâtâi Râwal, is probably merely a contraction of Pâwâpati Râwal, or the Râwal lord of Pâwâ; and this view receives confirmation from the fact that Chohâns of this race, if asked their tribe, will tell you they are Pâwâpatîs, which name, indeed, has since the fall of Pâwâgaḍh become the common name of their branch of the Khichi Chohâns. The inscription is as follows:—

॥ स्वस्ति संवत १५२५ वर्षे माघवदिअष्टमी शनौ अनुराधानक्षत्रे अद्येहं *श्रीपावकदुर्गे माहाराजश्री-जयसिंहदेव विजयराज्ये श्रीपृथ्वीराजप्रमुख चहु-आंणवंशे घणा राजा होआ कुलतिलक रायश्री हम्मीरदेवकुले राजा श्रीरामदेव श्री चांगदेव श्री चाचिंगदेव श्रीसो (*one letter wanting, probably* न) मदेव श्रीपाल्हणसिंह श्रीजितकर्ण श्रीकूंपुराउल श्रीवीरधवल श्रीसवराज श्रीराघवदेव श्री त्रिंबक भूप श्रीगंगराजेश्वर तत्सुत पूर्वपुरुषो द्धरणधीर श्रीशक्तिभक्त नित्य सुवर्णधेनुदांनकर्त्ता द्विजशासन दाताळाजदांनी प्रतापी राजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंह देवतीण अंराजां आयसीआंमणू ग्रांमि निजज-ननी श्रीफांमांदेवी निपुण्य निअर्थिकूपर (*words wanting*) श्री रस्तुसर्वदा (*words wanting*) त्सीमहं धुलुक मोढांणी.

"Hail! In the Saṁvat year 1525, on the 8th day of the dark half of Mâgh, on Saturday in the Anurâdhâ *nakshatrâ*, on this day, here in the fortunate fortress of Pâwak, during the victorious reign of Mahârâja Śrî Jayasingh Deva. Many râjas have ruled of the race of Śrî Prithvirâja, the chief Chohân. In the family of Râiśri Hamiradeva, the ornament of his race, was Râjaśrî Râmadeva, (then followed) Śrî Chângdeva, (then) Śrî Châchingdeva, Śrî Sonamdeva, Śrî Pâlhansingh, Śrî Jitkaran, Śrî Kumpu Râwal, Śrî Viradhaval, Śrî Savarâj, Śrî Râghavadeva, Śrî Trimbak Bhupa, Śrî Gangâ Râjeśvara: his son, renowned for increasing the religious merit of his ancestors, the worshipper of the Śrî Śakti, the daily bestower of both cows and gold, and giver of annuities and elephants to Brâhmaṇs, the illustrious king of kings Śrî Jayasingh Deva; he built this well for the spiritual benefit of his mother, Śrî Phâmâdevî, in the village of Ayâsiâmanu [*words wanting*]. May it remain for ever! [*words wanting*] Mehtâ Dhuluk Modâni [*words wanting*]."

The Prithvirâja above mentioned is probably Prithirâja, the famous hero of the *Prithirâja Râsau*, and Hamiradeva may probably be the celebrated Hamiradeva of Rantambhor, which fortress was conquered by Alạu'd-dîn Khilji in about A.D. 1300. This inscription is dated A.D. 1469, or about fifteen years prior to the conquest of Châmpâner and Pâwâgaḍh by Mahmûd Begaḍhâ. The father of Jayasingh is called Gangâ Râjeśvara, who evidently corresponds to the Gangâdâs of the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*, as does Trimbak Bhupa to his ancestor Trimbakdâs mentioned by the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* alludes to a Vir Singh who reigned at Châmpâner in the reign of Ahmad Shâh. This would probably be Viradhaval, and the reigns of Savarâja and Râghavadeva may have been short. This explanation would make the list of kings here given exactly correspond to what we hear of these chiefs in the Persian historians, and it connects the chiefs of Choṭâ Udayapur and Bâriâ not only with Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, but also with the celebrated Prithirâja, of whom Hamiradeva was an acknowledged descendant. The name of Jayasingh's mother is put Phâmâdevi, but probably is Kâmâdevi.† The Śrî Śakti mentioned in the inscription alludes doubtless to the shrine of Kâlkâ, which crowns the summit of the loftiest pinnacle of Pâwakachal. The fortress, too, is styled after the hill, Pâwak Durg. But it must not for a moment be supposed that the fortress taken by Mahmûd was that now called Pâwâgaḍh on the summit of the hill; and, as previously mentioned, that portion of the hill was probably defended by a single gateway, and was only used as a retreat on an emergency. The palace of the chief is still

* अद्येहं is an archaism for अत्राद्ये.

† Since writing this I am informed by Mr. Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, that in some Marâṭhâ inscriptions of the same period one of the chief archaisms is the cutting of *k* like *ph*.

shown on an abutting spur of the hill scarped by rocks at least a thousand feet in height, and only accessible by a narrow neck from the main mass of the hill. Here are the remains of the palace from which the devoted garrison watched the construction of the Jâmâ‡ Masjid at Châmpâner, and here it was that Jayasingh himself and his minister fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarât Sultân's army; neither he nor his minister would seem to have ever gone to the modern Pâwâgaḍh at all. Both the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* and the *Tabakât* give a very interesting account of the siege by Mahmûd.

But this was not the first time Châmpâner and Pâwâgaḍh had been besieged by the banners of Islâm. In A.H. 821, according to the *Tabakât-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Sikandri,* Ahmad Shâh unsuccessfully besieged the fortress. Ferishtah places this siege in A.H. 822. In A.H. 853 according to the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, and A.H. 855 according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*, Sultân Muhammad Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, besieged the fortress, and invested it so closely that the garrison, had they not been relieved by a diversion made in their favour by the Sultân of Mâlwâ, Sultân Mahmûd Khilji, which caused the king of Gujarât to raise the siege, might have been reduced to extremities. The Mâlwâ Sultâns appear always to have been allies of the Râwals of Châmpâner until the time of the bigot Ghiyâsu'd-din, who, though appealed to for help by Jayâsingh in his extremity, through fear or bigotry neglected to aid him. It is clear that the fortress of Pâwâgaḍh, as it was in the time of the Râwals of Châmpâner, though proof against a sudden attack, was not calculated to stand a long siege by a superior force, and when an enemy once got a footing on the hill they could easily dominate the fortress and render it untenable; and, indeed, as will be seen hereafter, this is what eventually happened. After the conquest of the Girnâr fortress and Junâgaḍh, Sultân Mahmûd Begaḍhâ was always determined to conquer Châmpâner, and though the conquest of Dwârkâ, and the suppression of the disturbances created by the Jats and other turbulent tribes in Kachh and on the Sindh frontier, and other warlike operations, delayed him for some years, yet eventually he found no difficulty in picking a quarrel with Jayasingh, because in A.H. 887, during which year there was a scarcity in Gujarât owing to a small fall of rain, Malik Asad, the Thânâdâr of Morâmli under the Sultân, having made a foray into Châmpâner territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Râwal Jayasingh, and two elephants and all his baggage also fell into the Châmpâner chieftain's hands. Although the Râwal had acted strictly in self-defence, and although the foray into his territory by Malik Asad was wholly unjustifiable, the Sultân was exceedingly enraged and determined to conquer Châmpâner, and collecting a powerful army he advanced to Baroda. On hearing of the Sultân's arrival at Baroda the Râwal became seriously alarmed, and sent ambassadors with most submissive messages and humble apologies, but the Sultân refused to listen to any overtures for peace, saying to the ambassadors, according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandri*, "Except the sword and the dagger, no other message should pass between me and you." The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* represents him saying, "The sword of adamant will answer your message to-morrow." The Sultân then sent in advance Tâj Khân, Azîu'l-Mulk, Bahrâm Khân, and Ikhtiyâr Khân, and there were daily conflicts between the besieged and the army commanded by these nobles. Shortly afterwards the Sultân himself moved his camp to the vicinity of Châmpâner and pressed the siege. After the siege had lasted about a year the Râwal again made overtures of peace, offering to pay nine *mans* (or 360 lbs.) of gold if the siege were raised, but the Sultân declared that he would not leave the place until the fortress was conquered. The Râwal now, seeing that no submission would avail him, sent his *vakîl* to Sultân Ghiyâsu'd-dîn of Mâlwâ, imploring aid, and promising to pay one lâkh of *ṭaṅkas* for every march made to his aid by the Mâlwâ army. Sultân Ghiyâsu'd-dîn at once marched from Mandu to Nâlchah, a few *kos* distant from his capital, and purposed advancing on Châmpâner *viâ* Dohad. As soon as the Gujarât monarch got news of his intention, he entrusted the conduct of the siege to his nobles, and himself advanced to Dohad to oppose Sultân Ghiyâsu'd-dîn. The Mâlwâ Sultân, however, alarmed at his advance, consulted the Muham-

‡ Jâmâ or Jâmâa, جامع

madan priests as to whether it were lawful for him to succour an infidel when attacked by a true believer, and on their replying in the negative he returned to Mandu without striking a blow in defence of Châmpâner. Sultân Mahmûd now returned to Châmpâner and laid the foundations of the Jâmâa Mosque, to show the besieged that not only was their hope of aid from Mâlwâ gone, but that until the fortress was conquered he would never depart. In spite of this, and though the garrison must have known that their surrender was now merely a matter of time, owing to the difficulty of introducing fresh supplies of provisions into the fortress, the Râwal continued gallantly to defend the place. At last the approaches came so near the walls that the soldiers of the approach, presided over by the Sultân in person, were able to overlook the walls and see what the garrison were doing. This statement, which is taken from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, distinctly shows that it is not the upper fortress that is here alluded to,—that fortress being surrounded on all sides by a scarp which is nowhere, save at the gate, much lower than two hundred feet of sheer rock; whereas near the ruins of the Râwal's palace on the lower spur it is quite possible that approaches might have been constructed which would overlook the defences. The soldiers observed that in the early morning the defenders were wont to disperse, to obey calls of nature and for other reasons, and that consequently at that time the batteries were badly manned. The siege had now lasted about two years, and, as the Sultân was exceedingly anxious to obtain possession of the place, he directed Kiwâmu'l-Mulk to scale the fort next day at first dawn. Kiwâmu'l-Mulk accordingly, with a body of picked men, entering the fort when the garrison were off their guard, attacked the Râjputs, and after much slaughter drove them within the citadel. The Râwal and his Râjputs now prepared the *javhâr*, or funeral pile, and continued to defend themselves. But during the previous cannonade several breaches had been made in the western face of the fortifications, and Malik Ayâz Sultâni, mounting one of these, suddenly arrived over the big gate. Sultân Mahmûd, observing this from his post, sent strong reinforcements. The Râjputs vainly tried to dislodge Malik Ayâz and his men from their position over the gate, by throwing there a large canister of powder with a slow match attached to it. This, however, was, fortunately for the assailants, blown off the gate by the wind in the direction of the Râwal's palace, and there harmlessly exploded. It was now too late for any further advance, but the whole of the Muhammadan army remained under arms all night, while the Râjputs, lighting the *javhâr*, burned all their wives and children. They then separated into two bodies, a few hundreds flying to the upper fortress (Pâwâgadh), while seven hundred Râjputs, bathing, determined to conquer or die. In the morning the gate was forced open, and a great slaughter ensued of the gallant defenders, and both the Râwal and his minister Dungarshi fell wounded into the hands of the Sultân, who handed them over to Muhâfiz Khân in order that their wounds might be dressed. It is said that when Râwal Jayasingh was brought wounded into the Sultân's presence he refused to do him obeisance, though urged to do so by his guards. This happened on the 2nd of Zilkâd A.H. 889, and on this day the Sultân named Châmpâner Muhammadâbâd. Three days after this the Râjputs who had fled to the upper fortress, being probably ill provided with provisions as well as demoralized by their defeat, surrendered.

Five or six months afterwards, in A.H. 890, when the Râwal's wounds were healed, he was sent for to the Sultân's presence and ordered to embrace Islâm, and on his refusal was slain, together with his minister Dungarshi. Râwal Jayasingh had two, if not three, sons. One of these, Râisinghji, who died before the siege of Châmpâner, left two sons, Prithvirâja and Dungarji, the founders of the houses of Choṭâ Udayapur and Bâriâ respectively. Another son, Limbâji, is said (*vide Bombay Government Selections* No. XXIII., New Series, note to p. 146) to have emigrated to Sasrodia (wherever that may be), and the third embraced Islâmism. The *Mirat-i-Sikandri* only mentions two daughters and one son, and says that the daughters were sent to the Sultân's *harîm*, and that the son was made a Muhammadan and entrusted to Saifu'l-Mulk to educate, who brought him up, and in the reign of Sultân Muzaffar, son of Mahmûd, this youth was ennobled by the title of Nîzâmu'l-Mulk. The Sultân now, making Muhammadâbâd Châmpâner his capital, built the fortifications of the town called Jahân Panah, and con

structed numerous noble buildings. He further strengthened the fortress on the hill, both the lower and upper forts, and made them what they are, viz. almost impregnable.

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* is most eloquent in praise of the different kinds of fruit grown at Châmpâner, and especially of the mangoes, which appear to have been as famous in their time as those of Bombay in ours. But after the reign of Sultân Bahâdur, Châmpâner seems to have been not only relinquished as a capital, but to have rapidly become wholly deserted: for the same author, writing in Akbar's time, describes it as being then even quite waste. After a long description of the various fruits and flowers grown there, he says :—" They say that, besides fruit trees and flowers such as caused envy, there was so much sandal to be found in the neighbourhood of Châmpâner that it was used by the inhabitants in building their houses, and it sufficed them. O Purity of God! Is that this Châmpâner which now is the lair of the tiger and lion? Its buildings have fallen into ruin, its inhabitants have given their property to the wind of destruction, its water is as it were poisoned water, and the climate is such that it rapidly enfeebles the human body, and in the place of each flower thorns are growing, and in place of each garden there is a dense interlaced jungle, and there is neither the name nor trace of sandal trees. However, the truth of this verse has been here shown,

'Everything on the earth shall perish,
And God does what He willeth.' "

The same author describes the introduction of fountains into Gujarât by a Khurasâni, and the laying out by him of a garden with fountains, artificial waterfalls, &c., with which the Sultân was very pleased. It seems that this man, anxious to keep the secret of his fountains unknown, employed only ignorant labourers, and would not allow any one to inspect the work while in progress. A carpenter of Châmpâner determined to discover the secret, disguised himself as a labourer, and discovered how to make them. He then laid out a still finer garden, which pleased the Sultân even more than the first one, and on inquiring from the carpenter how he had learned the art of constructing fountains, the Sultân was so pleased at his recital of the stratagem he had practised, that he bestowed on him large presents and a dress of honour. The writer goes on to say: "And that garden is well known and famous, and by the natives of Gujarât this garden is called Hâlol." Afterwards a village sprang up near this garden, which gradually grew into a town, and close to this town the unfortunate Sikandar Shâh and his equally ill-fated brother Latîf Khân lie buried. It seems singular that, while the once proud capital of Gujarât lies waste, the little village which sprang up near the carpenter's garden is still a flourishing town. Châmpâner remained, as mentioned above, the capital of Gujarât till the close of the reign of Bahâdur Shâh, after which Ahmadâbâd resumed its former position and importance, which it has ever since retained.

Since its capture by Mahmûd, Châmpâner, as well as Pâwâgadh, was so strongly fortified that the upper fortress both was and is almost impregnable; nevertheless, whenever it has since been besieged, it has invariably fallen, strange to say, with scarcely any resistance.

The *Mirat-i-Sikandri* gives an animated decription of the next siege of Châmpâner and Pâwâgadh in A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), when Humâyûn after defeating the Sultân Bahâdur near Mandisur chased him to Mandu, and after capturing that fortress pursued him to Châmpâner, whence Sultân Bahâdur fled to Khambhât, and thence to Div. Humâyûn followed the Sultân to Châmpâner, where he gave up the lower town to pillage, and then pursued him to Khambhât, but failing to overtake him returned to prosecute the siege of this fortress, which contained all the treasure of the Ahmadâbâd kings. The fortress, however, which was commanded by Râjâ Narsingh Deva and Ikhtiyâr Khân on behalf of the Sultân, held out gallantly. An enormous cannon, called the Bahâdur Shâhi, the garrison were unable, on account of its weight and size, to take up to the fort, and they had only got it up halfway when Humâyun's army arrived; they therefore drilled three holes in it and left it where it was. When Rûmi Khân, who, deserting Bahâdur Shâh, had now taken service with his enemy Humâyûn, saw the cannon, he said he could repair it, and did so by pouring into the holes a mixture of several metals; and though now it took a little less charge of powder, and the range was somewhat diminished, it was still a very formidable weapon. Regarding this

the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* thus expresses himself:—"They say that the very first shot that Rûmi Khân fired with it cast down the gate of the fortress, and with the second shot he rooted up a great tree which was near the gate. In the mean time the garrison, seeing this, began to tremble. Now there was a Faringhi in the fortress, by name Saktâ, who had been made a Musalmân by Sultan Bahâdur with the title of Farang Khân. He said to Ikhtiyâr Khân, 'Since matters are thus, shall I fire a ball down the muzzle of that cannon?' Ikhtiyâr Khân said, 'If you can do what you say, I will enrich you beyond your wants.' The Faringhi at the first shot so struck that cannon that he broke it into pieces, and the garrison were delighted. Ikhtiyâr Khân, however, gave him but a small recompense, but Râja Narsingh Deva gave him seven *mans* of gold."

After this reverse Humâyûn was unable to make any impression on the fortress. Râja Narsingh Deva, however, shortly after this event died of his wounds, and, as he was the soul of the defence, the ardour of the garrison somewhat abated. But the natural strength of the fortress defied Humâyûn's utmost efforts. This strength has only to be seen to be appreciated, and so great is it that the following extract from the *Mirat-i-Sikandri* is scarcely an exaggeration:—"It is related that one of God's servants named Sayad Jalâl, who had also the title of Munâwaru'l-Mulk Bukhâri, often used to say that the fortress of Châmpâner is such that if an old woman were but to hurl a stone from the top of the fort, all the men in the world could not continue the siege; wonderful was the good fortune of Humâyûn Bâdshâh that so strong a fortress was so easily conquered."

The way in which the fortress was eventually conquered was this. The garrison, though they had, it is said, supplies of grain sufficient to last them for ten years, nevertheless one night sent down two hundred Kolîs to bring up further supplies. These Kolîs, incautiously going too near one of the outposts of the army, were captured and brought before Humâyûn, who ordered them to be put to death one after another. When seventy or eighty of them had been thus killed, one of the survivors said that if his life were spared, he would show the besiegers a road whereby to ascend the fortress, which was not only unknown to the army of Humâyûn, but of which the garrison even were ignorant. The Emperor that very night sent some picked men under the guardianship of these Kolîs, who were as good as their word, and took them by a road whereby they arrived at the foot of the fortress at an unguarded spot, and scaling the rock with some difficulty they climbed over the battlements,§ and shouting Allah! Allah! furiously attacked the garrison, who were astonished and confounded at this sudden appearance of an enemy who had as it were dropped from the skies, and in their alarm some threw themselves over the walls of the fort, and some were slain; while others, amongst whom was Ikhtiyâr Khân, fled to the lofty citadel now crowned by Kâlkâ's fane, which citadel was in those days called the M a u l i y a h (so named from the Arabic *maulaha*, a lord), because it, so to speak, dominated over the whole interior of the upper fortress. This conquest of the fortress took place on the 7th Safar A.H. 942 (August 1535), and two days afterwards Ikhtiyâr Khân also surrendered.

Eight years after this, viz. in A.H. 950, when Sultân Mahmûd II. became independent of Daryâ Khân's control, the latter, when expelled from Ahmadâbâd by the Sultân and Âlam Khân, depositing his women and treasure in the Châmpâner fortress, fled to Burhânpur. The command of the fortress was entrusted to one of his devoted followers named Fatuji, who, it is said, made a gallant defence. But the young king, emulating the courage of his great namesake, pressed the siege in person vigorously, and, though several men were slain by his side, he would neither leave the field, nor consent that the royal umbrella, which made him so conspicuous a mark, should be lowered. Such gallant conduct did not fail to make an impression on the garrison, who were out of heart both at fighting against their lawful sovereign, and at seeing that their leader had deserted them and fled to Khândesh. They made, therefore, but a half-hearted resistance, and the fortress was conquered; and Fatuji, who fled to the Mauliyah citadel, was captured and bound and brought before the Sultân, who sent him to be confined in the fort of Surat.

Afterwards, during the reign of the last Muzafar, when Gujarât was divided among the

§ They climbed the scarp by the aid of iron spikes which they drove into the rock.

nobles, Châmpâner fell to the share of Changez Khân, who for a short time exercised almost kingly power. As soon, however, as that accomplished noble was assassinated by Jhujhar Khân Habshi, Châmpâner was seized on by Shâh Mirzâ. Previous to this, Châmpâner had, during the inglorious reign of Ahmad Shâh II., fallen to the share of Sayad Mubârak, who gave it to Âlam Khân, but it remained in their hands only a short time.

When the emperor Akbar conquered Gujarât the Mirzâs were expelled, and Châmpâner became an imperial possession. Pâwâgaḍh now received an imperial garrison, and remained in the hands of the house of Timur until A.D. 1727, when Kṛishṇâji, foster-son of Kantâji Kadam Bânde, made a sudden attack upon Châmpâner, and captured the fortress, the garrison being surprised, and from that time Kantâji's agents remained permanently in Gujarât to collect his share of the tribute. Afterwards it fell into the hands of Sindhia, by whom it was handed over to the British Government on August 1st, 1853. It had in the mean time been taken, in 1803, from Sindhia by a small British force commanded by Colonel Woodington, but was, however, restored to him in 1804.

Under the Moghal viceroys Châmpâner formed a separate charge or government (*sarkâr*). The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* thus notices it :—

"The fifth *sarkâr* is that of Châmpâner, which consists of thirteen *mahâls*, and a fortress named Pâwâgaḍh on the summit of a lofty mountain very rugged, which is nearly four *kos* in elevation, and in area the fortress is nearly half a *kos*, and it has several gates, and in one place there is an abyss sixty cubits deep, over which they construct a bridge‖ of planks, and when occasion arises they remove them; they call this the *Pâtiâ pul* ('plank bridge'). And it (the hill) is a pleasant place with green trees, and it has both tanks and springs of water. Sultân Mahmûd Begaḍhâ during his own reign conquered it by force from Râwal Pâtâi, the *zamindâr* thereof, and building a city which he named Muhammadâbâd at the foot of that hill, he established his capital there, and most of the Gujarât Sultâns made that town their capital, as has been related in the above pages in the history of each of them. The *kiladâri* of that place is subordinate to the *faujdâri* of Godhrâh, and it has fifty *sawârs* attached to it."

And in another place I find in the same author the following notice:—"(Mount) Pâwâ is situated in the *sarkâr* of Châmpâner, and is three *kos* in height. It has both springs of water and tanks, and there is a stream behind one of the *kuṇḍs* there, and there are trees there both of known and unknown kinds, amongst which are some myrobalan trees. And the fortress is very strong, (and there is a palace for a residence constructed by the old zamindârs,) with twelve gates, and the road is most difficult of access. And near the eighth gate is a yawning abyss, over which they place beams like a bridge, and thus they ascend to the fortress, and when occasion arises they remove them; this place is known as the *Pâtiâ pul*. And the shrine of Bhawâni is on the summit of the rock, and above this temple is the shrine of Sadan Shâh, whom they consider a famous saint."

There is also this notice of the temple of Kâlkâ:—"Kâlkâ Bhawâni's temple is on the summit of Mount Pâwâ, and on the top of that temple is a shrine which is that of Sadan Shâh, one of the people of God (*i.e.* Muhammadan), and the Brâhmaṇs consider that place one of the chief places of worship, and they tell wonderful stories about it. Large numbers of men come to worship there from places both far and near, and they also pay their respects to the shrine of Sadan Shâh." This shrine of Sadan Shâh is built on the spire of the temple, the top of which has been removed to make room for the shrine; it was probably done as a concession to Muhammadan fanaticism, and to ensure the protection of the rest of the temple. This temple of Kâli does not appear more than two hundred years old, and her old shrine is probably the roughly carved stone smeared with vermilion outside the precincts. The temple is evidently modern, in that it occupies the site of the old citadel, as well as from its style of architecture.

In the upper fort there are the remains of several Jaina temples carved with much spirit, though of no extraordinary excellence. There are the remains of a mosque near the Mâchhi Haweli, about midway up the hill, formerly the residence of Sindhia's Thânâdâr. In ascending the

‖ This bridge is still to be seen, and is still called the *Pâtiâ pul*.

hill one first comes to the Meḍi and the Meḍi Talâo. Here, they say, was a palace called the Meḍi; and here, as everywhere, were fortifications. Then further up comes the Buriâ Darwâzâ and the principal fortifications, very strong, and with a terrible ascent for troops in the face of a determined enemy. Next, one arrives at the plateau of the Mâchhi Haweli to the right of the gate, and as one issues forth on the ascent of the hill, just before reaching the Mâchhi Haweli, there is a curious sort of palace or summer-house in three stories, called the Champâvati, or Champâ Râṇinâ Mahâl, which is said to have been the residence of a favourite queen. It was, however, I think, meant for the ladies of the zanânâ to sit in and witness a grand hunt, as it overlooks a deep valley, and is perfectly secure, while it commands an extensive view. Almost opposite to this is a spring of very good water, called the *Pânch kuvâ*. From this point the hill is covered with lines of fortification defending every practicable spot. From hence one ascends, past the Mâchhi Haweli and a tank near it, to three large domes called the *Makâi kotâr*, or 'maize granaries,' and from here one sees before him the isolated spur with the old ruined palace of Jayasingh Deva. On this spur are the remains of the palace, and covered-in tanks of water, and on the extreme point is a small shrine of Bhadrâ-Kâli (or 'the favourable, propitious Kâli'). From this spur one can form an idea of the difficulty of taking the fortress, even supposing that troops could reach this point, as the whole of this plateau is commanded by the gate and batteries by the *Pâtiâ pul;* and as there is only one narrow path whereby to ascend, advance would be almost impossible. Even supposing this gate won and the *Pâtiâ pul* crossed, and another gate close to the main gateway forced, the troops would have to run along a narrow path for about a hundred yards exposed to the full fire of the garrison, to find themselves in front of a strong double gateway. On entering these two gates one faces the great rock on which Kâlkâ sits in state; and on turning to the right, one arrives, after a walk of a few hundred yards, at the domes or *kotârs*, which overlook a tremendous precipice. Between these domes and this gate, following the fortifications, come tanks of cut stone, and it is evident that water was also stored in other places, and there is still another tank even higher still, at the foot of the stone steps which lead to the Mâtâ's temple.

With a very little trouble, and with but moderate expense, this upper fortress might be transformed into a very comfortable sanitarium; all that is wanted is the repair of, and additions to, the beautiful domes now standing. Already one of the lower domes has fallen, and unless the upper domes are speedily repaired they will fall too. Dr. Arnott, in 1839, reported on the advantages of the spot; and during the past year Lieutenant Gibbs, R.E., of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, specially reported on the subject to the officer commanding at Baroda, in a very interesting report.

Were the fortifications repaired the cost would of course be greater, but it would be a healthy spot, and one of the strongest fortresses in India. The only disadvantage that the place possesses as a sanitarium is that the wind is so violent in the hot weather that no buildings other than domes could stand it unless very strongly constructed. Colonel Wallace, when Resident of Baroda, once built a small bungalow on the hill, but it has long since had its roof blown away into the Bâriâ jungles, and even the walls are considerably out of the perpendicular; but if Government were to build verandahs to the domes,¶ and one or two out-houses, and improve the water supply, the residents of Baroda would doubtless gladly pay a small rent for the occupation of the domes during the hot season.

In the Chohân annals Pâwâgaḍh occupied a prominent place. Their principal hero is, of course, Prithirâja of Delhi, then Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, then Pâtâi Râwal of Pâwâgaḍh, Kânaḍ Deva of Songaḍh Jhâlor, and Achaldâs of Gâgrâwn. The more famous of these will be found mentioned in the verses quoted at p. 99, vol. III. of the *Indian Antiquary*. It will be observed that of the five Râjput heroes therein praised three were Chohâns, viz. Hamiradeva of Ranthambhor, Pâtal (poetical license for Pâtâi, the name by which Râwal Jayasingh of Pâwâgaḍh is usually known), and Kânaḍ Deva, the Songaḍha Chohân of Jhâlor. Of the remaining two, Chund Râo is poetical license for Râo Chonḍâ, the Râṭhoḍ ancestor of the present Chief of Jodhpur, and

¶ There were formerly verandahs, now fallen down.

Dudo was the Bhâti chief of Jesalgaḍh or Jesalmer. Pâwâgaḍh, therefore, together with Ranthambhor and Jhâlor, is one of the sacred places in the legends of the tribe, and shines out prominently in the history of this gallant race, and its memory is fondly cherished by all Chohâns, and especially by the houses of Choṭâ Udayapur and Devagaḍh Bâriâ, who are of the branch called Pâwâpati, or lords of Pâwâ.

FURTHER VALABHÎ GRANTS.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(Continued from vol. V. p. 212.)

The first of the three Valabhî grants now published was found in the ruins of Valabhî by Kolis who dug for old bricks. I acquired it in January 1875. The second was found at Botâd, in the Bhaunagar territory. It was kindly forwarded to me for deciphering by Messrs. Percival and Gaurishankar Ozha, the Joint Administrators of the Bhaunagar State. The third grant was found by Mr. Raojî Viṭhal, formerly special Political Assistant in charge of Lunavâḍâ (Revâkânṭhâ), in the Râja's palace at Luṇâvâḍâ. I owe its loan to the kindness of Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Revâkânṭhâ.

A.—The Grant of Dharasena I.

The grant of Dharasena I. is written on two plates 9½ inches by 16½. The rings with the seal have been forcibly half torn half cut out, whereby semicircular pieces of the surface of the lower portion of the first and of the upper portion of the second plate, originally situated round the left-hand ring, have been lost. This accident makes some letters in the first lines of the second plate very faint and indistinct. They can just be traced with a strong glass. The second plate has also lost a piece low down on the right-hand side. Both plates were covered, when I bought them, with thick layers of sand and verdigris. A prolonged immersion in lime-juice cleaned them. But the first plate is nevertheless not easily readable, and is unsuited for photography. The second gives a tolerable photograph.

The letters of the plates show a predilection for round forms like those of Guhasena, and resemble the latter in their thinness. The grant is dated from a 'camp of victory,' the location of which is not certain, as the name of the village appears to be mutilated. The beginning of the name is Bhadropâtta.

The *vaṁśâvalî* gives the usual list of rulers from Bhaṭârka to Dharasena I., the son of Guhasena. It offers only one addition to our knowledge of the history of Valabhî. Dharasena I. calls himself (Pl. II. l. 1) *mahâsâmanta*, 'the great feudal or provincial chief,' as well as 'mahârâjâ,' and shows thereby that down to his times the rulers of Valabhî paid homage to a lord paramount. In my article on the grant of Dhruvasena I. of Saṁvat 216, I pointed out that this mahârâja was certainly a vassal of some greater king, and that Droṇasiṁha's boasted coronation had not raised him much above that position which his predecessors, the two Senâpatis or generals, occupied. Dharasena's confession confirms my view about Dhruvasena I., and permits the inference that his grandfather Dharapaṭṭa and his father Guhasena likewise did not enjoy independence. I will now express my belief that eventually we shall find it proved that the Valabhî dynasty was at no period free from vassalage, except perhaps during the reign of Dharasena IV., who calls himself 'king of kings, *chakravartin*, emperor, and supreme lord.'

I should not wonder if further finds of inscriptions, and further investigations regarding the position of the villages granted by 'those of Valabhî,' entirely destroyed the legend of the power and greatness of the kingdom, which, first started by Colonel Tod, has since been adopted by most Indian historians and antiquarians.

The grantee is the "monastery called that of Śrî Bappapâda, which had been built by the Âchâryya Bhadanta Sthiramati, and was situated in Valabhî." (Pl. II. lines 3 and 4.) There can be, I think, no doubt that this *vihâra* is the one which Hiwen Thsang ascribes to the Arhat *'Oche-lo.* His remarks on this monastery are as follows: (*Mémoires*, vol. II. p. 164):—"At a little distance from the town (Valabhî) there is a great convent which was erected in olden times by Arhat *'Oche-lo.* It is there that the *Bodhisattvas* Guṇamati and Sthiramati fixed their abode, and

composed various treatises which have become famous and widely known."

The Sthiramati mentioned in our grants and by Hiwen Thsang is, no doubt, the famous pupil of Vasubandhu, who composed commentaries on the writings of his master.*

The objects granted are two villages,—Mahesvaradâsenaka, in the *âharaṇi* of Hastavapra, and Devabhadripallikâ in the *sthali* of Dhârâkeṭha (pl. II. l. 3). 'Hastavapra' occurs in the grant of Dhruvasena I. dated 207† as *Hastakavapra*, and has been identified with the modern Hâthab, which Colonel Yule has since conjectured to be the Greek Astakampron. Mahesvaradâsenaka is probably Mahâdevapura, which lies to the south-west of Hâthab. Dharasena's grant reads distinctly *hastavapráharanyám*, and thus confirms my emendation of the reading '*haranyam*,' and my statement that '*âharaṇi*' must have denoted a territorial division.

The purpose for which the two villages were granted is, as usual in the case of grants to Bauddha monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the *Divine Buddhas*, of clothing, food, and medicine for the reverend Bhikshus, and of the repairs of the monastery. (Pl. II. l. 4.)

As regards the date of the grant, I now read it as 269 Chaitra, dark half 2. In the interpretation of the second sign ፓ I follow Paṇdit Bhagvânlâl Indraji, who, in my opinion, has succeeded in clearing up the difficulties regarding the signs for 40-70, with the help of a number of Kshatrapa coins in his possession.‡

As regards the language of the grant, the incorrect phrase *hastavapráharaṇyáṁ mahesvaradásenakagráma dhârâkheṭasthalyáṁ cha devabhadripallikágrám*AU, instead of °*adásenakagramo* and °*pallikágrám*AH, shows that the writer habitually spoke Prakrit, and possessed but an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

In conclusion I may add the explanation of the word '*divira*' which occurs in the title of the writer, Skandabhaṭa, "*sandhivigrahádhiraṇádhikṛitadivirapatiskandabhatena*." (Pl. II. l. 16.) In the *Petersburg Dictionary*, which is followed, as usual, by Prof. Monier Williams, *divira* is said to be a proper name, and the *Rájataranginî*, VI. 130, VII. 111, 119, is quoted as the authority. In the first passage the reading *divirât* is merely a faulty reading of Mr. Troyer's edition for *śivirât*, which latter the Calcutta edition and the Śâradâ MSS. give. The other two passages have been badly translated by Mr. Troyer. Otherwise it would have been recognized that a '*divira*' must be an official. The first, VII. 111, runs as follows :—

पुरा देवमुखाख्यस्य दिविरस्य किलाजनि ।
आपूपिकायां वेश्यायां पुत्रश्चन्द्रमुखाभिधः ॥

and the translation should be—

"Formerly a son, called Chandramukha, was born to a *Divira* called Devamukha by the courtezan Âpûpikâ."

The second passage, VII. 119, is, I think, as follows :—

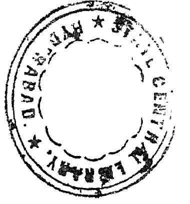
इत्थं मंत्रिषु योग्येषु क्षान्तिशीले च भूपतौ ।
केचिदुद्रेकमभजन्दरांदिविरडामराः ॥

and the correct translation :—

"Whilst the ministers thus were worthy (of their places), and the king of a forgiving disposition, some *Dards*, *Diviras*, and *Ḍâmaras* became overbearing."

In the land-grants *divira* or *divirapati* is always used as a title, especially for the officials who drew up the *śâsanas*. This position shows also that it denoted the holder of some office. Kshemendra, the author of the *Lokaprakâśa*, gives us a clue to the exact meaning of the word Firstly, in *Prakâsa* III., he speaks of various classes of *diviras*, *ganjadiviras*, *nagaradiviras*, *grâmadiviras*, *khavâsadiviras*; and the next word is *kâyastha*. Secondly, when beginning to give the forms for *hundis* and other bonds, he says, "I will now propound all written documents according the details of each, in their proper order, for the benefit of the *Diviras*.§ Hence it becomes evident that these officials had to do with writing and accounts, and we may render the word by the modern 'kârkun,' or writer and accountant. Divirapati Skandabhaṭa means, therefore, 'Skandabhaṭa the chief clerk or secretary.' I am not able to find an etymology for the word in Sanskrit. Perhaps it may be connected with the Persian *dipi*, 'writing,' which occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions.

* Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, p. 84.
† *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 204.
‡ A paper which gives the substance of his very remarkable discoveries on the ancient Indian numerals will appear in the next Part of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 42.
§ *Lokaprap.* II. :—"Evam vihhâgaśo vakshye pratyekasya yathâkramam | *divirâṇâṁ* hitârthâya bhûrjasâraṁsamuchchayam. ||"



TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

(1) स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारा [त्] भद्रोपात्त-वास [कात्] प्रस[प्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणा¶] मतुलबल-
सपत्नमण्ड[ला]भोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशतलब्ध[प्रतापः प्रता]-

(2) [पोपनत] दानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागानु[रक्तमौल]भृत[मित्र]श्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रीः **परम-
माहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटार्कस्तस्य** सुत [स्तत्पा] दरजो [रु]ण-

(3) नतपवित्रीकृतशिराः शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपङ्क्तिदीधितिः दीनानाथकृपण-
जनोपजीव्यमानविभवः **परममा-**

(4) **हेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनः** तस्यानुज[स्तत्पाद]प्रणामप्रशस्ततरविमलमणिर्म्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधि-
विधानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज इव विनयविहित-

(5) व्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहावि-
श्राणनावपूतराज्यश्रीः **परममाहे-**

(6) **श्वरः महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिङ्घः** सिङ्घ इव तस्यानुजस्स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीका-
नामेकविजयी शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा

(7) शास्त्रार्त्थतत्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां यथाभिलषितकामफलभोगदः **परमभागवतः महारा-
जश्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजः**

(8) [तच्च]रणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौतावशेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्स्वचरितोदकप्रक्षालिताशेषकलिकलङ्कः
प्रसभनिर्ज्जिताराति: प्र——

(9) ——[प]**रमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपट्टः** तस्य सुतस्तत्पादसपर्य्यावाप्तपुण्योदयश्शैशवात्प्रभृति
खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव सम-

(10) [दपर] गजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रतापप्रणताराातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसव्यपादनख-
पङ्क्ति दीधितिः सकलस्मृति-

(11) प्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मर-
शशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरु-

(12) धनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभय[प्रदान]परतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलः प्रार्त्थनाधिका-
र्त्थप्रदानानंदितविद्वत्सुहृ[त्प्रण]-

(13) यिहृदयः पादचारीव[सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः] **परममाहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीगुहसेनः** तस्य
सुतस्तत्पादनख[मयूखसंतान]-

(14) [विसृत]जान्हवीजलौघप्र[क्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रण]यिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानभोगसंपद्रूपलो-
[भा]दिवाश्रितस्सरसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः

(15) सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता [ध]र्म्म-
दायानामपकर्त्ता प्रजो-

(16) पघातकारिणामुप[प्लवा]नां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहताराातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोग-
दक्षविक्रमः विक्रमोपसंप्रा-

¶ Letters 11-14 doubtful. Line 1, read संपन्न°. L. 4, read मौलिमणि. L. 6, read द्रोणसिंह : सिंह. L. 7, read °तत्त्वानां. L. 10, read सत्त्वनिकष°. L. 11, insert गाम्भीर्य after धैर्य.

Plate II.

(1) प्रविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममा [हेश्वरो] महासामन्तमहाराजश्रीधरसेन)(कुशली सर्वानेव स्वानायुक्तकद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाट [भट]---*

(2) ध्रुवाधिकारणिकविषयपतिरा[ज[स्थानीयोपरिककुमारामात्यहस्त्यश्वारोहादीनन्यांश्च यथासंबध्य-मानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संवि-

(3) दितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तये वलभ्यां आचार्य्यभदन्तस्थिरमतिकारितश्रीबप्पपादीय-

(4) विहारे भगवतां बुद्धानां पुष्पधूपगन्धदीपतैलादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणात्थं नानादिगभ्यागतार्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य च चीवरपिण्डपातग्लानभैषजाद्यर्थं विहारस्य च ख-

(5) ण्डस्फुटितविशीर्ण्णप्रतिसंस्कारणात्थं हस्तवप्राहरण्यां महेश्वरदासेनकग्राम धाराखेटस्थल्यां च देवभद्रिपल्लिकाग्रामौ सोद्रङ्गौ सोपरिकरौ सवा-

(6) तभूतप्रत्यायसधान्यभागभोगहरण्यादेयौ सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकरौ सदशापराधौ समस्तराजकीया-नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयौ भूमिच्छिद्रन्या [येन]

(7) आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवसरित्क्षितिस्थितिपर्वतसमकालीनौ उदकातिसर्गेण देवदायौ निसृष्टौ यत उचितया देवविहारस्थित्या भुंजतः कृष [तः]

(8) कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्याघाते वर्त्तितव्यौ आगामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा-नित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरां मानुष्यं सामान्यं च [भूमि]

(9) [दानफल] मवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमनां वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापा [तकैः]

(10) [स्सोप] पातकैस्संयुक्तः स्यात् इत्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च [तान्येव नर-]

(11) के वसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ अनोदकेष्वरण्येषु [शुष्ककोटर-]

(12) वासिनः कृष्णसर्प्पा हि जायन्ते धर्म्मदायापहारकाः॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां। गवां शतस [हस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति]

(13) किल्बिषम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्रभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि। निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम [साधुः पुनराददीत]

(14) लक्ष्मीनिकेतं यदपाश्रयेण प्राप्तो---कोभिमतं नृपार्थं। तान्येव पुण्यानि विवर्द्धयेथा न हापनीयो ह्युपकारिपक्षः ॥

(15) स्वहस्तो मम महाधिराजश्रीधरसेनस्य दूतकः सामन्तशीलादित्यः ॥

(16) लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतदिवीरपतिस्कन्दभटेन । सं २६९ चैत्र ब २ ॥

B.—The Grant of Dhruvasena II.

The grant of Dhruvasena II. is written on two plates 10 inches by $12\frac{1}{2}$ each. The rings and seal are in their proper places. The plates are now extremely thin, and in some places pierced by small holes. It would seem that, as

* L. 1, aksharas 9-12 and 16-17 are extremely faint. L. 2, aksharas 11-13 and 15-18 are extremely faint. L. 3, aksharas 9-16 are very faint. L. 4, aksharas 11-18 are very faint, and some doubtful. L. 5, read °दासेनकग्रामो; °पल्लिकाग्रामो. L. 6, read हिरण्या°. L. 7, read कालीनावु°. L. 8, read वर्तितव्यं; स्थिरं. L. 9, read च्छिद्यमानं. L. 11, read अनुदकेष्व°. L. 16, read दिविर°.

the surfaces were badly corroded and covered by verdigris, the finder knocked off the upper layers. Fortunately a kernel of sound copper had remained in the centre, in which the strokes of the letters were visible. Nevertheless, when I received the plates, I doubted whether I should ever be able to make out the whole grant. But, when I had filled up all the strokes visible with white paint, I found, to my delight, that the whole was readable except a line or two, which could easily be restored by means of the published plates.

The grant is dated from Valabhî. The *vaṁśâvalî* offers nothing new. But it ought to be noticed that the grantor, Dhruvasena II., called also Bâlâditya, does not assume the title 'Mahârâja,' and that none of his predecessors receive any epithet but *Śrî*, 'the illustrious.' It may be that the omission is due to an accident; but, considering the habitual grandiloquence of Indian princes, the case is suspicious, and it would not be surprising if it were found eventually that Dhruvasena II. had some cogent reasons for being silent about his magnificence.

The grantee is (Pl. II. l. 11) "the community of the reverend Bhikshus dwelling in the monastery erected by Gohaka, which was included in the precincts of the monastery built by princess Duḍḍâ, and situated in Valabhî proper."

Duḍḍâ and her *vihâra* are known from the *śâsanas* of Dhruvasena I. † and of Guhasena.‡ If she is here called *râjñî*, literally 'queen,' I presume that the writer means to indicate that she was of royal blood,—not that she was married to a king. For Dhruvasena I. calls her "my own sister's daughter." I am not quite certain that I have got the exact meaning of *valabhîsvatalasaṁnivishṭâ*, literally 'seated on the own surface of Valabhî.' It may mean, as I have rendered it, 'situated in Valabhî proper, *i.e.* within the walls.' But possibly the compound '*svatala*' may have a technical meaning.

The purpose for which the grant was made is the same as that mentioned in the preceding *śâsana* of Dharasena II.

The object granted is (Pl. II. l. 13) the village Bhasanta in Kâlâpakapatha§ in Surâshṭra. Kâlâpakapatha must be the name of a subdivision of Soraṭh. Regarding 'Surâshṭra' it ought to be noted that the word is always used in the plural, *Surâshṭrâḥ*, and that it is, therefore, really the name of the people who inhabited the country, just as 'Panchâlâḥ,' 'Kaśmîrâḥ,' &c. The form Soraṭh is probably not a corruption of 'Surâshṭrâḥ,' but of 'Saurâshṭram' (*maṇḍalam*). For Sanskrit *au* caused by a Taddhita affix is regularly represented by Prakrit *o*. Râosâheb Gopâlji S. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, suggests to me that Bhasanta is probably the modern Bhesân, a village of the Soraṭh Prânt, belonging to the Navâb of Jûnâgaḍh.

As regards the relation of Saurâshṭra to the kings of Valabhî, Hiwen Thsang also states (*Mémoires*, vol. II. p. 165) that "this country is subject to the kingdom of Valabhî."

In the date, the year is Saṁvat 310, and the month Âśvayuja. The day may be read either '*baha* 5, *i.e. baha* (*lapaksha*), dark half 5,' or '*ba* 15, dark half 15.' For on this plate the letter *ha* and the sign for 10 bear a very close resemblance.

Plate I.

(1) स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्रणा मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रता-¶

(2) पात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहे-श्वरः श्रीभटार्कादव्यव-

(3) च्छिन्नराजवँशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषश्शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्(ग)द्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटन-

(4) प्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणताराति चूडारत्नप्रभासक्तपादनखरश्मिसँहतिस्सकलस्मृतिप्रणी-तमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिप-

(5) लनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनार्त्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशा(ङ्क)द्रिराजो-दधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतियानश्शर-

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 106. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 174.

§ '*Pathaka*' occurs in the sense of 'mahâl' or 'tâlukâ' on the Châlukya plates of Aṇhilvâḍ pretty frequently.

¶ L. 1, read °मित्राणां. L. 2, read श्रेणी°; °महेश्वर. L. 4, read सत्त्व°; संसक्त°; परिपा°. L. 5, read रंजनान्वर्थ°.

(6) णागताभयप्रदानपरतया त्रिणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्र-
णयिहृदयः पादचारी-*

(7) व सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेन**स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पदनखमयूखसंतान-
विसृतजान्हवीजलैघ-

(8) प्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितस्सरभसमागामिकैर्गुणै-
स्सहजशक्तिशि-

(9) क्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता
प्रजोप-

(10) घातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दशयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सँहृताराातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षवि-
क्रमो विक्रमोपस-

(11) [प्रा] प्तविमलपर्त्थिवश्री **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन**स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातस्सकलजगदान-
न्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थ-

(12) [गि] तसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलस्समरशतविदशतोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरान्सपीठोव्यूढगुरुमनोरथ-
महाभार-

(13) [स] र्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखपपादनीयपरितो-
षस्समग्रलोकागाध-

(14) गाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभवः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधना-
धिगतोदग्रकीर्त्ति-

(15) र्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरिकृतार्त्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढ**धर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः
श्रीशीलादित्य**स्तस्या-

(16) नुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी
स्कन्धासक्ता परमभद्र इव धु-

(17) र्य्यस्तदाज्ञा[सं]पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेटसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृत-
नृपतिशतशिरो-

(18) रत्नच्छायोपगूढपदपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका परित्यज्य प्रख्या-
तपरुषाभि[मानैर]-

(19) प्यकृतिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसँहति प्रसभ[विघ]टित-
सकलकलविलसितगतिनी[च]-

(20) जनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षि-
तिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयग्राह[प्र]-

(21) काशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रह**स्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः
सकलविद्याधिगम[विहित]

(22) निखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयस्सत्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमाहितारातिप-
क्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्ग-

* L. 6, read °फलः. L. 7, read °स्तत्पाद°; जलौघ. L. 10, read दर्शयिता. L. 11, read पार्त्थिवश्री. L. 12, read विजयशो; रांसपीठो; महाभारः. L. 13, read °सुखोप°. L. 14, read °स्वभावः. L. 15, read °ज्ज्वलतरीकृता°. L. 16, read स्कन्धासक्तां. L. 17, read सत्त्वः°. L. 18, read मेकां; पौरुषा°. L. 19, read प्यरातिभि°; संहतिः; कलिविलसित. L. 21, read परममहेश्वरः. L. 22, read समाहिता°.

VALABHI GRANT OF DHRUVASENA II. - PLATE I.

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VALABHI GRANT OF DHRUVASENA II. - PLATE II.

(23) स्सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगव्हरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरप्यकृत्रि[मप्रश्र]-

(24) य विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपता[काहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुविध्वंसित]-

Plate II.

(1) निखिलप्रतिपक्षपर्द्धोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डला-†

(2) भिनन्दितशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन**स्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सच्चरितातिशायित-

(3) सकलपू[र्व्वनरपतिर] तिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाध[यि]ता विसयाणां मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगुणानु-

(4) रागनिर्भर[चित्तवृ]तिर्म्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिर[धि]गतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्क X कुमुद-

(5) नाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परप्रत्ययमर्त्थवन्त-

(6) मतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्ण्णं विदधानस्सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं

(7) ददद्गुणवृद्धविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णात प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि क-

(8) रुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वित Xकान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योभि निरसिता दोषवत्तामुदयसमयस-

(9) मुपजतितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथित**बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसे**-

(10) न X कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासम्वध्यमानक समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्ययनाय

(11) वलभीस्वतलसन्निविष्टराज्ञीदुड्डाकारितविहारमण्डलंतर्गतगोहककारितविहारनिवास्यार्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घाय चीवरपिण्डपातश [य]

(12) नाशनग्लानप्रत्ययभिषज्यप्रतिस्काराय वुद्धानां च भगवतां पूजास्नानगन्धधूपपुष्पदीपतैलाद्यर्त्थं विहार-

(13) [स्य]खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय पादमूलप्रजीवनाय सुराष्ट्रेषु कालापकपथके भसन्तग्रामः सोद्रङ्गस्सो-

(14) परिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायस्सधान्यहिरण्यदेयस्सदशापराधस्सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय-

(15) पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयं रहितः आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षतसरिपर्व्वतसमकालीनः आर्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घपरिभोग्य उदकातिस [र्गे]-

(16) ण ब्रह्मदायोप्रसृष्टो यतोस्योचितया देवाग्राहारस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे

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† L. 1, read दर्प्पोदय. L. 3, read विषयाणां. L. 5, read प्रध्वंसित°; परं. L. 7, read °वृद्धि°; °शालातुरीय°; निष्णातः. L. 8, read सौहृदय्योपि.; दोषवतां. L. 10, read बध्यमानकान्. L. 11, read मण्डलान्तर्ग°. L. 12, read °नासन°; प्रतिसंस्काराय. L. 14, read °हिरण्या°; विष्टिकः; प्रक्षेपणीयः. L. 15, read °ब्रह्मदेयरहितः; क्षिति. L. 16, read योतिसृष्टो.

(17) वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वँशजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थरं मानुष्यंः सामान्यं च भूमि-
दानफलमव-‡

(18) गच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः
यस्य यस्य

(19) यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्धनानि धर्म्मयतनीकृतानि निर्व्वान्तमा-
ल्यप्रतिमानि

(20) तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतः षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वस्ये

(21) दूतकोत्र सामन्तशिलादित्यः ॥ लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवशभट्टिना ॥ सं ३१८
आश्वयुजवह ५
स्वहस्तो मम ॥ २

C.—The Grant of Śilâditya V.

The grant of Śilâditya V. is written on two plates of the largest size, 11 inches by 17¾. The left-hand ring has been lost. The right-hand one, to which the seal is attached, is in its proper place. The latter is, even for Valabhî plates, excessively massive. It bears the usual cognizance and inscription.

The letters resemble in general those of the Baroda and Kâvî Râshṭrakûṭa plates. But they show some curious forms, which I have never met with before. Thus *ḍa* is invariably represented by ढ़, which in the older inscriptions would be *ḍhra* or *phra*; for *ksha* we find sometimes a sign which resembles *bha*; and for *sha* a sign resembling *ja*—E, or *tha*—⊟.

The execution of the plates is slovenly in the extreme. Not only does every line abound with mistakes, and whole lines have been left out, but frequently the engraver has not taken the trouble to connect his strokes, whereby the letters become rather doubtful.§ It would be impossible to read the plate if we had not numerous nearly identical inscriptions. The preservation of the plates is nearly perfect. There are only two small rents, one high up on the right-hand side, and one low down on the left-hand side of the second plate.

The grant is dated from "the camp of victory fixed at Godrahaka." Godrahaka may possibly be Godhrâ, the chief town of the Panch Mahâls. The word *Godrahaka* is formed from *Godraha* by the individualizing or determinative affix *ka*, and *godraha* means 'a lake for cows,' or 'the lake of the cow;' compare also *nâgadraha* in Vâkpati's grant.' Now this name fits Godhrâ very well, which possesses a very large *talâo*. The name Godraha occurs also in Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, IV. 57, where it is stated that the lords of Godraha and Lâṭa betrayed their master, Râṇâ Vîradhavala of Dholkâ, and joined the kings of Marudeśa who fought against him. In that passage *Godraha* can only refer to Godhrâ. I do not feel so confident that it designates the same place in our plate. For it is quite possible that another Godhrâ may have existed in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, though I am not at present in a position to prove this.

The *vaṁśâvalî* carries us one step further than the Goṇḍal plates translated by Râosâheb V. N. Mâṇḍlik.‖ It appears that there was a fifth prince who bore the name Śilâditya. Our *śâsana* (pl. II. ll. 20-22) gives the following description of this new king:—

"His (*i.e.* the fourth Śilâdityadeva's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śilâdityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, the supreme lord Bappa, who humbles the pride of all (*hostile*) armies, who is an abode of auspiciousness (*produced*) by great victories, (*who resembles*) Purushottama, because his bosom is caressed by the embraces of Fortune,¶ because he is possessed of marvellous power by assuming the shape of a man-lion,* and because

‡ L. 17, read स्थिरं. L. 20, read ददीत ; वसेत्.
§ Especially Pl. II. ll. 26-29.
‖ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 331.
¶ Lakshmî, the goddess of fortune, is the wife of Vishṇu—Purushottama.

* Nârasiṁha is one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. The king may be likened to a man-lion on account of his bravery. The compound *Nârasiṁha* has to be explained differently in each case.

he protects the whole earth (*gomaṇḍala*) by destroying hostile princes (*samuddhatavipakshabhûbhṛit*), just as Purushottama protected the herds(*gomaṇḍala*) by raising a wingless mountain (*samuddhatavipakshabhûbhṛit*),† whose toe-nails possess a brilliancy enhanced by the jewels in the diadems of numerous princes prostrated (*at his feet*), and who has effected a conquest of the faces of the nymphs of all quarters of the universe."

Śîlâdityadeva V. is the eighteenth king of the dynasty who has become known. The number of Śîlâdityas who have now revealed themselves becomes rather perplexing. It is evident that the Jaina legend, attributing the reëstablishment of their faith to "Śîlâditya of Valabhî," is about as explicit as a narrative would be which referred an event to the reign of "Louis of France."

The grantee is an Atharvavedî Brâhmaṇ of the Pârâśara gotra, called Sambhulla, the son of Dâṭalla, who resided at Ḍahaka. He is called *tachchâturvidya, i.e.* "a member of the community of the Chaturvedîs of that (town)." (Pl. II. ll. 23-4.) The three names are not Sanskrit, but apparently Deśî words. It ought to be noted that a small colony of Atharvavedîs lives now at Luṇavâḍâ. The grantee probably was one of their ancestors. The object granted is the village Bahuabaṭaka, situated in the zillâ (*vishaya*) of Sûryâpura, on the banks of the Vap̆poikâ river (Pl. II. l. 24).‡

The purpose for which the village was given is to defray the expenses of an *agnihotra* and other sacrifices.

The date I am inclined to read as "Saṁvat 441, Kârtika Śuddha 5," or "the fifth day of the bright half of Kârtika of the year 441." The first two signs must be taken together and read as 400. This is perfectly certain, as the Goṇḍal grants of Śîlâditya IV. are dated 403. The next following figure might be read as 4 on account of its resemblance to the second sign, which must be taken with the sign for 100. But as a horizontal stroke follows, which appears to represent 1, it must be taken as a figure denoting one of the numbers between 10 and 90, and it comes nearest the sign for 40. I admit, however, that the last horizontal stroke may in reality be meant to form part of the third sign. In that case the whole stands for 404.

Plate I.

(1) स्वस्ति गोद्रहकसमावसितजयस्कन्धावारात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमंडलाभोगससंक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्र-

(2) तापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागस्वनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीभट्टार्कादव्यव-

(3) छिन्नवंशान्मातापित्रिचरणारविन्दपणतिपवित्रीक्ताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेवसमदगजघटास्फोटनप्रकशितसत्वनिक-

(4) षः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रवासंसतपादननरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्रियापालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्थरा-

(5) जशब्दोरिपकान्तिस्थैर्यगम्भीर्यबुद्धिः संपद्भिः स्मरशशाशाङ्कादूराजोदिधितृदशगुरुधनेशानातिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदाणपरतया

(6) तृणवदुपास्ताशेषस्ववीर्यफलः प्रार्थनादिकार्थप्रदानंदितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदय पादचारीव सकलभुवनसंडलाभोग-

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† I take the compound *samuddhatavipakshabhûbhṛinnikhilagomaṇḍalârâkshaḥ* to consist of a Bahuvrîhi—*samuddhatâ vipakshâbhûbhṛito yena sâ*—and a Tatpurusha—*nikhilasya gomaṇḍalasya ârakshaḥ*—which together form a Karmadhâraya compound. It is possible to explain the grammatical connection of the first part differently, but the general sense remains the same. There is a pun on the words *samuddhatavipakshabhûbhṛit* and *gomaṇḍala*, which the story of Kṛishṇa's lifting Mount Govardhana suggested.

‡ Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 245, names Sûryâpura as one of the harbours of the Aṇhilvâḍ kingdom, and thinks that it may be Surat. This identification cannot stand, as Surat is a modern town. I am unable to offer any suggestion as to the whereabouts of the town.

§ Line 1, read °समावासित°; संसक्त°. L. 2, read परममहेश्वर. L. 3, read पितृ°; प्रणतिपवित्रीकृता°; प्रकाशित°. L. 4, read रत्नप्रभासंसक्त; नख°; °सम्यक्परिपा°. L. 5, read रूप°; गाम्भीर्यबुद्धिसं°; शशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिद°; प्रदान°. L. 6, read °वदपास्त°; प्रदानानं°; हृदयः.

(7) पमोद **परममाहेश्वरश्रीगुहसेनः** तस्य सुतः तत्पादनखमयूखसंतानपिसृतजान्हवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशत-¶

(8) सहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपत्प्रपलेाभादिवाश्रुतः संरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तीः शिक्षादिशषविस्मापितः तधनुर्धरः प्रविम-

(9) नरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मयज्ञानामषिकता प्रजाघातकारिणामुपप्लवाना शमयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योराकाधिवासस्य

(10) सनादयविपक्षलक्ष्मपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमः विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः** तस्य सुतः तत्पा-

(11) दानुध्यात सतलजगदानंदनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुद्रस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मंडलः समरशतपिजयशोभासनाथमंडलाग्रद्युति भा-

(12) सुरांसपीठो व्यूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सवविद्यापारपरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि

(13) स्त्रोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाथगांभीर्यहृदयोपि सच्चरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभवः खिलीभूतकृत-

(14) युगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिः धर्मानुरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्थसुखसंपदुयसेवानिरूढः **म्मादित्यद्वितीनामा परममा-**

(15) **हेश्वरः श्रीशिलादित्यः** तस्यानुजः तत्पादानुध्यातस्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुगुरुणादित्यादरवता समभिलवनीयानामपि रा-

(16) जलक्ष्मीस्कन्धासक्तपरमभद्राणां धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासंपादनैकरसतयोद्वावहनखेटसुखरातिभ्यामनायासितसर्व्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृतनृ-

(17) पतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेरां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौप्रषाभिमानेरप्य-

(18) रातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहति प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्नीच जनाविद्रोहि भि-

(19) रशेषर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतिहृदय प्रख्यातपारुषः शस्त्रकौसलातिशय गुणगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मी स्वयंस्मयग्राहप्रकाशितप्र-

(20) वीरपुरुषप्रयमः संख्याधिगमः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहः** तस्य सुतः तत्पादानुध्यातः सर्व्वविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःप-

(21) रितोषातिशय सत्वसंपत्त्यागैः शौर्येण च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकः शास्त्रकला-

¶ L. 7, read प्रमोदः; विसृत°. L. 8, read संपद्रूप°; शक्तिशिक्षाविशेष°; स्मापितध°; प्रथम°. L. 9, read धर्मदायानामुपकर्ता°; °प्लवानां; दर्शयिता; रेकाधिवा°. L. 10, read हसंतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मी. L. 11, read ध्यातः सकल°; समूह°; विजय°. L. 12, read सर्वविद्यापराप°. L. 13, read सुखोप°; °गाध°; स्वभावः. L. 14, read °दुपसेवानिरूढधर्मा°. L. 15, read ध्यातः; गुरुणात्यादर°; षणीयामपि. L. 16, read °सक्तां°; भद्र इव; °योद्वहन्; सत्त्व°. L. 17, read रसानालि°; °मेकां; मानैरप्य. L. 18, read संहतिः जनाधिरोहिरशेषै°. L. 19, read °त्युन्नतहृदयः; पौरुष; °शयः°; *dele* गुग°; *dele* स्मय.° L. 20, read प्रथमसं°. L. 21, *dele* प° in the beginning of the line; read °तिशयः; °नेकशास्त्र°.

VALABHÎ GRANT OF ŚILÂDITYA [illegible] —1st PLATE

[illegible] OF ORIGINAL SIZE

VALABHÎ GRANT OF ŚÎLÂDITYA V.— 2nd PLATE

(22) लोकचरितगव्हरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृतृमप्रश्रयोपि विनयशोवाविभूषणः समरशतजयपाताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्र-*

(23) बाहुदण्डविध्वंसितप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनंदितशासनः **परममा-**

(24) **हेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः** तस्यानुजः तत्पादानुध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयित सकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुःसाधनामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्त्तिमानिव

(25) पुरुषाकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिः मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलाप कान्तितिरस्कृतसलांच्छनकुमु-

(26) दनाय प्राज्यप्रतापास्थगितदिगंतराल प्रध्वसितध्वान्तराशिः सततोदित सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन माग-

(27) मपरिपूर्णं विदधान संधिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुण स्थानमनुपादेशं ददतं गुणवृद्धिविधाजनितसंस्कारासाधूनां राज्यशालातुरीयं त-

(28) न्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृतिविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रश्रमी स्थिरसौहार्द्दोपि निरसितादोषदोषवतामुद-

(29) यसमुपजनितजनानुरागपरिवृंहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथित **बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परमेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः** तस्य सुतः तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणि-

(30) कषणजनितहारिणलांच्छनललाटचंद्रशकल शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौतिकालंकारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेष प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्ता-

(31) विंदः व्यास इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमंदीकृतानन्दविधिः वसुंधरायाः कार्मुकेव धनुर्व्वेद इव सभाविताग्प्रलक्ष्यकलाप प्रणतसमस्तसामन-

(32) मण्डलोपमोलिभृतचूडामणिक्रियमनशासनः **परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्चक्रवर्त्तश्रीधरसेनः**

(33) तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्री**शीलादित्यस्य** शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाग्रजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयव.. रतिधवलेया तत्पादारविंदप्रवत.......

(34) चरणनखमणिरुचा मंदाकिन्येव नित्यमलितोत्तमांगदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेर्दाक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्रवलधव-

(35) लिम्रा ययशसां वलयेन मंडितककुभा नवसिविरलिताशेषाखंडपरि-

(36) वेशमंडलस्या-

Plate II.

(1) पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुकरुचिसमाविन्ध्यस्तस्तनयुगायाः क्षितेः पत्युः **श्रीदेरभटस्याग्रजः** क्षितिसहतेर्भुविभा— — —स्यशुचियशाशुकभृतः स्वयंवरा[ि]शशल[राज्य]-†

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* L. 22, read वृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभा ; पताका°. Line 23, read स्वधनुःप्र° ; परममा°. L. 24, read °दुःसाधाना°. L. 25, read °वृत्तिभिः. कलापः. L. 26, read नाथः; प्रताप°; तरालः; प्रध्वंसित°, सततोदितः; °नुबन्धन°. L. 27, read विदधानः ; स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गु°; विधानजनित°; °तुरीयत°. L. 28, read प्रशमी; *dele* first दोष°. L. 29, read परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनः. L. 30, read जनितकिणलां°: शकल : मौक्तिका°; विशेष :. L. 31, read रविंदः ; सामन्त°. कन्याया इव ; कार्मुके ध°; संभाविताशेषल°; कलापः. L. 32, read मंडलाग्रमौलिधृत ; मर्णि...माण°; परममाहेश्वरः; °रचक्रवर्तिश्री°. L. 33, read वार्ङ्गजन्... The two dots on the plate indicate that after °वयव s... syllables have been left out. Probably the engraver could not read his manuscript. Read धवलया; °भक्तिचया. L. 34, read नित्यममलि°. L. 35, read °म्नायशसां; नभसि; विदि...खंड°;.

† Line 1, read र्चारसन्यविंध्यस्तन°; र...ङ्गजः क्षितिपसंहतेरनुरागिण्याः; स्वयंवरमालामिव.

(2) श्रियमर्प्ययन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्य्यप्रतिहतप्रतगदरपवसिप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाग्रमिवालंबमानं शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिलीमुखबाणासना [पादित] प्रसा-‡

(3) धनावा पराभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहणः पूर्वमेव विविधवर्णोज्वलनश्रुतातिशिनोद्भासितश्रवणयुगलः पुनः पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालंकार-

(4) णालङ्कृतश्रोत्रः परिस्फुरत्करकसकटकीटपक्षतनुकिरणमविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनिवहावसकविसलन्नवशैवलांकु-मिवाग्रपाणमु[द्व-]

(5) हन्धृतविशालरत्नवलनाजलधिवेलातटायमानजपरिष्वतविश्वंवरः परममाहेश्वरश्रीध्रुवसेनः तस्याग्रजो परममहीपतिस्पर्द्धादोः

(6) पनाशनधियेव लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमाश्लष्टाङ्गयष्टरतिरुचिरतरचारितगारिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरतिप्रकृष्टानुरागसरभ-

(7) सवजीकृतप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमयूखखदित चरणकमलयुगलः प्रोद्दामदारदोर्द्दण्डदलितद्विषद्वर्गदर्प्पः प्रसर्प्पत्पटीयः प्रताप-

(8) प्लोषःताशेषशत्रुवँशः प्रणयीपक्षनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरितगदोक्षिप्तसुदर्शनचारः परिहृतबालेक्रीडोनद्धः कृतदिजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितधरित्रीतलोन-

(9) ङ्गीकृतजलशय्योपूर्व्वपुरुसोत्तमः साक्षाद्धर्म्म इव सम्यग्व्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्व्वैरप्युर्वीपतिभिः तृष्णालवलुब्धैर्य्यान्यपहृतानि देवब्रह्मदेयानि

(10) तेषामप्यतिसकलमनःप्रसरमुत्संकलानानुमादनाभ्यां परिमुदिततृभुवनाभनन्दितोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्टधवलधर्म्मध्वजप्रकाशितनिजवंशो देवद्विजगुरू-

(11) न्प्रति यथार्हमनवरतप्रवर्त्तितमः होद्गङ्गादिदान व्यसनानुपजातसतापोपात्तोदारकीर्त्ती . परादन्तुरितनिखिलदिक्चक्रवालः स्पष्टमेव यथार्थं

(12) धर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुदपण्डश्रीविकासिन्यां कलापावतश्चन्द्रिकयेव कर्त्या धवलितसकलदिङ्मं-

(13) डलस्य खण्डितागुरुविलेपनपिंडश्यामलविन्ध्यमालाविपुलययोधरायाः क्षितेः पत्युः श्रीशीलादित्यस्य सूनुर्नवप्रालयकिरण इव प्रतिदिनसं-

(14) वर्धमानकलाचन्द्रवालः केसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीसकलवनस्थलीमिवालंकुर्व्वाणः शिखण्डिकेतन इवद्विचतां परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-

(15) रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशालादित्यदेवः तस्यः सुतः पारमेश्वर्य्यं कोपा-

(16) कृष्टनिस्त्रंशपातविदलितारातिकरिकुम्भस्थलोल्लसत्प्रसृतमहाप्रतापानलप्रपरिगतजगनंण्डललब्धस्थितिः विकटनिजदोर्द्दण्डावलंबिना सक..

‡ L. 2, read °प्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्र°. L. 3, read धवानां°; तिशयं°. L. 4, read कटकनिकट°; पक्षत्न°; the *u* belonging to *bhuja* in the lower line has got into the upper, whence it appears that the engraver copied from a MS. सेक°. L. 5, read वलयजलधि°; भुजपरिष्वक्त°; विश्वंभरः; स्पर्शदो°. L. 6, read षनाशन°; माश्लिष्टांगयष्टि°. L. 7, read वशीकृत°; स्थगितचरण°; प्रोद्दामोदार. L. 8, read प्लोषिता°; प्रणयि° बाल°; चक्रः; नधः. L. 9, read पुरुषोत्तमः; इवसम्य°; तृगल°. L. 10, read° सरलमनः; °मोदनाभ्यां; त्रिभुवना°. L. 11, read महाद्भुग°; सन्तापं; कीर्त्ति; the dot on the plate indicates the omission of four syllables. L. 12, read सिन्या; कलाव; कान्त्या. L. 13, read °गुरु°; शैल° पयो°. °प्रालय°. L. 14, read चक्रवालः; राजलक्ष्मीमचलव°; after °केतनइव a whole line has been omitted. L. 15, all other plates have बावपादा°; after सुतः two lines have been omitted Read पारमेश्वर्यः. L. 16, read निस्त्रिंश°; प्राकारपरि°; जगन्मण्डल°.

(17) लभुवनाभोगभाजा मन्थास्फालिनविधुतदुग्धसिन्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डुरयशोवितानेन पिहितातपत्रः **परमेश्वरः परभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजपरम**-§

(18) **श्वरश्रीवप्पपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेपः** तत्पुत्रः प्रतापानुरागप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचूडामणिमयू-

(19) खनिचितरंजितपादारविन्दः **परमश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीला**-

(20) **दित्यदेवः** तस्यात्मजः प्रशमिताशषवलदर्प्पो विपुलजयमगलाश्रयः श्रीसमालिङ्गनलालितवक्षा समपाढनारसिङ्घविग्रहोर्ज्जिताद्भुति-

(21) शक्तिः समुद्धतविपक्षभूभृन्निखिलगोमण्डलारत्यः पुरूषोत्तमः पणतप्रभूतपार्थिवकरीटमाणिक्यमसृणितचरणनखमयूकजिताशेषदि-

(22) ग्वधूमुखः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधराजपरमश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीशीलादित्यदे**-

(23) वः सर्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धय ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलावाप्यर्थं ङहकवास्तव्यतचातुर्विद्यसा-

(24) मान्यपाराशरसगोत्रायाथर्व्वणसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसंभुलाय ब्राह्मणडाटल्लपुत्राय बलिचरूकवैश्वदेवाग्नहोत्रक्रतुक्रियान्युत्सर्प्पिणार्थं

(25) सूर्यापुरविसये वप्पोइकानदीताहे वहुअबटकग्रामः सोदृङ्गः सपरिकरः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकाः सभूतपातः सप्रत्युन्दयः-

(26) सदशाकरराधः सभोगभोगः सधान्यहिरण्याणयः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः भूमिच्छिददेवब्रह्मदायव — —

(27) भूमिपद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवसरित्क्षितिपर्व्वतसमकालीन पुत्रिकापौत्रान्वयभोग्यमुदकातिसर्ग्गेण-ब्रहदायत्वेन

(28) प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतोराप्रतिमिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्याषाध वर्त्तत-

(29) व्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मिस्मद्वंशजरन्यैर्व्वानित्यान्यश्वर्य्याणस्थिरमानुष्यक सामान्यं च भूमिदायफ-

(30) लमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायानुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च ।। उक्तं च बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्यय-

(31) स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फल ।। यानीह दारिद्रभयानरेन्द्रैर्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि निमाल्य-

(32) वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनमाददीत ।। षाष्टिर्वर्षसिहस्राणं स्वर्गे तिष्ठ-

(33) ति भूमिदः आच्छोत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ।। दूतकोत्र गाञ्जशातिश्रीजज्जुः

(34) लिखितंमिपं लम्पथतरूरन सश्यगुप्तेनेति ।। संवत् ४४१ **ᱜᱜᱜ** कार्त्तिक श्र-
ज (8) (३४) **स्वहस्तो मम.**

§ L. 17, read स्फालन°; परममाहेश्वरः परमभ° परमे. L. 18, read °देवः. L. 19, read परममाहेश्वरः; परमेश्वरः. L. 20, read प्रशमिताशेषबलदर्पो; °मंगल° °वक्षाः समुपाढनारसिंहविग्रहो-र्जिताद्भुत. L. 21, read °लारक्षः प्रणत; °किरीट;—मयूखा. L. 22, read महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर°. L. 23, read वाप्त्यर्थं. L. 24, read ग्निहोत्र; त्सर्पणार्थं. L. 25, सूर्या doubtful. वप्पोइका, first two letters may be वर्चा; ताहे perhaps intended for तटे or कांठे; read विष्टिकः; सभूतवा-तप्रत्यायः. L. 26, read सदशापराधः; रण्यादेयः; भूमिच्छिद्रन्या-येन. L. 27. The beginning of this, like the end of the last line, consists merely of detached strokes. Read °समका-लीनः ब्रह्म°. L. 28, read वा प्रतिदिशतो; द्व्यासेधे वर्तित.° L. 29, read रस्मद्वंशजैर°; न्यैश्वर्याण्य°; मानुष्यकं. L. 30, read °द्दायो°. L. 31, read निर्मा°. L. 32. read पुनरा; सहस्राणि. L. 33, perhaps गञ्जपति. L. 34, read °तमिदं — — सूनुना शशिगुप्तेनेति.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

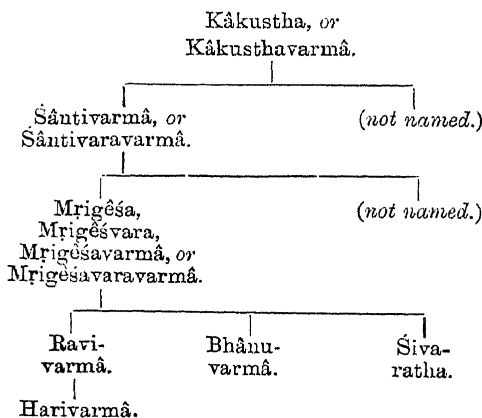
(*Continued from vol. V. p. 345.*)

No. XX.

This and the following six copper-plate inscriptions have been previously published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., No. xxvii., pp. 229 *et seqq.* I now give revised transcriptions of them, with full translations.

The originals, which now belong to myself, were found some sixteen years ago in a mound of earth close to a small well called Chakratîrtha, a short distance outside Halsi on the road to Nandigaḍ, in the Bîḍi Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. They are all in the Cave-alphabet characters not yet developed into the Old Canarese characters, and in the Sanskṛit language.

They record the grants of an old dynasty of Kadamba kings, and, in connexion with three more recently discovered copper-charters noticed below, they establish the following genealogy:—



This dynasty is known as yet only from the present inscriptions, though other branches of the Kadamba stock have been noticed by Sir W. Elliot and by myself. Kâkusthavarmâ was probably the first of the family to enjoy regal power; but, as allusion is made in lines 4-5 of the first of these inscriptions to an era dating from some victory over a hostile dynasty that took place eighty years before his time, the way must have been prepared for him by his father or grandfather. These kings were of the Jain religion. Their capital was Palâśikâ,—the modern Halsi itself*; but we have also the mention of the city of Vaijayantî, or the modern Banawâsi, as a residence of Mṛigêśa.

The exact date of these kings cannot be determined at present, no reference to any known era being made in these inscriptions. But the type of the alphabet, and the contemporaneous allusions, enable us to allot them with tolerable certainty to about the fifth century A.D., and to decide that these must be the Kadambas whose power the Châlukya king Kîrttivarmâ I. is said, in lines 4 and 5 of the Aihoḷe inscription, No. XIII.† of this series, to have overthrown.

The application of the term 'Pausha year to the third year of Mṛigêśa's reign in one of the Dhârwâḍ plates, and of the term 'Vaiśâkha year' to the eighth year of his reign in No. XXI. below,—and the mention of the *eighth* fortnight of the rainy season in one of Mṛigêśa's grants from Dhârwâḍ, and of the *sixth* fortnight of the winter season in No. XXIII. below, indicating that, at the time of these grants, the primitive division of the year into three seasons only, not into six as now, was still followed,—probably contain the clue, which will enable us hereafter to determine the exact date of these kings with accuracy.

As I have intimated, three more copper-charters of the same dynasty were found about a year ago in the Dhârwâḍ District. When I can see the originals, I hope to include them in this series. Meanwhile, I have seen transcriptions and translations of them by Mr. Pâṇḍuraṅg Veṅkaṭêś Chintâmaṇpêṭkar, of the Educational Department. Two of them are dated in the third and fourth years respectively of Mṛigêśa of the above table, or as he is called in these plates, Mṛigêśavaravarmâ or Mṛigêśavarmâ, and are issued at the city of Vaijayantî. We learn from one of them, that the Kadambas were of the

* An Old Canarese '*p*' is frequently changed into '*h*' in the modern dialect. As intermediate forms of the name, we have Palasikâ (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., No. xxvii., p. 243, line 10), Palasige (*id.*, p. 297, line 2), and Palaśî (*id.*, p. 279, line 11). Under the later Kâdambas, feudatories of the Châlukya kings, Palasige was the chief town of a district of twelve thousand villages.

† Vol. V. p. 67.

KADAMBA GRANT OF KÂKUSTHAVARMMÂ.

I

IIa

IIb

III

Â ṅ g i r a s a *gôtra*. The third is of the time of D ê v a v a r m â, the son and *Yuvarâja* of the K a d a m b a *Mahârâja* K ṛ i s h ṇ a v a r m â, and is issued at (the city of) T r i p a r v a t a. There is nothing at all in this inscription to indicate the date of K ṛ i s h ṇ a v a r m â and D ê v a v a r m â, or the place to which they should be referred in the above genealogy. There can be little doubt, however, that they belong to this same branch of the K a d a m b a stock; rather than to the other branch, of which the genealogy, commencing with M a y û r a v a r m a d ê v a, followed by his son K ṛ i s h ṇ a v a r m a d ê v a, followed by his son N â g a v a r m a d ê v a, and so on, is given by Sir W. Elliot. And, equally, there can be little doubt that this same K ṛ i s h ṇ a v a r m â is the K a d a m b a king who is mentioned in Mr. Rice's M e r k a r a and N â g a m a ṇ ḍ a l a copper-plates, and whose sister married the C h ê r a king M â d h a v a II. The M e r k a r a plate‡ being dated (? Ś a k a) 388, in the time of the son of M â d h a v a II., and the N â g a m a ṇ ḍ a l a plate§ being dated Ś a k a 699, in the time of K o ṅ g a ṇ i-M a h â d h i r â j a, who was subsequent to M â d h a v a II. by nine generations,—we have about Ś a k a 360 (A.D. 438-9) as the date of K ṛ i s h ṇ a v a r m â. This will make him and his son anterior to K â k u s t h a v a r m â and his successors, according to the estimate that I have formed of the date of the latter.

The present inscription, No. XX., the earliest of the set, is the smallest and most illegible; in some places the plates have been completely eaten through with rust. It consists of three plates, about 6¾″ long by 1⅝″ broad, fastened together with a ring, the seal of which bears the figure of apparently a dog. The inscription, in this and the remaining six cases, begins on the *inside* of the first plate and ends on the *inside* of the last plate. It records the grant of a field at the village of K h ê ṭ a g r â m a to the General Ś r u t a k î r t t i by K â k u s t h a v a r m â, the K a d a m b a *Yuvarâja*.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] नमः ॥ जयति भगवाञ्जिनेन्द्रो गुणरुन्द्रः¶ प्र[थि]त[परम*]कारुणिकः
[2] त्रैलोक्याश्वासकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥ परम-
[3] श्रीविजयपलाशिकायाम् प्रजासाधारणा[शा]नाम् ॥†

Second plate; first side.

[4] कदम्बानाम् युवराजः श्रीकाकुस्थवर्म्मा स्ववैजयिके अशीतितमे
[5] संवत्सरे भगवतामर्हताम् सर्व्वभूतशरण्यानाम् त्रैलोक्यनिस्तार-
[6] काणाम् खेटग्रामे बदोवरक्षेत्र[म्] श्रुतकीर्ति(र्त्ति)सेनापतये ॥‡‡

Second plate; second side.

[7] आत्मनस्तारणार्त्थम् दत्तवा[न्] [॥] तद्यो [हि]नस्ति स्ववंश्यः [प]रवंश्यो वा
[8] स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवती(ति) [।] यो भिरक्षती(ति) तस्य सत्यर्व्व§§गु-
[9] णपुण्यावाप्तिः [॥] अपि चोक्तम् [।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता ॥¶¶

Third plate.

[10] [रा]जभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य य[दा भू]मिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥]
[11] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टिवर्षसहस्र(स्रा)णी(णि)
[12] नरके पच्यते तु सः ॥ नमो नमः [॥] ऋषभाय नमः ॥

‡ Vol. I., p. 363. § Vol. II., p. 155.

¶ Contrary to the rule of these seven plates, the original here has the *visarga* itself, and not the *upadhmânîya*.

* These three syllables are omitted altogether in the original; but they are required to make up both the metre and the sense.

† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

‡‡ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.

§§ The corrected reading must be either *sarvva-guṇa, &c.*, omitting the *tya* as inserted by mistake, or *satya[m sa]rvva-guṇa, &c.*

¶¶ This mark of punctuation, also, is superfluous.

Translation.

Reverence! Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra*, who abounds in† good qualities, and who is renowned as being extremely compassionate; the banner of his tenderness, which comforts the three worlds, is lifted up on high!

At the most glorious and victorious (city of) Palâśikâ, in the eightieth year of his victory, Śrî-Kâkusthavarmâ‡, —the Yuvarâja of the Kadambas, who enjoy the general good wishes of their subjects,—gave to the General Śrutakîrtti, as a reward for saving himself, the field called Badôvarakshêtra, in the village of Khêṭagrâma, which belongs to the holy Arhats§, who are the refuge of created beings and the saviours of the three worlds.

He incurs the guilt of the five great sins||, who injures this grant, whether he is born in his own¶ lineage or in the lineage of another; he, who preserves it, shall verily obtain the religious merit of all virtuous qualities! Moreover it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruit of it! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, who seizes upon land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Reverence; reverence! Reverence to Ṛishabha!*

No. XXI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about 8″ long by 2⅜″ broad, fastened by a ring, the seal of which bears the name of 'Śrî-Mṛigêśvaraḥ.' It records how Mṛigêśa caused a Jain temple to be built at Palâśikâ, and endowed it with a grant of land, in the eighth year of his reign.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [।।] जयति भगवान्जि(ञ्जि)नेन्द्रो गुणरुन्द्रः प्रथितपरमकारुणिकः त्रैलोक्याश्वासकरी
[2] दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य [।।] कदम्बकुलसत्केतोः हेतोः पुण्यैकसं-
[3] पदाम् श्रीकाकुस्थनरेन्द्रस्य सूनुर्भानुरिवापरः [।।] श्रीशान्तिवर-
[4] वर्म्मेति राजा राजीवलोचनः खलेव वनिताकृष्टा

Second plate; first side.

[5] येन लक्ष्मीर्द्विषद्गृहात् [।।] तत्प्रियज्येष्ठतनयः श्रीमृगेशनराधिपः
[6] लोकैकधर्म्मविजयी द्विजसामन्तपूजितः [।।] मत्वा दानं दरिद्राणाम्
[7] महाफलमितीव यः स्वयं भयदरिद्रा(द्रो) पि शत्रुभ्यो दाग्रहाभयम् [।।]
[8] तुङ्गगङ्गकुलोत्सादी पल्लवप्रलयानलः स्वार्य्यके नृपतौ भक्त्या

Second plate; second side.

[9] कारयित्वा जिनालयम् [।।] श्रीविजयपलाशिकायाम् यापनि(नी)यनिर्ग्रन्थकूर्च्च-
[10] कानाम् स्ववैजयिके अष्टमे वैशाखे संवत्सरे कार्त्तिकपौर्ण्णमास्याम्
[11] मातृसरित आरभ्य आ इङ्गिणीसङ्गमात् राजमानेन त्रयो(य)त्रि(स्त्रिं)शं† न्निवर्त्तनं
[12] श्रीविजयवैजयन्तीनिवासी दत्तवान् भगवद्भ्यो र्हद्भ्यः [।] तत्राज्ञाप्ति:

* Jinêndra,—a Jain saint, a Buddha.

† '*Rundra*';—see vol. IV., p. 204, note §. '*Guṇa-rundra*' is evidently equivalent to '*guṇa-mahat*,' which, though it is not an expression of frequent occurrence, we have had in No. XV. of this series, line 6, vol. V., p. 155.

‡ The classical spelling would be 'Kâkutsthavarmâ'; but 'Kâkustha' is manifestly an established corruption of 'Kâkutstha.'

§ '*Arhat*,'—lit., *venerable*,—a superior Jain saint or divinity.

|| Viz.,—among the Jains,—destruction of life, lying, stealing, unchastity, and immoderate desire.

¶ *Sc.* 'the donor's.'

* The first *Arhat*, the first of the twenty-four Jain *Tîrthaṁkaras* or sanctified teachers, of the present age.

† With this method of expressing the nasal,—properly *Anusvâra* here,—compare *Jayasiṁhavallabhaḥ* in line 3 of the Aihole Inscription, No. XIII. of this series, vol. V., p. 69, and *Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṅ=Hâritî-putrâṇâm* in line 1 of the Bâdâmi Cave Inscription, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III., p. 305, and *Siṁha-sênâpati-sutêna* in lines 8-9 of No. XXV. of this series, and *vaṁśa* in Pl. I., line 3, of a Châlukya grant, published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X., No. xxx., p. 348, by Mr. K. T. Têlang.

KADAMBA GRANT OF MṚIGÊŚA.

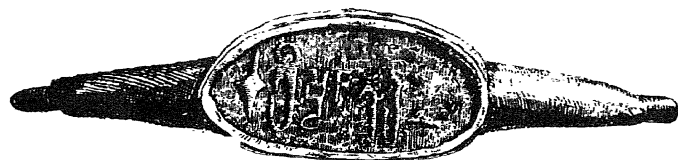
I.

IIa.

IIb.

III.

FROM THE ORIGINALS.



Third plate.

[13] दामकीर्त्तिभोजकः जियन्तश्चायुक्तकः सर्व्वस्यानुष्ठाता इति [||] अपि च

[14] उक्तम् [|] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा

[15] भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [||] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वाम(वा) यो हरेत वसु-

[16] न्धराम् षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि कुम्भीपाके स पच्यते [||] सिद्धिरस्तु ||

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

The son of the king Śrî-Kâkustha, who was the glory of the family of the Kadambas on account of his riches which consisted entirely of meritorious actions, was the king Śrî-Śântivaravarmâ, who was, as it were, a second sun, and whose eyes were like the blue lotus-flower; as if she were a woman of easy virtue, the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies was enticed by him from their abodes.

His beloved eldest son was the king Śrî-Mṛigêśa, who was most eminent in piety among all mankind, and who was worshipped by the twice-born and by chieftains. Having reflected upon the saying that "The gifts of the poor have a rich reward," he, though poor himself in the sensation of fear, gave great fear to his enemies.

On the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, in the Vaiśâkha year‡, the eighth of his victory, he,—who uprooted the family of Tuṅgagaṅga, and who was a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas,—while residing at the glorious and victorious (*city of*) Vaijayantî§, through devotion for the king (his father) who was dead, caused to be built a temple of Jina at the glorious and victorious (city of) Palâśikâ, and gave to the holy Arhats thirty-three *nivartanas* (of land), from the river Mâtṛisarit up to the sacred confluence of rivers called Iṅgiṇîsaṁgama, for the purpose of supporting the Kûrchakas||, who are naked religious mendicants. The specification (of the principal grantees) was:—Dâmakîrtti, the *Bhôjaka*¶; and Jiyanta, the minister and the general superintendent.*

Moreover it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; &c.! He is tormented in the hell called Kumbhîpâka for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! May there be success!

No. XXII.

This inscription consists of five plates, about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $2\frac{1}{4}''$ broad; the device on the seal of the ring is almost entirely worn away, but seems to have been the same as the dog on the seal of No. XX. It records grants and ordinances, for the celebration of the Jain religion, made by Ravivarmâ and others.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] जयति भगवाञ्जिनेन्द्रो गुणरुन्द्रः प्रथितपरमकारुणिकः त्रैलोक्या-

[2] श्वासकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य || स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानु-

[3] द्ध्या(ध्या)तानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिकृतस्वाद्ध्या(ध्या)यच[र्चा]-

‡ The meaning of this expression 'Vaiśâkha year' is not apparent, 'Vaiśâkha' being the name of a month, and not of any of the sixty *saṁvatsaras*. Vaiśâkha was not originally the initial month of the solar year. Perhaps at the time of this inscription it was usual to speak of each year as a 'Vaiśâkha year,' in order to bring constantly to notice, and so to firmly establish, a method of computation that had been only newly introduced. Or it may even be that the year in which this grant was made was the first the initial month of which was Vaiśâkha; and, if so, it would follow, from the table given at p. 149 of the *Useful Tables* of vol. II. of Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*, that the date of this inscription was A.D. 538. As noted in my remarks above, the contemporary historical allusions, and the style of the alphabet, point to about this time as the date of Kâkusthavarmâ and his successors. Curiously enough, I find that in one of the plates from Dhârwâḍ the third year of Mṛigêśa's reign is called in a similar way a 'Pausha year.' But, by the *Useful Tables*, the year commenced with the month Pausha in B.C. 451!

§ Another form of 'Jayantîpura', an old name of Vanavâsî, modern Banawâsi, which was always a Kadamba capital.

|| Apparently some Jain sect; they are mentioned again in No. XXV., line 12.

¶ '*Bhôjaka*', name of a class of officiating priests in Jain temples; in No. XXII., line 6, we have again '*Bhôja*,' and in No. XVIII., line 11, '*Bhôjaka*.'

* Conf. the amended reading and translation of No. XVIII., ll. 10-11, as notified in the *Errata* to vol. V.

Second plate ; first side.

[4] पारगाणाम् स्वकृतपुण्यफलोपभोक्तृणां(णा)म् स्वबाहुवीर्य्योपार्ज्जि-
[5] तैश्वर्य्यभोगभागिनाम् सद्धर्म्मसदम्बानां कदम्बानाम् ॥ काकुस्थ-
[6] वर्म्मनृपलब्धमहाप्रसादं:(दः) संभुक्तवान्हुतनिधिश्श्रुतकीर्त्तिभोजः

Second plate ; second side.

[7] ग्रामं पुरा नृषु वरऽपुरुपुण्यभागी खेटाह्वकं यजनदानदयो-
[8] पपन्नः ॥ तस्मिन्स्वर्य्याते शान्तिवर्म्मावनीशः मात्रे धर्म्मार्त्थं दत्तवान्दा-
[9] मकीर्त्तेः भूमौ विख्यातस्तत्सुतश्श्रीमृगेशः पित्रानुज्ञातं धार्म्मिको दान-

Third plate ; first side.

[10] मेव ॥ श्रीदामकीर्त्तिरुरुपुण्यकीर्त्तेः सद्धर्म्ममार्ग्गास्थितशुद्धबुद्धेः ज्याया-
[11] न्सुतो धर्म्मपरो यशस्वी विशुद्धबुद्ध्या(द्ध्य)ङ्गयुतो गुणाढ्यः ॥ आचार्य्यैर्बन्धु-
[12] षेणाद्वैः निमित्तज्ञानपारगैः स्थापितो भुवि यद्वंशः श्रीकीर्त्ति-
[13] कुलवृद्धये [॥] तत्प्रसादेन लब्धश्रीः दानपूजाक्रियोद्यतः गुरु-

Third plate ; second side.

[14] भक्तो विनीतात्मा परात्महितकाम्यया ॥ जयकीर्त्तिप्रतीहारऽप्रसादान्नृप-
[15] ते रवेः पुण्यार्त्थं स्वपितुर्म्मात्रे दत्तवान्पुरुखेटकं ॥ जिनेन्द्रमहिमा
[16] कार्य्या प्रतिसंवत्सरं क्रमात् अष्टाहकृतमर्य्यादा कार्त्तिक्यान्तद्धना-
[17] गमात् ॥ वार्षिकांश्चतुरो मासान् यापनीयास्तपस्विनः भु[ञ्जीरंस्तु]

Fourth plate ; first side.

[18] यथान्याय्यम् महिमाशेषवस्तुकम् [॥] कुमारदत्तप्रमुखा हि सूरयः
[19] अनेकशास्त्रागमखिन्नबुद्धयः जगत्यतीतास्सुतपोधनान्विताः गणो
[20] स्य तेषां भवति प्रमाणतः ॥ धर्म्मप्सुभिर्ज्जानपदैस्सनागरैः
[21] जिनेन्द्रपूजा सततं प्रणेया इति स्थितिं स्थापितवान्नवीशः पला[शिका]-

Fourth plate ; second side.

[22] यां नगरे विशाले ॥ स्थित्यानया पूर्व्वनृपानुजुष्टया यत्ताम्रपत्रेषु नि-
[23] बद्धमादौ धर्म्माप्रमत्तेन नृपेण रक्ष्यं संसारदोषं प्रविचार्य्य
[24] बुद्ध्या [॥] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य
[25] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत

Fifth plate.

[26] वसुन्धरां षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते भृशम् ॥ अद्भिर्द्दत्तं त्रिभि-
[27] र्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितम् एतानि न निवर्त्तन्ते पूर्व्वराजकृतानि च [॥]
[28] यस्मिञ्जिनेंद्रपूजा प्रवर्त्तते तत्र तत्र देशपरिवृद्धिः
[29] नगराणां निर्भयता तद्देशस्वामिनाञ्चोर्ज्जा ॥ नमो नमः [॥]

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMÂ.

I.

IIa.

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMÂ.

IIb.

IIIa.

IIIb.

IVa.

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING RAVIVARMÂ.

IVb.

V.

Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

In former times the *Bhôja* priest Śrutakîrtti, the best among men, who was the receptacle of sacred learning, who enjoyed the rewards of many meritorious actions, and who was possessed of the qualities of performing sacrifices and bestowing gifts and tenderness,—he who had acquired the great favour of Kâkusthavarmâ, the king of the Kadambas, who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers† of the lord Mahâsêna; who are of the kindred of Mânavya; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who are thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted; who enjoy the rewards of meritorious actions performed by themselves; who partake of the enjoyment of the riches acquired by the prowess of their own arms; and who are the abiding-places of the true religion,—enjoyed the village of Khêṭa.

When he died, (*there was*) the king Śântivarmâ‡; and his son, the pious Śrî-Mṛigêśa, who was renowned in the world, gave the grant (*again*), for the sake of piety, and according to the direction of his father, to the mother of Dâmakîrtti.

The eldest son of Śrî-Dâmakîrtti, who was widely renowned for his meritorious actions, and whose pure intellect adhered to the path of true religion, was the doorkeeper Jayakîrtti,—who was intent upon religion; who was famous; who was possessed of a pure intellect and limbs; who was first in good qualities; whose family had been established in the world by the *Âchâryas* called Bandhushêṇa, who were versed in the knowledge of omens; who had acquired fortune through his§ favour; who was diligent in the rites of charity and worship; who was devoted to his spiritual preceptor; and who was well-behaved through his desire for the welfare of others and of himself. In order to increase his good fortune and fame and family, and for the sake of religious merit, he, through the favour of king Ravi, gave (*the village of*) Purukhêṭaka|| to the mother of his own father.

The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palâśikâ, that the glory of Jinêndra, (*the festival of*) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika from the revenues of that (*village*); that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumâradatta,—whose intellects had been wearied by (*excessive study of*) many scriptures and collections of precepts; who were renowned in the world; who abounded in good penances; and whose sect was his authority for what he did,—should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness; and that the worship of Jinêndra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.

That (*land &c.*,)—which has been conveyed by copper charters under that same ordinance, as accepted by previous kings,—should be preserved by the king, not inattentive to religion, having pondered over the misfortune of being born again and again (*if he does not comply with this command*)! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; &c.! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! That (*grant*) which is bestowed with libations of water, and that which is enjoyed by three¶ (*generations*), and that which is preserved by good people*,—these are not resumed; and also (*grants*) that have been made by former kings! Wheresoever the worship of Jinêndra is kept up, there there is increase of the country, and the cities are free from fear, and the lords of those countries acquire strength! Reverence, reverence!

No. XXIII.

This inscription consists of three plates, about

† The six Kṛittikâs, the Pleiades, who nursed Mahâsêna, Skanda, or Kârttikêya, the god of war; hence one of the names of Kârttikêya is Shâṇmâtura, 'he who had six mothers.' This and the following two expressions are also Châlukya titles.

‡ Objection may be taken here and there to my rendering of the middle portion of this inscription. But the construction is very obscure and bad. In the present passage, for instance, if we connect the verb '*dattavân*' with '*Śântivarmâ*' as the subject, no verb remains or can be supplied of which '*Mṛigêśa*' can be made the subject.

§ Either Mṛigêśa's, or Ravi's.

|| *Sc.* 'the larger Khêṭaka or Khêṭa.'

¶ The '*tribhôga*' is referred to here; see vol. IV., p. 277, note ¶.

* I notice that, instead of the present reading '*sadbhiś=cha paripâlitam*', which is quite distinct, Mr. Rice, in the last two lines of the second Chêra grant published by him in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. V., p. 139, reads '*shadbhiś=cha paripâlitam*', and translates 'one' (*i.e.* a grant) 'maintained for six generations.'

5⅝″ long by 2″ broad; the characters on the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together are too much worn to be legible. It records a grant made by Bhânuvarmâ, and another by a follower or subordinate of his, in the eleventh year of the reign of his elder brother Ravivarmâ. It is dated in the *sixth* fortnight of the winter season. These inscriptions, therefore, as I have already intimated, belong to a time at which the primitive division of the year,—into three seasons only, Summer, the Rains, and Winter, each of eight *pakshas* or fortnights, instead of into six seasons, each of four fortnights, as is now the practice,—was still followed; and this should enable us hereafter to determine the era of these grants with accuracy.

I observe that the same division of the year into three seasons only is followed in the Nâsik Cave-inscriptions, a paper on which, by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, is published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists of* 1874. Thus, No. 27, at p. 338, runs 'Sidhaṁ raṇṇô Vâsaṭhi-putasa sara-Paḍumayasa savachharê chha(?)ṭhê 6 Gima-pakhê pachaṁ[ê] 5 divasê',—and is translated "To the Perfect One. In the sixth year of the King, the prosperous Paḍumaya, the son of Vâsishṭhî, in the . . . . . . fortnight of Grîshma,* on the fifth (?) day." But the analogy of the expressions containing the dates of the other inscriptions of the same series shows that the word and numeral 'pachamê 5' belong to 'Gima-pakhê' and not to 'divasê', and that the word and numeral denoting the day stood *after* 'divasê' and have been effaced. Accordingly, the date of it is "In the sixth year * * * * * , in the fifth fortnight of the summer season, on the . . . . . . day." No. 25, again, at page 319,—in line 6 of which the Professor reads 'Vasâ-pakhê 4(?) divasê . . . . ',—is possibly dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth fortnight of the Rains.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति ॥ जयति भगवाञ्जिनेन्द्रो गुणरुन्द्रःऽप्रथितपरमकारुणिकः
[2] त्रैलोक्याश्व(श्वा)सकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥
[3] श्रीमत्काकुस्थराजप्रियहिततनयश्शान्तिवर्म्मावनीशः
[4] तस्यैव ज्येष्ठसूनुःऽप्रथितपृथुयशाश्श्रीमृगेशो नरेशः ॥(1)

Second plate; first side.

[5] तत्पुत्रो दीप्ततेजा रविनृपतिरभूत्सत्वधैर्य्यार्ज्जितश्रीः
[6] तद्भ्राता भानुवर्म्मा स्वपरहितकरो भाति भूप X कनीयान् ॥
[7] तेनेयं वसुधा दत्ता जिनेभ्यो भु(भू)तिमिच्छता पौर्ण्णम(मा)सीष्वनुच्छिद्य ।†
[8] स्नपनार्त्थं हि सर्व्वदा ॥ पलाशिकायाम् कर्द्दमपल्याम् राजमानेन

Second plate; second side.

[9] पञ्चदशनिवर्त्तना तांम्रशासने भूमिर्न्निबद्धा उञ्छकरभरादि-
[10] विवर्जिता श्रीमद्भानुवर्मराजलब्धपादप्रसादेन पण्डरभो-
[11] जकेन परमार्हद्भक्तेन प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यश्रीरविवर्म्म-
[12] धर्म्ममहाराजस्य एकादशे संवत्सरे हेमन्तषष्ठपक्षे

Third plate.

[13] दशम्याम् तिथौ ॥ तां यो हिनस्ति स्ववंश्यः परवंश्य(श्यो) वा स पञ्चमहा-
[14] पातकसंयुक्तो भवति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिव(र्व)सुधा दत्ता राजभि-
[15] स्सगरादिभि(भिः) यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फ-
[16] लं ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टिवर्षसहस्र(स्रा)णि कुम्भीपाके स पच्य-
[17] ते ॥

† This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

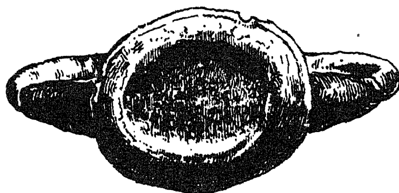
KADAMBA GRANT OF THE REIGN OF RAVIVARMÂ.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III



KADAMBA GRANT OF RAVIVARMÂ.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the holy one, J i n ê n d r a, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

The beloved eldest son of the glorious king K â k u s t h a was king Ś â n t i v a r m â; and his eldest son was the king Ś r î-M ṛ i g ê ś a, who was possessed of renowned and wide-spread fame. His son was the glorious king R a v i, who acquired good fortune by his excellence and fortitude; and his younger brother is king B h â n u v a r m â, who is resplendent, and who effects the welfare of himself and of others.

By him, desirous of prosperity, this land was given to the J i n a s, in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on the days of the full-moon.

Land of the measure of fifteen *nivartanas*, in (*the field called*) K a r d a m a p a ṭ î ‡ at P a l â ś i k â, free from the gleaning-tax and all other burdens, was assigned in a copper charter (*and so was given*), on the tenth lunar day in the sixth § fortnight of the winter season in the eleventh year of the reign of the pious Great King Ś r î-R a v i v a r m â, by the *Bhôjaka* P a ṇ ḍ a r a, the worshipper of the supreme *Arhat*, who had acquired the favour of the feet of the glorious king B h â n u v a r m â.||

He who injures this land, whether he is born in his¶ own lineage or in the lineage of another, incurs the guilt of having committed the five great sins! And it has been said:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with S a g a r a; &c.! He is tormented in the hell called K u m b h î p â k a for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!

No. XXIV.

This inscription consists of three plates, about $5\frac{7}{8}''$ long by $2\frac{1}{8}''$ broad; the seal of the ring that fastens the plates together has the device of a dog, as in the case of Nos. XX. and XXII. It records a grant of land to the god J i n ê n d r a by R a v i v a r m â.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] जयति* भगवाञ्जिनेन्द्रो गुणरुन्द्रः प्रथितपरमकारु-
[2] णिकः त्रैलोक्याश्वासकरी दयापताकोच्छ्रिता यस्य ॥
[3] श्रीविष्णुवर्म्मप्रभृतीन्नरेन्द्रान् निहत्य जित्वा पृथिवीं सम[स्तां]
[4] उत्साद्य काञ्चीश्वरचण्डदण्डम् पलाशिकायां समवस्थितस्सः [॥]

Second plate; first side.

[5] रवि ⅹ कदम्बोरुकुलाम्बरस्य गुणांशुभिर्व्याप्य जगत्सम[स्तं]
[6] मानेन चत्वारि निवर्त्तनानि ददौ जिनेन्द्राय मही(हीम्) महेन्द्रः [॥]
[7] संप्राप्य मातुश्चरणप्रसादं धर्म्मैकमूर्त्तेरपि दामकीर्त्तेः
[8] तत्पुण्यवृद्ध्यर्थमभून्निमित्तम् श्रीकीर्त्तिनामा तु च तत्कनिष्ठः ॥

Second plate; second side.

[9] रागात्प्रमादादथवापि लोभात् यस्तानि हिंस्यादिह भूमि-
[10] पालः आसप्तमं तस्य कुलं कदाचित् नापैति कृत्स्नान्निरयान्निमग्नम् [॥]
[11] तान्येव यो रक्षति पुण्यकां(का)ङ्क्षः स्ववंशजो वा परवंशजो वा
[12] स मोदमानस्सुरसुन्दरीभिः चिरं सदा क्रीडति नाकपृष्ठे ॥

Third plate.

[13] अपि चोक्तं मनुना [।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः
[14] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

‡ '*Paṭi*' is probably for '*paṭṭi*', 'strip, slip', which, in both Canarese and Marâṭhî, is commonly used for 'a strip of land'; '*paṭṭikâ*' is used in the same sense in other inscriptions.

§ According to the present method the year consists of six seasons (*ṛitu*),—Vasanta, spring; Grîshma, the hot weather, or summer; Varshâḥ, the rains; Sarad, autumn; Hêmanta, the cold season, or winter; and Śiśira, the dewy season,—and each season consists of only *four* fortnights (*paksha*).

|| Apparently, then, Ravivarmâ and Bhânuvarmâ were reigning jointly.

¶ *Sc.* 'the donor's.'

* The word '*svasti*' seems to have been engraved before '*jayati*,' but to have been cut off in shaping the plate; so that only part of the second syllable can be seen in the margin.

[15] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्
[16] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि निरये स विपच्यते ॥

Translation.

Victorious is the holy one, Jinêndra, who abounds in good qualities, &c.!

That mighty king, the sun† of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas,—who, having slain Śrî-Vishṇuvarmâ‡ and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and having uprooted Chaṇḍadaṇḍa§, the lord of Kâñchî, had established himself at Palâśikâ,—having pervaded the whole earth with his rays, which were his virtuous qualities, gave four *nivartanas* (*of land*) by measure to Jinêndra, having obtained the favour of the feet of the mother of Dâmakîrtti, who was a very incarnation of religion; the motive that incited him was to increase his religious merit.

And he, who bore the name of Śrî-Kîrtti, was his younger (*brother*)||.

That king who, from envy or negligence or even avarice, injures those (*nivartanas*), his family shall be plunged into hell and shall not escape from it up to the seventh generation; but he, whether born in his¶ own lineage or in the lineage of another, who, being desirous of acquiring religious merit, preserves them, shall disport himself for a long time in heaven with the lovely women of the gods!

Moreover, it has been said by Manu:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; &c.! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!

No. XXV.

This inscription consists of three plates, about $6\frac{3}{8}''$ long by $1\frac{7}{8}''$ broad; the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears apparently the name of 'Śrî-Harivarmâ.' It records the grant of the village of Vasuntavâṭaka, in the district of Suddikundûra, to a Jain sect, by Harivarmâ, in the fourth year of his reign.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्याताभिषिक्तानाम् मानव्यसगो-
[2] त्राणाम् हारितीपुत्राणाम् प्रतिकृतस्वाध्यायचर्च्चिकानाम् कदम्मा(म्बा)ना-
[3] म्महाराजः श्रीहरिव*र्म्मा बहुभवकृतैः पुण्यै राज्यश्रियं निरुपद्रवाम्
[4] प्रकृतिषु हितः प्राप्तो व्याप्तो जगद्यशसाखिलम् श्रुतजलनिधिः वि-
[5] द्यावृद्धप्रदिष्टपथि स्थितः स्वबलकुलिशाघातोच्छिन्नद्विषं(ष)-

Second plate; first side.

[6] द्वसुधाधरः [॥] स्वराज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्थ्थे फाल्गुणशुक्लत्रयोदश्याम् उच्च-
[7] शृङ्ग्याम् सर्व्वजनमनोह्लादनवचनकर्म्मणा स पितृव्येण शिव-
[8] रथनामध(धे)येनोपदिष्टः पलाशिकायाम् भारद्वाजसगोत्रसिंहसेना-
[9] पतिसुतेन मृगेशेन कारितस्यार्हदायतनस्य प्रतिवर्षमाष्टाह्निक-
[10] महामहसततचरूपलेपनक्रियार्त्थं तदवशिष्टं सर्व्वसंघ-

Second plate; second side.

[11] भोजनायेति सुद्दि(?)ळ्कि कुन्दूरविषये वसुन्तवाटकं सर्व्वपरिहारसंयुतं
[12] कूर्च्चकानाम् वारिषेणाचार्य्यसङ्घहस्ते चन्द्रक्षान्तं प्रमुखम्

† The name of Ravi, or Ravivarmâ, the son of Mrigêśa, is introduced here by a play on words, the word used for 'sun' being '*ravi*.'

‡ *Possibly* the Pallava king Vishṇugôpa or Vishṇugôpavarmâ; see vol. V., p. 50, text, and note*.

§ Probably the person of this name who is mentioned in line 10 of the Aihole inscription, No. XIII. of this series.

|| This statement is introduced in a very casual and disconnected way; and it is not at all clear whose younger brother Kîrtti was.

¶ *Sc.* the 'donor's.'

* The original has '*mma*' but partially erased so as to show that '*va*' is intended.

† See note † to line 11 of the text of No. XXI. of this series, p. 24.

KADAMBA GRANT OF HARIVARMÂ.

I

IIa

IIb

III

[13] कृत्वा दत्तवान् [।।] य एनं न्यायतो भिरक्षति स तत्पुण्यफलभाग्भवति [।]
[14] यश्चैनं रागद्वेषलोभमोहैरपहरति स निकृष्टतमां गतिमवा-

Third plate.

[15] प्नोति [।।] उक्तञ्च [।] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् षष्टिं वर्ष-
[16] सहस्राणि नरके पच्यते तु सः [।।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि-
[17] स्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलिमिति [।।]
[18] वर्धतां वर्धमानार्हच्छासनं संयमासनम् येनाद्यापि जग-
[19] ज्जीवपापपुंजप्रभंजनम् [।।] नमो र्हते वर्धमानाय [।।]

Translation.

It is accomplished! Hail! Śrî-H a r i v a r m â,—the Great King of the K a d a m b a s, who are consecrated by meditating on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord M a h â s ê n a; who are of the lineage of M â n a v y a; who are the descendants of Hâritî; and who have adopted the practice of private study and prayer,—being kindly disposed towards his subjects, acquired, through the pious acts performed by him in many (*previous*) states of existence, a sovereignty that was free from all troubles, and pervaded the whole world with his fame, and, being the receptacle of the waters which are the sacred writings, adhered to the path prescribed by those who were mature in science, and cleft open the mountains which were his enemies by the blows of the thunderbolt which was his own arm.

In the fourth year of his reign, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) P h â l g u ṇ a, at *the hill or village, called* U c h c h a ś ṛ i ṅ g î‡, he, giving such a promise as gladdened the hearts of all people, at the advice of his father's brother Ś i v a r a t h a, having made C h a n d r a k s h â n t a the principal (donee), gave into the posession of the sect of V â r i s h ê n a c h â r y a of the *Kûrchakas* (*the village of*) V a s u n t a v â ṭ a k a in the district of S u d d i k u n d û r a, free from all claims, saying that it was for the purpose of providing annually, at the great eight-days sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter for the temple of the *Arhat* which M ṛ i g ê ś a, the son of the General S i ṅ h a of the lineage of B h â r a d v â j a, had caused to be built at P a l â ś i k â, and that whatever might remain over after this was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect.

He, who with justice protects this grant, shares in the reward of the religious merit of the grant; but he, who through envy or hatred or avarice or folly confiscates it, falls into the most low condition! And it has been said:—He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with S a g a r a; &c.!

May the practice of sitting in abstract meditation, which is the doctrine of the *Arhat* V a r d h a m â n a §, and by which (is effected), even in the present time, the destruction of the sins of worldly existence, flourish! Reverence to the *Arhat* Vardhamâna!

No. XXVI.

This inscription consists of three plates, about $8\frac{7}{8}''$ long by $2\frac{3}{8}''$ broad; the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears the word '*Śrî-Harivarmmaṇâ*,' *i.e.* 'by Ś r î-H a r i v a r m â', preceded and followed by a *Svastika*.|| It records the grant of a village by H a r i v a r m â, in the fifth year of his reign, at the request of king B h â n u-ś a k t i of the family of the S ê n d r a k a s.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] सिद्धम्¶।। स्वस्ति ।। स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्यानाभिषिक्तानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणा[म्]
[2] हारितीपुत्राणाम् प्रतिकृतस्वाध्यायचर्च्चापाराणाम् कदम्बानाम्

‡ Either 'the hill of the high peak,' or 'the village where there is the hill of the high peak.'

§ The last and most celebrated of the twenty-four Jain *Tîrthaṅkaras* of the present age.

|| A mystical mark, to denote good luck, shaped like a Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms bent round in the same direction.

¶ This word is given in the margin of the plate, by the side of the hole for the ring, instead of in its usual and proper place as the first word of the inscription.

[3] महाराजश्रीरविवर्म्मणः स्वभुजबलपराक्रमावाप्तानिरवद्यविपुल-
[4] राज्यश्रियः विद्वन्मतिसुवर्ण्णनिकषभूतस्य कामाद्यरिगण-

Second plate; first side.

[5] त्यागाभिव्यञ्जितेन्द्रियजयस्य न्यायोपार्ज्जितार्त्थ[सं]हितसाधुज[न]स्य
[6] क्षितितलप्रततविमलयशसः प्रियतनयः पूर्व्वसुचरितोपचितविपुल-
[7] पुण्यसम्पादितशरीरबुद्धिसत्वः सर्व्वप्रजाहृदयकुमुदचन्द्रमाः महाराज-
[8] श्रीहरिवर्म्मा स्वराज्यसंवत्सरे पञ्चमे पलाशिकाधिष्ठाने अहरिष्टिसमाह्वय-*

Second plate; second side.

[9] श्रमणसङ्घान्वयवस्तुनः धर्म्मनन्द्याचार्य्याधिष्ठितप्रामाण्यस्य चैत्यालयस्य
[10] पूजासंस्कारनिमित्तम् साधुजनोपयोगार्त्थञ्च सेन्द्रकाणां कुलललामभूतस्य
[11] भानुशक्तिराजस्य विज्ञापनया मरदेग्रामन्दत्तवान् [।।] य एतल्लोभाद्वे X कदाचिदप-
[12] हरेत्स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति यश्चाभिरक्षति स तत्पुण्यफलम्

Third plate.

[13] अवाप्नोतीति [।।] उक्तञ्च ।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् षष्टिव[र्षं]-
[14] सहस्राणि नरके पच्यते तु सः ।। बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादि[भिः]
[15] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्या तदा फलम् ।। ये सेतूनभिरक्षन्ति
[16] भग्नान्संस्थापयन्ति च द्विगुणं पूर्व्वकर्तृभ्यः तत्फलं समुदाहृतम् [।।]

Translation.

It is accomplished! Hail! In the fifth year of his own reign, at the capital of P a l â ś i k â, at the request of king B h â n u ś a k t i, who was the glory of the family of the S ê n d r a k a s‡, the Great King Ś r î-H a r i v a r m â, the excellence of whose body and intellect had been produced by the great religious merit acquired by good actions performed in a previous state of existence, and who was a moon to the blue lotuses that were the hearts of all his subjects,—the beloved son of Ś r î-R a v i v a r m â, who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm, who was the touchstone to test the gold which was the minds of learned people, who had manifested his victory over his passions by freeing himself from lust and other such enemies, who supported holy people with the wealth that he had amassed by just means, and whose pure fame was spread abroad over the surface of the earth, and who was the Great King of the K a d a m b a s who are consecrated by meditating on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord M a h â s ê n a, and who are of the lineage of M â n a v y a and the descendants of H â r i t î, and who are thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted—gave the village of M a r a d ê for the use of holy people and for the purposes of the celebration of the rites of the temple which was the property of the sect of Ś r a m a ṇ a s§ called A h a r i s h ṭ i and the authority of which was superintended by the *Âchârya* D h a r m a n a n d î.

He, who through avarice, &c., takes away this grant, incurs the guilt of having committed the five great sins; but he, who preserves it, acquires the reward of that meritorious action! And it has been said:—He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with S a g a r a; &c.! The reward of them who preserve bridges and repair them when broken, is declared to be twice as great as (*the reward of*) the original builders of them.

* There being no room for this letter,—'*ya*',—at the end of the line, it is inserted below the letters '*sama*.'

† This word was omitted in its proper place in the line, and was then inserted in the margin at the end of the line, and two *Svastikas* were employed to indicate the place to which it belongs.

‡ Notices of the Sêndrakas are not frequent. I find the family mentioned in line 3 of No. 98 of Major Dixon's collection, a small stone-tablet inscription in the Cave-alphabet characters at Balagâmve belonging to the time of one of the Vikramâdityas of the Châlukya family,—probably the first of that name in Sir W. Elliot's list; but the photograph is very small and indistinct, and I cannot make out the whole passage.

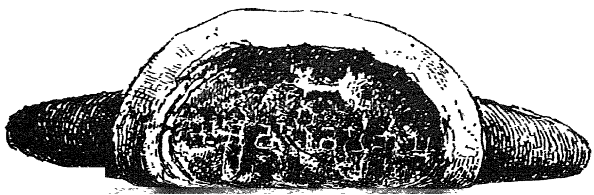
§ '*Sramaṇa*,'—a Jain (as well as a Bauddha) religious mendicant, or ascetic.

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING HARIVARMMÂ

GRANT OF THE KADAMBA KING HARIVARMMÂ

IIb

III



MEMORANDUM ON THE BUDDHIST CAVES AT JUNNAR.

THE caves of Junnar,* like those of Bhâjâ, Bedsâ, Talâjâ, Śânâ, Kuḍâ, and other groups, are remarkably devoid of figure ornament or imagery: in this respect contrasting strongly with those at Ajaṇṭâ, Elora, Kârlâ, Aurangâbâd, and elsewhere. The Dahgoba alone is common to all: and, on comparing the different groups, one might almost suppose that the Dahgoba and Buddhist rail were the earliest ornaments as well as furniture of the caves: that the Chaitya or horse-shoe window with its latticed aperture was next developed, both as a structural feature and an ornament,—and at Junnar there are some peculiar applications of it; and that figures of Buddha, as in the later caves at Nâsik, at Kanheri, and at Ajaṇṭâ, Elora, and Aurangâbâd, were introduced at a later date. Or is it possible that a puritan sect of Bauddhas, objecting to all anthropomorphic forms, made the Dahgoba their only *qeblah,* while a separate school delighted in pictures and images of their Great Teacher, his Mother, and all the Bauddha Saints? This is a point deserving the attention of archæologists in attempting to arrange the Buddhist remains in anything like chronological order. We know that in early times it was usual for one school or sect almost to monopolize the popular religious attachment of particular cities or even provinces: these sects doubtless differed in their ritual and its accessories; and this might account for the prevalence at Ajaṇṭâ and elsewhere of images of Buddha, both in the sanctuaries and on the façades, and for the entire absence of such symbols at Bhâjâ, in the older and middle series of about ten caves at Nâsik, and at Junnar. It has yet, I think, to be decided how far the former class of caves are subsequent to the latter, or how far they may be regarded as synchronous.

Other ornament is but sparingly found at Junnar,—partly perhaps because the façades of many of the caves have peeled off in the lapse of centuries: but all instances of its occurrence are noted in the following brief descriptions.

The Gaṇeśa Pahâr group of caves is about three miles north-east of the town, and about 360 feet above it. The ascent is partly by a built stair, which leads up to the front of the Chaitya. This Chaitya faces due south, and measures inside 40 ft. in length by 22 ft. 5 in. wide and 24 ft 2 in. high. It has a verandah 20 ft 5 in long by 4 ft. 2 in wide, reached by about six steps, with two pillars and two demi-pillars in front, of the style so prevalent at Nâsik,—the capitals consisting of an abacus of three, four, or five thin square tile-shaped members, each projecting a little over the one below it. Under this is a deep member resembling an inverted water-jar. The shaft is octagonal, and the base is just the capital reversed. Over the abacus are figures of elephants roughly chiselled out, somewhat in the style of those in the Vihâra to the right of the Pâṇḍu Lenâ Chaitya to be noticed below. The door is perfectly plain, 5 ft. 9 in wide, and lofty, and is the only entrance for light to the cave; for the arched window is merely indicated as a slight recess, high up in the rock,—too high to have corresponded with the arch of the cave: but its carefully smoothed area shows that it was never intended to drive it through. Over the entrance is a well-cut inscription in one long line. (No. 1.)†

The nave is about 12 ft 9 in. wide, and 24 ft. 6½ in up to the Dahgoba, limited on each side by five columns and one demi-column 10 ft. 10 in high, similar to those in the front, and with lions or tigers and elephants over the capitals, fairly well cut. In the apse round the Dahgoba, about 3 ft. from it, are six plain octagon shafts 16½ in. in diameter without base or capital. The aisle behind the pillars is 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and is ribbed over, like the roof of the nave, in imitation of wooden ribs. The Dahgoba is of the

* This *Memorandum* was originally prepared for Government and printed in November 1874, and is now revised for these pages. Previous to its appearance the only published accounts of the Junnar Caves were—a very short one by Dr. Bird in his *Jaina Researches,* derived from the notes of Professor Orlebar; one by Dr. J. Wilson in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. (for January 1850) pp. 62-64, founded on memoranda communicated by Dr. Gibson; and that by Mr. W. F. Sinclair, C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. II. (1874) p. 43ff. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. IV. (1833) pp. 287-291, Colonel Sykes gave copies of a number of the inscriptions from these caves, but without any detailed account of the excavations. Dr. Stevenson attempted the translation of nearly the whole of the inscriptions from Junnar, from rough and inaccurate transcripts by Lieut. Brett (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 160 *et seqq.*), but the result was very unsatisfactory. The translations in the following article by Dr. H. Kern will be read with interest.

† In Dr. Bird's transcript (*Jaina Researches,* No. IX. pl. L.) two letters are omitted, and others incorrectly copied: it is more correctly given by Colonel Sykes as No. 10 of his copies in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. (1833) p. 290, also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1045. Conf. No. 2, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 161.

usual form, a plain circular drum or base 8 ft. 9½ in. in diameter and 6 ft. 4½ in. high, with a Buddhist-rail cornice, supporting the *garbha* or dome on which stands the *torana* or capital, consisting of a square block, representing a box ornamented with the Buddhist-rail pattern, surmounted by an abacus of five thin slab-like members, each in succession wider than the one below, until the uppermost is 5 ft. 10 in. square, with a hole in the centre of it to support the shaft of a wooden umbrella,‡ as at Kârlâ, and four shallow square ones for relics: for it was on this *torana*, as on an altar, that the relics of Buddha or of Bauddha saints were deposited for adoration. In some cases, as at Bhâjâ, the box under the capital of the *tee* was hollow, for the preservation of the relics. The whole height of this Dahgoba is 16 ft. 5 in.

The next cave east of this is a Vihâra,—the door-jambs now broken away. It has two windows, is 25 ft. wide by 29 deep, and 8 ft. 2 in. high, with a bench or seat 16 ft. 10 in. wide round the three inner sides. At the back are three cells, and at each side two, for the resident monks. In the cells are high stone benches for their beds: on these they spread their quilt and enjoyed their rest,—simple beds for simple livers. Their *shâḷa* or hall, which they doubtless regarded as spacious, is now used as a goat-shed. Over the left window is the inscription No. 2.§

The next cave is higher up in the rock and is a small square one, with a stone bench-bed at the right end. The next, still to the east, is similar, about 8 ft. square, with a bench at the left end. The next again is similar, with a bench at the left end and one large cell at the back, also a small recess—probably for a water-vessel. In the wall is a square hole into the next cave, which is 13 ft. 8 in. deep at the left or west side, but at the other has a cell about 7 ft. by 6 inside, having a bed at the east end. In front of this is a verandah, with two pillars, supporting a projecting frieze carved with the Buddhist-rail pattern as in several of the caves at Nâsik.

Returning now to the Chaitya, and proceeding westwards, an ascending stair enters under the rock and comes out in the verandah of the largest Vihâra cave here,—now known as the Gaṇeśa Leṇâ, because this fine cave has been appropriated by some low Brâhmaṇ in which to enshrine an image of the pot-bellied, elephant-snouted Ganapati.‖ This personification of the misformed is named Asht Vinâyaka, as being, according to the *Gaṇeśa Purâṇa*, the eighth avatâra of this *deva*, performed here to please his mother, Girijâ. He is a favourite idol of the populace, and is visited from far and near at the annual *jatrá* or fair held in his honour. The shrine is taken care of by a *panch* or committee, who pay the *guru's* wages out of a yearly endowment of Rs. 62 per annum. The *guru* goes there daily from Junnar.

The stair originally came up in front of the east end of the verandah: as it now stands, it is built, and closes the entrance to a cell or cistern partly under the Vihâra. The hall is 50 ft. 6 in. by 56 ft. 6 in., and 10 ft. 2 in. high, with three doors and two windows in front, and a stone seat round the three inner sides. It has seven cells on each side, and five at the back—the central one altered to make a shrine for the rat-riding god, whose large image is cut out of the rock, probably, from a Dahgoba that may originally have occupied this cell. It is smeared red, and the shrine is enclosed by wooden doors. Outside the cave is a verandah 7 ft. wide with six pillars and two demi ones, rising from a bench as in Cave III. at Nâsik, the back of this bench forming the upper part of a basement carved in the old Buddhist-rail pattern: this also resembles the general style of the Nâsik Cave just mentioned, in having animal figures over the capitals, but on the outside only, and in having a projecting frieze above, carved with rail pattern ornamentation.

Further west are two cells, noways peculiar; then a Vihâra without cells, the verandah of four columns totally gone except the bases. It had a door in the centre, another at the west

‡ Dr. Wilson, writing twenty-six years ago, says this Dahgoba was surmounted by an umbrella; but if so, this is not the only case among others in which the woodwork has recently disappeared from Buddhist caves of Western India. See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 62.

§ This is No. 9 of those copied by Colonel Sykes; and No. 1 of Lieut. Brett's, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 160: see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1044, where Prinsep, 'correcting the second anomalous letter conjecturally,' reads it—

"*Dhammika senîyaśata gabhaṁ uḍhî cha dayadhamaṁ*, which corresponds precisely with the Sanskṛit *dhârmmikasenîya satagarbhaṁ uḍhrîcha dayâḍharmaṁ*—'The hundred caves and the tank of Dhârmika Senî—his act of piety and compassion.'" But for *uḍhî* we should surely read *paṭî*.

‖ See *Notes on Junnar Tâlukâ* by W. F. Sinclair, Bo. C.S., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 44.

end, and two windows, and measures 31 ft. 3 in. wide by 23 ft. 2 in. deep. The next is difficult of access, and of the plan of the most easterly cave, which is a very common type here.

Passing along a ledge of rock and over a small water-cistern, we come to the next, also a small Vihâra about 25 ft. wide, the front entirely gone, and with a cell at the left end and stone bed in it. Close to it is another similar to the most easterly one,—that is, a cell in the corner of a large one. Lower in the rock the next is like the last, and has a verandah with two pillars and a low screen in front, with a cistern outside at the east end.

The next is a rectangular flat-roofed Chaitya 21 ft. 10 in. deep by 12 ft. 9 in. wide and 13 ft. 8 in. high, with a Dahgoba 6 ft. 11 in. in diameter standing 3 ft. from the back wall. The cylinder is 5 ft. 7 in. high, including a base of 7 in. formed of three projecting annuli, and a cornice 12½ in. deep, of the Buddhist-rail pattern. The dome rises about 3 ft. 4 in., and the *torana* 2 ft. 4 in., and is 4 ft. 4 in. square at the top. This is connected with the roof by the stone shaft of the umbrella, for here, as in the case of several at Bhâjâ, the canopy of the umbrella is carved on the roof. To this cave there is a verandah 2 ft. 7 in. wide and 19 ft. 5 in. in length, which has had two pillars in front. On the left of the door outside is an inscription in two lines. (No. 3.)¶

Above this are—(1) a cell with a stone bed at the right side; (2) a small room enclosing a cell, after the common plan here; (3) another similar, but a horizontal flaw in the rock has opened the top of the inner cell and of the whole of the next cave; (4) a Vihâra, with two cells at the back, and a bench seat along each side, but the front wall is gone. Under the left front corner is a cistern, and outside is another; and (5) further along are three more cisterns. Over the first of these is an inscription in two lines (No. 4),* and over the second is one in three lines (No. 5), but the letters have a slant, and are not so neatly cut as most of the inscriptions here.†

We now come to a Vihâra 29 ft. 5 in. deep by 24 ft. 3 in. wide, the front wall much destroyed, but which was perforated by a door, and probably two windows. It has no cells, but has a stone bench round the three inner sides, and may have been a refectory or a school. Under the left corner is a well with abundance of cool water. Still westwards is a cell and cistern, then a small hall,—the front wall gone and without any cells; next, one or two more cisterns, beyond which the advance becomes more difficult, and leads to, or through, three more small caves, on the wall outside the last of which is an inscription in three lines (No. 6)‡ measuring about 2 ft. by 8 in., with the *Svastikâ* to the right of it, and a curious trisular symbol at the commencement, which appears also in a modified form at the beginning of No. 2, and sometimes on other caves and on coins.

To the left of this is a recess, then two cells, and still further west are two or three others, which are almost inaccessible. An avenue of trees said to have been planted by Amṛitrâo, the adopted son of Raghobâ, runs from the Kukaḍî river to the foot of the hill in which these caves are, and which is said to be mentioned in the *Gaṇeśa Purâṇa* under the name of the Lehanâdri: locally it is known as the Gaṇeśa Pahâr or Sulaimân Pahâr.

The Mânmodi Hill lies to the south-south-west of Junnar, about a mile west of the main road. Proceeding to the east face of the hill, I went up to the level of the most southerly group of caves. The first reached was a recess over a cell or cistern, the front fallen away; on the left side of the recess is an inscription (No. 7)§ in one line. A little to the north of this, on the left side of a larger recess over the side of a cistern, is another inscription (No. 8),|| in three lines, of which, however, the

¶ No. 3 in Lieut. Brett's copies, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 161.

* This is No. 12 among Colonel Sykes's copies; No. 5 in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1046; and No. 4 of Lieut. Brett's, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 161.

† This is given by Colonel Sykes as No. 11 among his, and No. 5 among Lieut. Brett's copies.

‡ This is No. 6 of Brett and Stevenson, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 162; No. 13 in Colonel Sykes's copies; and No. 6 of those sent by him to Prinsep, who read it—

Sâmadapasakasa putasa,
Sivakukhîsa daya dhama dânam,
Kapâvibhasa yase niyutakam.

Sâmadapasaka putrasya Śivakukshikasya (?) dayâdharmadânaṁ kripâvibhasya yaśase niyuktakaṁ.—'The pious and charitable endowment of Śiva Kukhi (?), the son of Sâmarapasaka (?), redounding to the glory of this most compassionate person.' *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1047.

§ No. 25 of Brett's, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 169.

|| No. 26 of Brett and Stevenson, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 169.

first letters are quite obliterated. Above a precipice to the north of this are—(1) a single cell, (2) a broken cistern, and then (3) seven cells in a line.

Returning from these and scrambling along the precipice to the south, we reach first a small Vihâra without cells, then another with two octagonal columns and two pilasters in front of the verandah, rising from a seat. The door is 5 ft. 10 in. wide and reaches to the roof of the hall, which has been frescoed. The verandâh is about 2 ft. higher than the cave, and the back of the seat or low screen outside is carved with the rail ornament. The hall is 33 ft. deep and varies from 11 to 13 ft. wide, but at the back stands a mass of rock over 8 ft. wide by 5½ thick, with a squatting figure roughly sketched out on the front of it. This mass of rock is very rotten behind, and at the left side of it is a well of excellent water. The verandah is 4 ft. 7 in. wide and 19 ft. 10 in. long; the columns are of the usual Nâsik pattern but without animal figures above: over them the frieze projects considerably, and is carved in the style of Cave IV. at Nâsik,—the ends of the rafters projecting on the lower fascia, and the upper being carved with rail pattern. Over this is a recess some 2 or 3 feet deep with the Chaitya arch over it, but without any carving.

Lower down in the face of the cliff and somewhat to the north of this are some cells choked with prickly-pear and milk-bush. A few yards south of the larger cave above mentioned is a Vihâra with two pillars and pilasters in the verandah, and with three doors leading into as many cells. Still further on are one or two others almost inaccessible.

Returning from this point to the north and winding round the hill to the north-west side, we come upon another group of caves, the lower ones of easy access. Among them is an unfinished Chaitya the front of which is almost covered with inscriptions; but from their positions, and the circumstance that in most cases the surface of the rock has not been smoothed before cutting them, it may be inferred that they are only the work of visitors, and not the records of the original excavators. Three of them are given by Colonel Sykes, and others by Dr. Bird and Lieut. Brett. This Chaitya has a verandah with two columns of the Nâsik type in front, which support the entablature above the great window. Inside it is wholly unfinished: the aisles have not been commenced, for a great fault in the rock seems to have stopped operations. The capital of the Dahgoba is blocked out, and portions of a square mass from which to carve the dome. The floor is now much filled up with mud. The cave faces north by east.

At the east side of it is a cell, also deep in earth, in which is a Dahgoba, the *chhatri* or umbrella carved on the roof, but the staff has been broken,—evidently with a view to convert it into the usual Śaiva emblem. Beyond it are portions of other cells and a fragment of an inscription beside some modern steps leading up to five cells above those last mentioned. The two at the west end are converted into one by cutting away the partition. In the back wall of this apartment are two defaced figures of Buddha, and in the west wall a third sitting under foliage, with diminutive attendants or figures in the *parigara*. The *siṅha* or lion is traceable on one or two of the *asanas* or seats, and a wooden framework seems to have been fitted to them, for there are holes in the stones for the wood to hold. This is now dedicated to the goddess Ambikâ,—a name of Pârvatî indeed, but also the *śâsanadevî* or patron goddess of Neminâtha, one of the favourite Tîrthaṅkaras of the Jains,—by whom she may have been borrowed from some Buddhist sect. Here we have Brâhmaṇs worshipping the mutilated images of Buddha as a Śaiva goddess! In the outer wall of the first of these cells there have been a standing and a sitting figure of Buddha, but these are now almost obliterated. They are the only figures of the kind I have met with in the caves here.

On the west of the Chaitya are some cells much choked up with earth, and with at least three inscriptions in them, and high up above these are a few more cells, but inacessible. Further to the west is a cistern under a tree.

Two of the inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10)¶ are in the cells on the right or west of the Chaitya; a third—one of those on the left side of the façade—is given by Dr. Bird as No. VI., but this copy is certainly wrong, at least in some of the letters.

¶ Nos. 12 and 11 respectively of Brett and Stevenson, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, vol. V. pp. 164, 165.

Proceeding a considerable way round to the north-west on the slope of the hill, another unfinished Chaitya is reached, facing north-east by north, towards Junnar. This is the cave of which a very imperfect sketch by Professor Orlebar is given by Dr. Bird (plate XVI.) The door is nearly the whole width of the cave; the lintel of it is broken; and the top of the aperture of the window is much lower than the arched roof of the cave. The great arch over it in the façade, however, is high, and over the window the space is divided fan-wise into seven petal-shaped compartments; in the upper or middle one is a female figure with a lotus-flower on each side; the compartments next to this have each an elephant standing on a lotus and holding up a water-jar, as frequently represented beside figures of L a k s h m î or Śrî on old Vaishṇava temples. In the compartment behind each elephant stands a male figure, his hands over or in front of the head, doing *pujâ* towards the central figure; and in the lowest or outer petals are two females in similar attitudes: beside each is a lotus flower and bud. Over and outside this the architrave or jamb of the great arch projects, and on each side of the finial of the arch is a figure (very unlike those in Professor Orlebar's sketch): that on the left holds a *chauri* and has wings, and some animal's head above his jaunty turban; the other holds some object in his right hand, and behind each shoulder are two snake-hoods with their tongues (?) hanging out. Right and left of these are Dahgobas in high relief but roughly formed. On the projecting frieze over all are seven Chaitya-window ornaments, with smaller ones between their finials; and two on the faces of the jambs. Inside the cave three octagonal pillars on the right side are blocked out, as is also the Dahgoba, but without the capital. There is a horizontal soft stratum in the rock, which has probably led to the work being relinquished in its present state.

Higher up the rock, on the east side of this, are four cells with neatly-carved façade, each door having a Chaitya-window arch over it, projecting about 15 in.; and between the arches are two Dahgobas with *chhatris* in half-relief, while over the shoulder of each arch is a smaller one as an ornament, and the Buddhist-rail ornament along the top. There is one plain cell west of these; and rather higher up on the east are four others. Under these latter is a Vihâra with two cells in the back and two in the left or east side, but the front is gone. It communicates by a passage with another to the west of it, nearly filled up with mud. West of the Chaitya are two small cells high up in the rock.

The T u l j â L e n â group of caves lies in a hill about a mile and a half or two miles west from Junnar, and are so named because one of them has been appropriated by the modern Brâhmaṇs to Tuljâ Devî.

They face north-east, but all the façades have fallen away. Beginning from the south-east we come to (1) two sides of a cell; (2) a small Vihâra with two cells on the left side, two in the back, and one in the right side; and (3) a Chaitya of a form quite unique: it is circular, 25 ft. 6 in. across, with a Dahgoba 8 ft. 2 in. in diameter in the centre, surrounded by twelve plain octagonal shafts 11 ft. 4 in. high, supporting a lofty dome over the Dahgoba.* The outer aisle is arched over, from a wall line 9 ft. 1 in. from the floor, to the upper side of an architrave 7 or 8 in. deep over the pillars. The Dahgoba is plain, the cylinder being 4 ft. 4 in. high, but the capital has been hewn off to convert it into a *piṇḍa* of Śiva, and even the dome is much hacked. Before the last cave, this, and the next is a platform built by the modern votaries of Tuljâ Devî. The next (4) is the back of a cell with a recess appropriated to Tuljâ; then come the remains of three more cells, and a fourth on which is hung a wooden door, the cell being appropriated by the priest. The next is a plain cell, and beyond it the backs of two cells,—over the front of one of them are Chaitya-window ornaments and two or three figures: then two more plain fronts, and two with Chaitya-window heads over the doors, and smaller ones between, and the rail ornament, and quadrantal carved roll supported by slender brackets in entire relief, as at Bhâjâ. The last cave is a hall 23 feet wide, with one large cell at the left corner, and a seat round the three sides. In front of and considerably below the cells towards the north-west end is a tank with masonry walls on two sides. The rock is so cut away in front of the cells above, that

* See Plan and Section of this cave, from the writer's drawings, in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876), p. 167.

it must have undermined the fronts of them, and aided in causing their destruction. Possibly this tank was originally a large cistern in the rock underneath the cells, and the pressure at the same time destroyed its roof and the front of the caves.

The Śivanorî hill fort lies to the west of the town, and going well along the east face of the hill towards the south, after visiting several cells in the lower scarp, we come to a cave which has had originally two columns and pilasters in front of a narrow verandah. The cave has a wide door, and inside is a large square cell with the cylindrical base of a Dahgoba—all coarsely hewn. Can the top have been of wood or other perishable or removeable material? This cave faces E.N.E. On the sides of the scarp to the north of these excavations are several cisterns.

The side of the hill is peculiarly steep, and, owing to the slippery dry grass, it was ascended with difficulty. At the south end of the upper scarp a cave is reached, and in the north end of this cave is a stair leading to an upper floor. It has been a small hall, but the front is entirely gone except one pilaster at the south end. In the south wall is a small roughly hewn recess, and along the wall near the roof is an inscription (No. 11)† in one line of deeply incised letters, with a raised device at the commencement. The hall below this has three cells on each side and four at the back—several of them quite unfinished.

Further north and somewhat higher, beyond a recess and a cistern with two openings, is a Vihâra, the entire front of which is open, with a plain pilaster at each side having holes in them for the fastenings of the wooden front that has once screened the interior. There is a bench round the walls, and an advanced seat at the back as if for an image, or perhaps a *gurû* or teacher. The cave has been occupied in more recent times, as evidenced by a mud wall inside. Next we come to some large cisterns of which the roof has fallen in, and over the north side of them is a large Vihâra with four cells at the back and two in the south end. In this case, again, there seems to have been originally only a wooden front; but for it has been substituted a stone one of ten courses of ashlar most carefully jointed, with a neatly carved door of the style of about the 10th century, and a well-wrought lattice stone window let into the wall. These were probably substituted by some Hindu sect not Bauddha. There is a fragment of an inscription at the north end, over a bench outside. North of this are some cells, much decayed, but which had probably all wooden fronts: holes in the rock seem to indicate this.

After a difficult and painful scramble from the last group, I reached the Bârâ Koṭrî group, so called from a large Vihâra with *twelve* cells. *First*, over a cistern broken in, is a Dahgoba in half-relief in front of a large cell with one stone bed, and having on the south side of the door a long inscription in five lines of varying length and in somewhat florid characters. Time did not permit my copying this, but, as the letters had all been painted, I doubt not it was copied by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî's paṇḍit. *Next* come four cells, the last with a stone bed; *third*, three wells, with a small hall over the last, which once had two square pillars in front; it is reached by a stair-landing in the north end of the verandah. *Fourth*, the Bârâ Koṭrî, 36 ft. 8 in. wide and 33 ft. 5 in. deep, with four cells on each side, and a bench round all four. It has two doors and two large windows, one of them measuring 9 ft. 10 in. in width, with a groove in the sill for the wooden framework. Beyond this are several cells and a well, then a small Vihâra with three cells on the south side, and two at the back, with a Dahgoba in half-relief, in a recess—probably an older form than that in Cave III. at Nâśik.

The next is a fine cave; it is a lofty flat-roofed Chaitya. The front wall was probably originally pierced for two windows and the central door 6 ft. 1 in. wide, but the south window has been hewn down until it forms a door; inside the front wall is an outer cross aisle or vestibule 4 ft. 9 in. wide, separated from the inner hall by two octagonal pillars and two others just attached to the wall: these have the Nâśik or water-jar base and capitals, but the latter do not reach the cross beam above; from the capital rises a short square pillar about 2½ feet high reaching to the roof, which is perhaps 18 or 19 feet high. The inner hall is 30 ft. 11 in. by 20 ft. 6 in., near the back of which stands a well-proportioned Dahgoba 10 ft. 3 in. in diameter, the cylindrical part 5 ft. 11 in. high, and surround-

† Not given among Lieut. Brett's transcripts, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 160 *seqq.*

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CAVES OF JUNNAR.

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

No. 7

No. 8

No. 9

No. 10

No. 11

No. 12

J. Burgess, Script.

ed on the upper margin by the rail pattern and with what are intended to represent the ends of bars projecting out below it. The umbrella is carved on the roof, and connected with the capital by a short shaft. The ceiling has been painted, and still retains large portions of the colouring:, the design is in squares, each containing concentric circles in orange, brown, and white; but light was beginning to fail, and I could not be certain of the darker tints. Outside is an inscription in three lines (No. 12), first given by Colonel Sykes‡ in a not very accurate copy. Beyond this are some wells and fragments of cells.

After a four miles' walk and a steep climb the caves in a spur of a hill to the east of the Ganeśa Lena are reached, about 400 feet above Junnar. They face S.S.W. The Chaitya, the most easterly of the group, is a small one 8 ft. 3 in. wide inside and 22 ft. 4 in. in length, or about 15 ft. 4 in. from the door to the Dahgoba, which is 4 ft. 10 in. in diameter. The sides or jambs of the façade are carved with Chaitya-window ornaments, some having a Dahgoba inside, and others a lotus-flower, while the rail ornament is interspersed in the usual way. The face of the moulding round the window is also carved with a geometrical pattern. The walls are not straight, nor the floor level, and altogether the work seems to have been left unfinished, except perhaps the upper part of the Dahgoba, the cylinder of which is 4 ft. 10 in. high, and the total height 9 ft. 4 in. The aisle, which is never wanting in a finished Chaitya cave, has not been begun here. To the narrow ledge over the architrave of the walls is 16 ft., and to the roof 18 ft. 2 in. Next to this, but higher up and almost inaccessible, are two cells; then a well; and thirdly a small Vihâra with two windows and two cells at the back, one with a stone bed, and some rough cutting in the wall between the cell doors resembling a Dahgoba, but quite unfinished. It has also a cell with stone bed at the left side; outside are two more cells, and a chamber at the end of the verandah, which runs along the front both of the Vihâra and the cells. These caves, usually represented as inaccessible, from the precipice being almost perpendicular, are really difficult of access, and dangerous for any one not having a steady head or unaccustomed to climbing.

Prof. H. Kern, of Leiden, has translated a number of the inscriptions in a paper in the *Indische Studien*, XIVter Bd. S. 393—397, of which a translation is given in the next paper. J. B.

‡ Conf. *ante*, p. 33, note*, and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 289, No. 7; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1045, No. 3; and No. 7, *Jour. Bom. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. V. p. 168.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF JUNNAR.

BY PROFESSOR H. KERN, OF LEIDEN.

Translated from the 'Indische Studien,' XIVter Band, by Miss M. Tweedie, Edinburgh.

J. Burgess, in his *Memorandum on the Buddhist Caves at Junnar*,* has lately published again, and very completely, the Cave-inscriptions, some of which were formerly communicated by Col. Sykes.†

These inscriptions are indeed of different dates, but collectively they are later than those of Aśoka. To judge by the forms of the characters, they are perhaps 200 or 300 years later. But the way of writing is quite the same, for the double consonant is either not given at all, or is indicated by a mark like the anusvâra standing before the consonant that is to be doubled. It is so also in Aśoka's inscriptions from various places. The only exception which was believed to have been found, namely *ḍḍa*, does not exist. The mark occurs only in the word for 'twenty-six,' which is one of frequent recurrence. After Prinsep had deciphered that as *chaḍḍavîsati*, all later expounders, myself included, have followed him. But the reading was false. For, in the first place, the mark graphically is not to be explained as *ḍḍ*; secondly, a *chaḍḍa* from *shaḍ* is inadmissible in point of language; thirdly, the double consonant is nowhere else marked by doubling. If we look well at the mark under consideration, we see that it is a *ḍ* with a virâma placed below. It stands everywhere as *chaḍ-vîsati*, not *chaḍḍavîsati*.

If I here subjoin my reading and interpretation of some Junnar inscriptions, it is necessary to connect with them some short remarks.

* *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Bombay, 1874, reprinted, with additions, above, p. 33.

† Conf. *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1044 *et seqq.* [Also *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. (1833) pp. 287-301.—Ed.]

No. 9 has—

'*Bhârukachhakânaṁ Laṁkuday(â)naṁ bhâtûṇa Budhamitasa Budharakkhitasa cha bikhanaṁ* (? for *bhikhunaṁ*) *deyadhaṁmaṁ*.'

Between the first and second lines stand in smaller letters '*Asasamasa putânaṁ.*'

The translation is "A pious gift of charity of the brothers Buddhamitra and Buddharakshita, sons of Asasaṃma (?) dwelling in Barygaza (Bharoch), who came to this place from Ceylon."

This proper name Asasama is unknown, at least to me. It may also be read Asesama. As the proper name Sivasama occurs in No. 7, and *Sama* is without doubt the Sanskrit *Śarman*, so Asesama is perhaps to be read in the Sanskrit as Aśviśarman. Bhârukachhaka is a regular *taddhita* formation from Bharukachha (see the *Petersburg Dictionary, s.v.*). I have great doubt myself about the correctness of the reading *bikhanaṁ*. Monks have nothing to give away, all to receive. The marks may be read as *bikha(m)bhaṁ*; in spite of the difference of the gender, this might correspond to the Sanskrit *vishkambha*, 'prop.' Or should we read *chabi gabhe*, Sansk. *châpi garbhe?*

No. 3 has—

Kapila-upâsakasa natuno Tâpala-upâsakasa ka-(ni)-ṣṭhaputasa Ana(n)dasa deyadhaṁmaṁ chetiya-gharaniyuta

That is: "A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, by Ânanda, youngest son of the believer Tâpala, and grandson of the believer Kapila."

Instead of *natuno* we might be induced to read *natuṇa*; the marks for *ṇa* and *no* are so much alike, that I have chosen *no* only out of respect for the known phonetic laws. The *ṣṭha* agrees with the often recurring *ṣṭ* in the Girnâr edicts. In the Pâlî, so far as I know, there is no trace of it; in the Prâkṛit of the dramas, however, and even in the Gipsy language, the union of the consonants *st* is in part retained.

No. 12 has—

Vîrasenakasa gahapatipamughasa dhamanigamasa deyadhaṁmaṁ chetiyaghare niyuta savalokahitasukhâyaṁ

That is: "A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, for the common weal and happiness, by Vîrasenaka, a distinguished householder, confessor of the Dharma."

Dharmanigama I have not met with elsewhere; I suppose it is 'one for whom the Dharma is the source of authority.'

Nos. 4 and 1 have the same word at the beginning, the reading of which is not perfectly certain; this much, however, is certain, that Prinsep's reading (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1046) is inexact and in contradiction to the form of the letters. I read in No. 4—

kalisûnakasa Kuṭiraputasa suvaṁna-kârasa Sa(ṁ)ghakasa paṭi deyadhamaṁ

That is, "As a pious gift of charity from the pure-hearted Sanghaka, goldsmith, son of Kuṭira." That the proper name usually follows the name of the father is seen also from No. 10:—

Sayitigahapatiputasa gahapatisa Sivadâsasa.

Paṭi, prati also stands, as indeed we might expect from the Sanskrit, after the governing substantive, and in fact in No. 7—

Sivasamaputasa Siṁtabhati(?)no deyadhama paṭi

That is, "For a pious gift of charity, from Siṁtabhati, son of Śivaśarman."

No. 1 runs thus:—

kalisûnasa Haraṇikaputasa Sulâsadatasa (? or *Sulisajatasa*) *ṭhakapurisassa chetiyagharaniyuta deyadhama*:

"A pious gift of charity, designed for the sanctuary, by the pure-hearted Sulâsadata, trader, son of Haraṇika."

Thakka, as is clearly seen from the Marâṭhî *ṭhaka* and this inscription, is the correct spelling, instead of *ṭakka*, as is printed in the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, lxv. 140, 143, 152, and *ṭâka*, as in *Râjataraṅgiṇî* vii. 415. In the latter place it signifies 'a chafferer,' and probably also in the *Kathâsaritsâgara*. We see by the word being used in the inscription that in itself it is no word of abuse, and was only understood as such because 'merchant' and 'deceiver' come to pretty much the same thing according to Indian ideas, since the period of the Veda (let us think of the *paṇi*). A similar case as with *paṇi* and *ṭhakka*, *ṭhâka* is afforded by the term *kirâṭa*. This by itself signifies 'trader,' and is used by Utpala as the customary paraphrase for *vaṇij*; in *Râjataraṅgiṇî* viii. 132, however, it occurs as a term of contempt. According to this idea the *taddhita*-formation *kerâṭiko* contained in the Pâli denotes 'hypocrite, charlatan, humbug' (perhaps 'cheat' also). The pas-

sage in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* is instructive and pretty, and as it has been entirely spoilt by the editors, as has generally been the case with the whole excellent work of Kalhaṇa, I present the following reading of the strophes referred to (128-134) :—

srotobhir vyastam ambhodhau labhyam meghamukhaiḥ payaḥ | prâptir bhûyas tu nâ 'sty eva vaṇiggrastasya vastunaḥ ||

tailasnigdhamukhaḥ svalpâlâpo mṛidvâkṛitir bhavan | nyâsagrâsavivâdogro vaṇig vyâghrâd viśishyate ||

vivâde śreshṭhinâ śâṭhyaṁ smitaiḥ prâk sakhyadarśanaiḥ | susthaṁ-susthaṁ jñâyamânam prâṇânte 'pi na muchyate ||

nisargavañchakâ veśyâḥ, kâyastho 'pi, varo vaṇik | gurûpadeśopaskârair viśishṭaḥ saviśhâśishaḥ ||

chandanâṅkâlike śvetâṅśuke dhûpâdhivâsini | viśvastaḥ syât kirâṭe yo viprakṛishṭaḥ sa nâ ''padaḥ ||

lalâṭadṛiksatraśrotradvandvahṛidgrastachandanaḥ* | shaḍbinduvṛiśchika iva kshaṇât prâṇântakṛid vaṇik ||

pâṇḍuśyâmo 'gnidhûmârdraḥ sûchyâsyo gahanodaraḥ | tumbîphalopamaḥ śreshṭhî raktaṁ mâṅsaṁ cha karshati ||

The etymology of the word *ṭhakka* is unknown; it may have been originally the name of a tribe. At least *ṭakva* is interchanged with Bâhîka. It is known that the Bâhîka also did not enjoy a good reputation.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from vol. V. p. 241.)

XIV.—*Curious Tombs and Entombments.*

In an account of a Toda dry funeral (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 95), when speaking of the circle of stones within which the last remains were finally burnt, doubt was expressed whether the circle was ancient or new; from the late Mr. Breeks's exhaustive work on the *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, lately published by the India Office, it appears to be doubtful whether these circles, called by the Todas Âzârams, are old, or made for the occasion. It seems that sometimes a circle of old date is used, and sometimes a new one is formed; the ashes of the deceased are scraped together and buried under a large stone at the entrance of the Âzâram. At any rate it is clear these circles are claimed and formed by the Todas. We learn also from Mr. Breeks that when all depart hurriedly after the final farewell rite in the gray dusk of the morning, none may look back—a point occurring in the superstition of many races. The Kurumbas and Irulas of the same mountains, after every death amongst them, bring a long water-worn stone (*devva koṭṭa kallu*) and put it into one of the old cromlechs sprinkled over the plateau. Some of the larger of these have been found piled up to the capstone with such pebbles, which must have been the work of generations. Occasionally, too, the tribes mentioned make small cromlechs for burial purposes, and place the long water-worn pebbles in them. Mr. Breeks reports that the Kurumbas in the neighbourhood of the Rangasvâmi Peak and the Barliar burn their dead, and place a bone and a small round stone in the *sâvri-mani*—death-house, an *old* cromlech. On the Travancore mountains, the Malei Arriyans, a numerous tribe, make miniature cromlechs of small slabs of stone, and place within them a long pebble to represent the deceased. (See Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 479.) The same practice is said to prevail amongst jungal tribes in Orissa. Dr. Livingstone noticed a similar custom in Africa :—" In various villages we have observed miniature huts about two feet high, very neatly thatched and plastered; here we noticed them in dozens. On inquiry we were told that when a child or relative dies, one is made, and when any pleasant food is cooked or beer brewed, a little is placed in the tiny hut for the departed soul, which is believed to enjoy it." (Livingstone's *Last Journals*, vol. I. p. 156.) So the Malei Arriyans offer *arak* and sweetmeats to the departed spirit supposed to be hovering near the miniature cromlech. All these instances existing to-day are of especial value as showing a connection of funeral rites with monuments of pre-historic type—stone circles and cromlechs—amongst living

tribes who most nearly represent pre-historic peoples.*

In 1874 the Right Reverend Mar Kurillus Jehoiakim, Syrian Metropolitan of Malabar, died at Koṭṭayam,—a venerable and highly respected prelate. The Madras papers at the time contained the following account of the funeral, which has an interest and air of antiquity about the details that make it worthy of record in an antiquarian journal :—"The body was dressed in full canonicals and placed in a sitting posture on a chair, and then removed into the church, where it was left in that position, with the pastoral staff and crozier placed in the hands, until the third day, and during this time the usual ceremonies prescribed by the Syrian ritual were performed. On the third day—it is rather singular that about this time only signs of decay showed themselves—nearly two hundred priests and about ten thousand people assembled for the funeral. The body, still seated on the chair, was carried by priests under a canopy in solemn procession to some distance, and brought back to the north-east side of the church, where a tomb measuring eight square feet, with a seat inside like a chair, was built. The custom hitherto was to bury bishops within the church, but the deceased had desired that his body should be buried outside, but close to the church. In this seat the body was placed again in a sitting posture, facing the east, and the burial service was chanted. The brother of the deceased then removed the ring, pastoral staff and crozier, to be sent to the Patriarch of Antioch. From the roof of the tomb a globe lamp was hung up about a foot or so before the face of the deceased, and after the entombment it was lit, and a large quantity of incense thrown into the tomb until it reached the neck of the corpse, when the stones were piled up, and the builders' closed the tomb." This antique ceremonial of an antique church has probably come down, with little change in many of its features, from the remotest antiquity. The eight feet square tomb filled up with spices and incense, in which the dead was seated in his habit as he lived, recalls Egyptian and Etruscan tomb chambers, as well as mediæval modes of interment; and possibly all may be developments of the kistvaen or sepulchral stone chamber of pre-historic times, in which, too, skeletons have at times, as in Guernsey, been found placed in a sitting posture.

Here perhaps a place may be found for recording another funeral memorial of bygone days. The port of Bâṭkal, in South Kânara, was once important, possessing a factory, and frequented by vessels from Europe. It is now deserted except by native craft, and three mouldering tombs preserve the else forgotten names of some of those bold and enterprising pioneer Englishmen who, in times before "the Company," sought their fortunes in the then half-fabulous East. Many such memorials survive in now deserted nooks and spots in India, mute witnesses of daring and wasted lives. Copies of the inscriptions on the Bâṭkal tombs are subjoined :—

1.

Here lyeth the Body of William Barton,
C. H. Y. R. U. R. G. I. O. N., Dec. XXX.
Nov. A.D., Ntri Christi, Salv. Mund.
M.D.C.X.X.X.

2.

Here lyeth the Body of George Wye, Merchant.
Dec. XXXI. March. A.D. Ntri Xti Salv. Mundi.
M.D.C.X.X.X.I.

3.

Here lyeth the Body of Anto. Vem. Worthy,
Merchant. Dec. I. April. A.D. Ntri. Xti.
Salv. Mundi.
M.D.C.X.X.X.V.I.I.

* It is noteworthy that whereas the Todas always place a body on the funeral pile *face downwards*, Col. Meadows Taylor, in his exploration of cairns and kistvaens in Sorapur and Haidarâbâd (Dekhan), found several skeletons laid in the stone cists with the face downwards too.

ON THE ANCIENT NÂGARÎ NUMERALS.

BY PAṆḌIT BHAGVÂNLÂL INDRAJI.

The researches of Mr. Thomas, Dr. Bhau Dâjî, and General Cunningham have proved beyond doubt that the system of numeral notation used in the most ancient Indian Nâgari inscriptions employs four sets of different signs, viz. one for the numbers from 1 to 9; a second for the numbers 10 to 90; a third for the numbers from 100 to 900; and a fourth for the thousands. Most

of the signs employed for this notation are now well known through the numerous inscriptions which express numbers both in words and in figures, and it is only regarding the signs for 40, 50, 60, and 70 that some confusion is observable.

The object of the present paper will be—firstly, to settle definitively the signs for these numbers, and, secondly, to explain the origin of the whole of this ancient system of notation. The explanation will, I trust, give further proofs of the correctness of the value assigned to the signs.

As regards the first point, the figures for the four doubtful signs are as follows :—

40

50

60

70

The signs for 40 have already been correctly read by General Cunningham. Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has mistaken its Valabhî form for 50, and Dr. Bühler for 60. The proof that it is really the sign for 40 may be derived from the coins of the Kshatrapa kings. In the Jasdan inscription Rudrasena I., the son of Rudrasiṁha and grandson of Rudradâman, gives as his date the year 127 or 129. A coin issued by the same Rudrasena bears the date 138. A second, on which the father's name, Rudrasiṁha (*putrasa*), is clearly legible and certain, while Rudrasena's name is obliterated, shows, after the sign for 100, the doubtful figure ( ), which, under the circumstances, can only be read as 40. The sign for 50 occurs on a third coin which bears the name of Dâmasena, another son of Rudrasiṁha. The coins of sons of Dâmasena show the signs for 60 and 70, viz. Vîradâman 160, Vijayasena 168, 174, Dâmajaḍaśrî 174, and finally two coins of Vîradâman's son Rudrasena II. are dated 188 and 189. The old forms of the figure for 70, which slightly differ from those given above, appear also in the Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman [ ], and in the inscription of Ushâvadâta, Nâsik Cave No. 16 . In the former the words '*varshe dviśaptatitame*,' and in the latter '*sahasrâṇi sattari*' are added.*

* This sign has been read correctly by General Cunningham, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXIII. p. 38.

As regards the origin of these figures, I believe that I can confidently assert that all of them except the three first express letters or groups of letters, and that the variations which occur in their forms in the inscriptions of different dynasties and centuries are caused chiefly by the variations of the forms of the letters in the alphabets of the same times and dynasties. At the same time, however, it seems that there was a tendency to distinguish the signs which were to be read as letters from the corresponding ones which were to be taken as numbers, by very slightly changing the forms of the latter.

The resemblance of very many figures in the Kshatrapa, Valabhî, and Gupta inscriptions and coins to letters, *e.g.* of (7) to *gra*, of [5] to *tri*, struck me a long time ago. When I then found that the Jainas on their palm-leaf manuscripts, and the Bauddhas of Nipâl both on their palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, marked the pages both by the ordinary numerals, and by letters and groups of letters which correspond to the alphabetical value of the old numerals, I felt that my conjecture was more than a mere haphazard guess. But I gained only the full conviction that my views were correct when I found the numerals expressed by letters in the plates of Vinâyakapâla,† of Mahendrapâla, of Balavarman, of Bhanja, and in the late inscriptions of Nipâl.

I now give a conspectus of the figures found in the following inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts :—(1) in the inscriptions of the Śâtavâhana dynasty on the Nânâghâṭ, (2) of the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhṛitya inscriptions of Nâsik, Kânheri, and Junnar, (3) on the Kshatrapa (*vulgo* Sâha) coins and in their inscriptions at Girnâr and Jasdan, (4) in the Gupta inscriptions of Sanchî, Mâlwâ, and Central India, and in the Lichhavi inscriptions of Nipâl, (5) on the Valabhî and Châlukya plates, (6) on the Pâla and other plates from Eastern India, (7) on the margin of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Prajñâ pâramitâ* acquired in Nipâl, (8) on the margin of the *Śrâddha Dinakṛitya* and the *Bṛihatkalpasûtra* (collection of the Bombay Government 1872-73), (9) on the margin of modern Bauddha paper manuscripts.

† *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXIII. p. 320.

Numerals.	Early Indian Numerals.—From Inscriptions and Coins.						From MSS.		
	1 Nânâghât Inscriptions.	2 Kshatrapa Andhrabhritya Insc.	3 Kshatrapa Coins and Inscriptions.	4 Gupta Inscriptions.	5 Valabhî Plates.	6 Eastern Plates, 8th–10th century.	7 Bauddha Nipâl Palm-leaf MSS.	8 Jaina Palm-leaf MSS.	9 Bauddha Nipâl Paper MSS.
1	—	—	—						
2	=	=	=						
3		≡	≡						
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
20									
30									

Numerals.	1 Nânâghât Inscriptions.	2 Kshatrapa Andhrabhritya Insc.	3 Kshatrapa Coins and Inscriptions.	4 Gupta Inscriptions.	5 Valabhî Plates.	6 Eastern Plates, 8th–10th century.	7 Bauddha Nipâl Palm-leaf MSS.	8 Jaina Palm-leaf MSS.	9 Bauddha Nipâl Paper MSS.
40									
50									
60									
70									
80									
90									
100									
200									

	Nânâghât Inscriptions.	Kshatrapa Inscriptions.	Valabhî and Châlukya Inscriptions.	Gupta Inscriptions.
300				
400				
500				
600				
700				

	Nânâghât.	Andhrabhritya.	Vakata.
1,000			
2,000			
3,000			
4,000			
6,000			
8,000			
10,000			
20,000			
60,000			
70,000			

I think that a careful comparison of these figures with each other and with the corresponding groups of letters will go far to establish my proposition. But I must add some further considerations regarding each numeral.

The oldest sign for 4 appears to be (p. 44, col. 1) *kí*; in the Kshatrapa and Andhrabhṛitya inscriptions (col. 3) it resembles partly *kí* and partly *ṅka*. The latter group is clearly observable in the Gupta inscriptions and on the Valabhî plates (col. 5), on which latter, however, *kâ* also occurs, and the sign from the manuscripts resembles *ṇka* or *shka*,—mistakes I think, for *ṅka*. Now the remarkable fact is that, though the upper part of the sign is not always the same, the lower always shows the figure of that form of *ka* which is used in the alphabet of the period. Thus the first two columns show the simple cross, which is the oldest form of the letter *ka*, and the third a cross where the vertical stroke is curved towards the left, just as we find the *ka* in Rudradâman's Girnâr and the Jasdan inscriptions, while the manuscripts give the usual Devanâgarî *ka*. The 4 of the Gupta and Valabhî inscriptions likewise shows the particular *ka* of those alphabets.

The sign for 5 is in the old Bauddha and Jaina manuscripts distinctly *tṛi*. The signs in the Andhrabhṛitya and Nahâpâṇa inscriptions may be read in the same manner, though the *ṛi* vowel is not, as usual, attached to the right-hand curved horizontal, but to the left-hand vertical stroke of the *t*. This discrepancy may be either the result of the desire to distinguish the numeral sign from the syllable *tṛi* (in order to prevent mistakes), or be owing to the indifference which the old writers felt as to the manner in which they joined the parts of compound letters. Similarly *kṛi* is sometimes कृ and sometimes कृ or even कृ. The same remark applies to the Kshatrapa signs (col. 4), but it ought to be observed that as the *ṛi* in their inscriptions receives a stronger curve to the left, so the sign for 5 shows the same peculiarity. The first two signs in col. 5 are simply repetitions of those in col. 3, but it agrees with the nature of the Gupta characters that the left-hand stroke has no curve to the left. The third sign of the same column is clearly a *tṛí* in the later form. The same sign actually occurs as *tṛi* in the name *Mâtṛivishṇu* in the Eran inscription. The fourth sign of col. 4 seems to owe its upper right-hand stroke to a desire to show a difference between the syllable and the figure. The fifth sign of the same column, and that in col. 9, may be read *hṛi*. But it seems to me that they are merely a corruption of the second form in col. 5, the vertical stroke of which was curved towards the right.

The Valabhî figures in col. 6 offer at first sight some difficulties. But the first figure is clearly *trá*, and the sign for the long *á* which we found already in the fourth Gupta form is probably owing to the desire for differentiation. The following two signs, which look like *ná*, are mere corruptions of *trá*. For the ञ for *t* does appear occasionally instead of ह in other inscriptions, *e.g.* in the Nâsik inscription No. 12, l. 1,‡—*velidatapulasa*. The loop was no doubt caused by hasty writing.

The sign for 6 in the Bauddha books (cols. 7 and 8) is clearly *phra*, and all the other signs represent the same group or *phrá*, with the exception of the second sign in col. 4 and that in col. 8. The former may be read *pha*, and seems to be a mutilation of the full figure, made for convenience sake. The latter, which represents *rphu*, is apparently owing to the fact that the scribes mistook the subjoined *ra* in the old books for *u*, and the *r* before the *ph* is the remnant of the long *á* which we find in the Valabhî and Gupta figures.

The sign for 7 is throughout *gra* or *grá*. It ought, however, to be observed that only the second sign of col. 4 shows the little notch at the junction of the two letters, which is usual when the syllable is not to be taken as a numeral.

The sign for 8 is clearly *hrá* or *hra* in the manuscripts, on the Eastern plates, and on the Valabhî plates. On the latter the *ra* is, however, joined to the *ha* in a manner different from that in the words, where we have (ह्र). The reason is probably the desire for differentiation. The other columns show mostly *ha*.

The sign for 9 is throughout *ô*. The shape somewhat differs from that usually employed in the texts, but agrees exactly with that used in the word *ôṁ*: compare, *e.g.*, the *ôṁ svasti* of the Valabhî plates with the sign for 9 in the same inscriptions.

The sign for 10 is in the ancient Bauddha (col. 8) and in the Jaina manuscripts clearly

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII. 4th plate at p. 52.

lṛi. On the Eastern plates it looks more like *lú,* for which it has been mistaken by Bâbû Pratâpchandra Ghose.§ But there is no objection to reading the sign *lṛi.* The fourth sign of col. 6 is likewise clearly *ḷri.* The signs in cols. 2, 3, 4, the first two in col. 5, and the first in col. 6, correspond to the letter *ḷa,* as it appears in the inscription of Rudradâman, and on one Valabhî plate. The second and third figures of col. 6 appear to be corruptions of this letter. It ought, however, to be kept in mind that we do not know what was the oldest form of *lṛi;* and the signs for *ḷa* and *lṛi* may have been identical. The sign in col. 10 is clearly *ḍá,* which stands for *ḷá,* as the Nipâlese have no *ḷa.* The fifth sign in col. 6 and the third in col. 5 may be read *ṇda* and *ṇḍo,* and appear to be corruptions of *ḍá.*

The signs for 20 and 30 offer no difficulties, as they exactly correspond each to the *tha* and *la* (*thá, lá*) of the period.

The sign for 40 is in the older inscriptions and in the manuscripts clearly *pta.* On the Valabhî plates and in the coins of the later Kshatrapas it looks like *sa.* The difference is caused by the omission of the lower part of the right-hand vertical stroke, and is perhaps intentional.

The sign for 50 used in the manuscripts and on the Eastern plates corresponds to the *Anunásika* (ꣳ) as it occurs in the manuscripts of the *Mádhyandina Sákhá* of the *White Yajurveda.* The sign on the Kshatrapa coins is the same, only turned the other way, and that on the Valabhî plates a further corruption of the latter.

The original meaning of the signs for 60 and 70 is doubtful to me. Only this much seems certain, that 70 is derived from the former by the addition of a horizontal stroke on the right. The manuscripts read them *thu* or *chu,* and *thú* or *chú,* respectively.

The sign for 80 corresponds to the ancient *Upadhmaníya,* such as we find on the Valabhî plates and in the alphabets of Kaśmîr and Nipâl (ꝏ).

The sign for 90 is the *Jihvámúlíya.* In some cases it occurs also for the *Upadhmaníya.*

The sign for a *hundred* corresponds originally to the syllable *su* or *sú,* and appears as such in cols. 2, 5, and 9. Cols. 7 and 10 show *a,* which seems to be a mistake, arising out of the great resemblance of the ancient forms of *su* and *a* [सु अ]. The signs in cols. 3, 4, 6, and the second in 5, I take for mutilated forms of the ancient *su,* caused by hasty writing. The *lú* in col. 8 is another corruption of *a.*

The oldest sign for *thousands* may be read *ró,* later it is clearly *dhra.*

Postscript by G. Bühler.

At the request of Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, who is not able to express himself in English, I have translated the above article on the Nâgarî numerals from his Gujarâtî notes. I undertook this task because, after considering all his arguments, I felt convinced of the general correctness of his views, and because I wished to secure for my fellow-Sanskritists a speedy publication of this important discovery, and to the Paṇḍit the credit due to him. I now use this opportunity to add a few remarks of my own on the subject.

Firstly, as regards the Paṇḍit's chief point, that the Nâgarî numerals are *aksharas* or syllables: its correctness can be proved by the statement of M a l a y a g i r i, a Jaina writer of the 13th century, which Professor A. Weber first brought to light.‖ This statement occurs in the commentary on the beginning of the *Súryaprajñapti,* where a short-hand description of the town of M i t h i l â is given. The text runs as follows:—

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समयेणं मिथिला नाम नयरी होत्था रिद्धि-
थिमियसमिद्धा पमुइयजणजाणवया जाव पासादीया ष्क

"At that time, during that period there was a town called Mithilâ, rich in wealthy men, filled with joyful citizens and country-people—down to—adorned with palaces, *ḳhka.*"¶

In commenting on the latter portion of this passage, Malayagiri states first that the word *jáva,* "down to," indicates that the description of the town is not given in full, and that a whole paragraph has to be supplied, in accordance with the conventional descriptions occurring in other works. Then he goes on according to Professor Weber's text, to say—

kiyán drashṭavya ityáha: p á s á î y á ḳ h k a iti, atra ḳ k a ś a b dopádánát prásádíyá ityanena padena saha padachatushṭayasya súchá kritá,

§ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XL. p. 166.
‖ *Bhagavatî,* p. 243.

¶ My manuscript has a sign which may be read *shka* or *ṅka,* or even *khka,* just as that used by Professor Weber.

táni cha padányamáni: prásádíyá, darśaníyá, abhirúpá, pratirúpá:

"(In order to show) how much has to be supplied, (the author) says: 'adorned with palaces, *ḵhka*.' By adding here the word *ḵhka*, an indication has been given that including the noun 'adorned-with-palaces' (*prásádíyá*) four nouns (have to be read)."

Now two things are clear from this passage,—firstly, that Malayagiri knew *ḵhka* to express the numeral four; and, secondly, that he considered the sign *shka* to be a *word*, and not a *figure* or *anka*. He consequently pronounced *ḵhka*, and did not read *chatvári* (4) for it, as he would have done for the *anka* ४. That is exactly what Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl asserts; and Malayagiri's statement shows that the nature of the Nâgarî numerals was known, to the Jainas at least, as late as the thirteenth century of our era.

In the second place I have to express my dissent from the Paṇḍit's views on some details. It seems to me that he is mistaken about the phonetic value of the Nâgarî numerals for 'four.' I think all the various signs are intended for *ḵhka* (ᳵक), *i.e.* the *Jihvâmûlîya* plus *ka*. There is a form of the *Jihvâmûlîya* which consists merely of a loop attached to the left-hand side of *ka*, just above the horizontal stroke. It occurs in the Gupta inscriptions, *e.g.* in the Jhalrapâṭhan inscription of Durgagaṇa, l. 9*, in the Kaśmîrian Śâradâ alphabet (क), and in the Jaina manuscripts, where it looks like *sha*, *e.g.* a अतस्करण *antakhkaraṇa*. In an old Kaśmîr Bhûrja manuscript acquired last year for the Government of Bombay I have also found ঌ for the usual Śâradâ ꣲ (4), and this sign is likewise a representative of *ḵhka*.

The Kshatrapa, Valabhî, and Gupta sign for 100 ൗ I take, not for a corruption of *su* सु, but of *śu* शु, which it resembles very closely. *Śu* was probably a faulty pronunciation for *su*.

The third point, and the most interesting one, is the question of the origin of these Nâgarî numerals. The old idea of Prinsep, according to which the figures were to be representatives of the initial letters of the cardinal numerals, has to be given up. But hitherto no satisfactory solution of the problem has been found. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has tried, as he tells me, the syllabic method of notating numbers of Âryabhaṭa and those used in the *Mantraśâstra*, without success. Nor can I pretend to produce the key to this mystery. I would only point out that the occurrence of the *Anunâsika*, of the *Jihvâmûlîya*, and of the *Upadhmanîya* among these figures indicates that they were invented by Brahmans, not by Vâṇiâs, nor by Buddhists, who used Prakrit. I should not wonder if they were finally traced to one of the ancient Brahmanical schools or *charaṇas*, where the practice of designating certain collections of roots or words, *e.g.* of the roots *dâ*, *do*, *de*, *dai* by *ghu*, and the use of letters and syllables to denote affixes (*e.g. pha* for *âyan*, *ṭha* for *ika*, *ḍha* for *eya*), and to indicate changes in the roots, have existed since very early times.

ON THREE MÂLWÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY NILKANṬHA JANÂRDAN KIRTANE.

While at Ujjain in November 1875, I obtained a copper-plate grant or inscription, which had been brought to the local authorities by a farmer, who found it while digging in his field. This led to the acquisition of two more inscriptions, one of which is a copper-plate grant, the other is engraven on a stone.

The first in chronological order is that of Śrî Vâkpati Râja Deva. This inscription is on two plates of copper, that were held together by two copper rings inserted through holes made in the plates. The rings are now wanting. Each of the plates measures 12 by 8·6 inches. The inscription contains 34 lines, and each line, on an average, contains 35 letters. In the left corner of the second or last plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa holding in his right hand a cobra de capello;—for what purpose the reader will easily imagine. The numeral ᳵ stands at the beginning of the grant. The last two characteristics are common to both the copper-plate inscriptions; and the characters in which all the three are written are those of the old Kâyastha Sanskrit alphabet, in which the *padmâtrâ* is very frequently used. I got this inscription of Vâkpati from the archives of the Central India Agency, and am indebted for it to the kindness of Sir Henry Daly and Paṇḍit

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. plate to p. 180.

Sarupa Nârâyaṇa.* This grant has already been translated and commented on by Dr. FitzEdward Hall in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXX. pp. 195-210.

The second copper-plate inscription I got at Ujjain through the kindness of the local authorities there. It is signed by the famous Râja Bhoja of Dhâr, and purports to be a grant of a village by name Vîrâṇaka to a certain Brâhmaṇ of the country of Râdhâ Surasanga Karṇâṭa, by name Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa, who had come into Mâlwâ from Śrivâḍa, in the country or division of Vellu Valla. This inscription also is on two plates of copper joined together by two rings of copper. Each of the plates measures 12 inches by 8.

This second grant connects itself with the first by enumerating some of the kings mentioned in the first grant, thus enhancing the value of both. It was turned up by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream now called Nâgajhari, which must apparently be the same as the Nâgadraha mentioned in the grant. This stream is included within the holy Panchakroshî of Ujjain. The date of this inscription is Chaitra Śuddhi Chaturdaśi of the Saṁvat year 1078, *i.e.* 1021 A.D.; the date of the *grant* is Mâgha Asitatritîya of the same year.

The third inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring about 20 inches by 14, which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda, in the territory of the junior Râja of Devas. It purports to be a grant of a village, called Agâsiyaka towards the expenses of a temple of Mahâdeva by name Gohadeśvara. Śri Vijayapâladeva is the grantor of this inscription, which is dated Ashâḍha Śukla Ekâdaśi of the Saṁvat year 1190, or 1123-4 A.D.

The numeral ९ (if it be not meant for "*Om*"), and the figure of Garuḍa holding the hooded snake, in the first two inscriptions, are not, I presume, without significance. The numeral may suggest that the *writers* of the grant were Buddhists, the 9 standing for the well-known nine *praṇâms* or salutations to the deities of the followers of Buddha;† and the figure of Garuḍa, I conjecture, signifies that the king whose royal device it is, is of the line of the Seshâri kings of Ujjain or Mâlwâ, the hereditary enemies of Śâlivâhana of Pratishṭhâna or Paiṭhana on the Godâvarî—in other words, the successors or descendants of the famous, but almost fabulous, Vikramâditya of Avanti or Ujjain.‡

It may be remarked of these inscriptions that they were found in or near the identical places which they respectively purport to give away.

Vâkpati Râja Deva may or may not have been the grandfather of Bhoja, and my reason for doubt is that the grandfather of Bhoja is said to be (vide *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 166) one Mahendra Pâl.§ As this statement is not, however, corroborated by any satisfactory evidence, I incline to the belief that Vâkpati was the grandfather of Bhoja, and that the line of kings as given in this and the other inscriptions is in the order of natural descent from father to son, or of those who stood to each other in that relation by the rite of adoption. The very words made use of in the documents—"पादानुध्यात"—'meditating on the feet of,' "मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये"—'for the extension of the merits of mother and father (= ancestors) as well as of ourselves'—tends to lead to the

* I am told that they were exhumed at Dharampuri—60 miles from Indor.

† णमो अलिहंताणं, णमो अजाणं, णमों उवज्झाणं &c.

‡ The Bhairâgîs called *Naths* sing a song of Bhartṛi which is a strange mixture of kings and places. The song says there was a marriage between Rânî Pingalâ, whom it makes the daughter of Bhoja, and the Râja Bhartṛi of Ujjain. Bhartṛi is asked to accept the hand of Pingalâ by a Brâhman on the part of Bhoja. Bhartṛi wants to know the family and race of the damsel. The reply of the Brâhman, which is the only true and valuable assertion in the whole song, is—

जात बतलाइं सिसोंद्याकी । गजमनधारके पोंवारकी ॥
गादिबतलाईं गर्दभसेनकी । &c. &c.

This song supports the view I have taken above. Gardabhasena, as the reader will easily remember, is the reputed father of the Vikramâditya who is supposed to have reigned at Ujjain 465 A.D.

§ Lassen, *Alterthumskunde* III. 822-869, and 1169, gives a list of the kings of Udayapura (30 miles N.E. of Bhilsâ), from which the following is an extract:—

1. Vairisiñha, after A.D. 921.
2. Sîyaka, son of V.
3. Munja, son of S., after A.D. 961.
4. Siñharâja, younger br. of M., after about 985.
5. Bhoja, son of S., after A.D. 997.

Lassen's list was founded on the *'Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II. pp. 46-50, and inscriptions known when he wrote, and omits Vâkpati Râja. Dr. Hall (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXX. pp. 199-205) continues the list thus:—

6. Udayâditya, son of Bhoja.
7. Naravarman, son of U., A.D. 1104-1133.
8. Yaśovarman, son of N., A.D. 1133-1143.
9. Jayavarman, son of Y.
10. Vindhyavarman, son of J.
11. Subhaṭavarman, son of V.
12. Arjuna, son of S., A.D. 1210-1225.—Ed.

latter belief, which gains strength from Munja's name being omitted from the list of kings in both inscriptions. Munja, it is notorious, was elected to rule the state after the death of Sindhu Râja Deva, the father of Bhoja, as the latter was then a minor of only eight years of age, and that he tried to usurp the regal power after Bhoja his nephew had come of age. Bhoja is said to have addressed to Munja several couplets, still well known,|| wherein, reproaching Munja with his base schemes, he said, "Karṇa Râja Vikrama is no more, and he carried nothing with him of his immense treasures, but died like other men." This Karṇa Râja Vikrama had, it is said, usurped the powers of his master, who was a great monarch. There was disseminated a prophecy which said that Bhoja would be a fortunate and powerful prince, and that he would reign over Mâlwâ, the Central Provinces, and the Dakhaṇ. This prophecy, it is said, had the desired effect, and Munja resigned his powers into the hands of Bhoja, and himself leading an army into the Dakhaṇ in the service of the state died in battle there. All this, I think, shows the existence of bad blood between the uncle and the nephew; yet, I presume, the natural aversion of a high-spirited and gifted youth towards a regent who tried to delay his desires is not sufficient to explain the omission of a brave and learned predecessor, if the end in view were not to mention one's own lineal ancestors only. This much I advance to support my assertion that the kings mentioned in Vâkpati's and Bhoja's inscriptions stand to each other in the relation of direct ancestorship. The *Dânchandrikâ* certainly supports this view in cases of all sorts of religious grants, as it is incumbent on the grantor to name in the deed of grant at least the names of his father and grandfather.

Of the proper names mentioned in Vâkpati's inscription, the most notable is the A h i c h c h h a t r a from which the philosopher V a s a n t â c h â r y a, as the grant says, emigrated into Mâlwâ, which to him naturally was a 'Dakshiṇa Dhâma,' or 'Southern country.' The locality of the place granted by this inscription can even now be clearly identified. The P i s h â c h a T î r t h a remains till this day, and also C h i k k i l i k â, now called Chikhaldâ—a tâlukâ of Holkar's. The G a r d h a b a N a d i is now called K h a r j â, a word of the same meaning. This place now is in the D h a r a m p u r i tâlukâ of H. H. the Râja of Dhâr. Of A h i c h c h h a t r a¶ it will be sufficient to say that it was formerly the capital of the North P â n c h â l, and is now identified with A d h i - K o t h a, near R â m n a g a r, in Rohilkhand. A pretty full account of A h i c h c h h a t r a is given by General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 359, 360, 363).

The grantee of the second inscription—D h a n a p a t i B h a ṭ, I am told by Balkrishṇa Śâstri of Indor, was a very learned man at the court of Bhoja. I do not know anything of Râd Sura Sang Karnaṭṭa or of Vellu Vella. The village V î r â ṇ â k a no longer exists in Mâlwâ. There is a certain V î r â ṇ â k a mentioned in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*; but that is not the Vîrâṇâka of the present grant, I suppose.

The I n g a n a p a t of the third grant is the modern village of I n g n o d a, in Western Mâlwâ. A g â s i y a k no longer exists. About seven miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kshiprâ the ruins of a Śaiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of G o h â d ê ś v a r a named in the grant.

As Bhoja is not mentioned by any foreign writer, it was impossible, until very lately, to ascertain with any near approach to the time at which he lived. Dr. Bühler says:—"The date

|| "The verses said to have been reported to Munja,—when he supposed that Bhoja had been put to death in pursuance of his orders,—as his victim's last words, are these:—

मान्धाता स महीपतिः कृतयुगेऽलङ्कारभूतो गतः
सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः क्वाऽसौ दशास्यान्तकः।
अन्ये चाऽपि युधिष्ठिरप्रभृतयो यावन्त एवाऽभवन्
नैकेनाऽपि समं गता वसुमती मन्ये (or मुञ्ज)त्वया यास्यति॥

'King Mândhâtṛi, the ornament of the golden age, has passed away: *and* where, *too*, is the slayer of Daśâsya, *Râma*, who threw a bridge over Mahodadhi, *the southern sea?* All other *monarchs*, likewise, that have flourished, Yudhishṭhira and the rest, *where are they?* None *of these* did the earth accompany: *but* I imagine that it will accompany thee.'

"These lines are wrought into the *Bhoja-prabandha*. An earlier work in which they occur is the *Śârngadhara-paddhati*, written in A. D. 1363. There they appear as an anonymous extract."—*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXI. pp. 202-3.—Ed.

¶ Dr. Hall thinks Ahichchhatra may not have been far from the Vindhyas, and Wilson supposed there were several places of the name. The former adds:—

"Many is the pious Marâṭhâ who never submits himself to the hands of his barber without repeating these lines:

आनर्तोऽहिच्छत्रः पाटलिपुत्रोऽदितिर्दितिः श्रीशः।
क्षौरे स्मरणादेषां दोषा नश्यन्ति निःशेषाः॥

"'By the recollection, on shaving, of Ánarta, Ahichchhatra, Pâṭaliputra, Aditi, Diti, and Śrîśa, the evils *incident to the operation* are all obviated.'"—Ed.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VÂKPATI RÂJA OF DHÂRÂ. A.D. 974. I.

of Bhoja is, unfortunately, not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Lassen places his reign between 997 and 1053. But the only certain date in his reign is the year 1043, in which his *karana*, the *Râjmṛigânka*, is dated. My reasons for placing him later are, firstly, that Bilhaṇa states that during Bhoja's reign, Someśvara I. (1040-1069) took Dhârâ by storm, and secondly that Kalhaṇa asserts (*Râjataraṅgiṇî* vii. 259) that Bhoja and Kshiti Râja or Kshiti Pati were, after 1062, the only true friends of the poets, &c.

Now the date of our *inscription* is Saṁvat 1078, Chaitra Śudi Chatturdashi, *i.e.* A.D. 1022, and it is evident that the *Râjmṛigânka* was written nearly twenty-one years after the date of the present grant, which, there is reason to suppose, was drawn *after* Bhoja had attained undisputed authority in the state. Let us now suppose that this happened in his eighteenth year, according to the provision of the Hindu Law in such cases. But we have further aid; for the Jain poet Amitagati, in his work called the *Subhâshitaratnasandoha*, says that he composed it in the Saṁvat year 1050 (994 A.D.), when Râja Munja was reigning. We know also that when Sindhu Râja, the father of Bhoja, died, the latter was a minor of some eight years only. If we take now the year 994 A.D. as the first of Munja's regency, which it is generally believed was a very short one, and deduct eight years from it, we get the year 986 as that of Bhoja's birth, and again if we add eighteen years to this time we get the year 1004 as that of Bhoja's accession to the throne. Add about fifty-five years to this—Bhoja is said to have reigned 55 years and some months*—and we get the year 1059 as that of Bhoja's death,—surely within a few years of the real dates. There remain now about 19 years, in which we must place part at least of Vâkpati's reign, and the whole of Sindhu Râja's.

The two inscriptions taken together give the following line of kings :—

1 Kṛishṇa Râja Deva.
— 2 Vaira Siṅha Deva.
— 3 Sîyaka Deva.
— 4 Vâkpati Râja Deva.
— 5 Sindhu Râja Deva.
— 6 Bhoja Deva.

I do not know much about the kings mentioned in the third inscription. Mâlwâ, at and before the time of the Muhammadan invasion, was split into a number of small kingdoms, and the kings in this grant may be some of them.

I.—*Vâkpati's Inscription.*

1*st Plate.*

1 ओं याः स्फूर्ज्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूमप्रभाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाबद्धशशाङ्ककोटिघटिता याः सै-
2 ह्निकेयोपमाः ॥ याश्चंचद्गिरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः
3 श्रेयान्सि पुष्णन्तु वः ॥ यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखितं यन्नाऽऽर्द्रितम्वारिधेर्व्वारा यन्न निजेन नाभिसर-
4 सीपद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतं । यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्न्न चाऽऽश्वासितं तद्राधाविरहातुरं मुररिपोर्व्वे-
5 ल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीवैरिसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक महाराजाधिरा-
7 जपरमेश्वर श्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमो-
8 घवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥ श्रीन-
9 र्म्मदातटे गर्द्दभपानीयभोगे गर्द्दभपानीयसम्वद्धिनी † उत्तरस्यां दिशि पिप्परिकानाम्ना तडारे स-
10 मुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः ‡ स-
11 म्विदितं । यथा तडारोऽयमस्माभिराघाटाः पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि । अगारवाहला मर्यादा । तथो उत्तरस्यां
12 दिशि चिखिल्लिकासत्कगर्तायासमायता सा मर्यादा । तथा पश्चिमदिशौ § गर्द्दभनदी मर्यादा । त-
13 था दक्षिणस्यां दिशौ श्रीपिसाचदेवत्तिर्थमर्यादा । एवं चतुराघाटोपलक्षिताभिरेकतृंशसा-

* पंचाशत् पंचवर्षाणि सप्तमासा दिनत्रयं राज्ञो भोजस्य भोक्तव्यं पश्चाच्च यवनो भवेत्, 55 years, 7 months, and 3 days.

† Read सम्बन्धिनि.

‡ Read बोधयति । अस्तु वः

§ Read दिशि.

14 हविकसम्वत्सरेस्मिन् भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्द्दश्यां पवित्रकपर्व्वणि श्रीमदुज्जयनीसमावासितैः
15 शिवतडागाम्भसि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्याऽसारतां दृष्ट्वा॥
16 वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबि-
17 न्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं
18 प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं स-

2nd Plate.

19 कलमिदमाकलय्योपरिलिखितनडार: स्वसीमातृणकाष्ठगूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तः स-
20 वृक्षमालाकुल¶ सहिरण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादायसमेतः अहिच्छत्रविनिर्ग्गताय धा-
21 मदक्षिणप्रपन्नाय ज्ञानविज्ञानसंपन्नाय श्रीमद्वसन्ताचार्याय श्रीधनिकपण्डितसूनवे ॥
22 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचंद्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं पर-
23 या भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभो-
24 गकरहिरण्यादिकं सर्व्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वदास्मै समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफ-
25 लं बुद्ध्वा ऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च उक्तं
26 च। बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः र्यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदाफलं। यानीह दत्तानि
27 पुरानरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुःपुनराददीत।अस्म-
28 त्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचञ्चलाया दा-
29 नं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते
30 रामभद्रः ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । इति
31 कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च सकलमिदमुदाहृ-
32 तं च बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ इति सं १०३१ भाद्रपद
33 शुदि १४ स्वयमाज्ञादायकश्चात्र श्रीकण्ठपैकः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्प-
34 तिराजदेवस्य ॥

Garuda.

Translation of Vâkpati's Inscription.

May the resplendent beauties of the manly throat of Śrîkaṇṭha (*Mahâdeva*), smoky in appearance from their mixing with the smoke issuing, as from the fire-like poison of the hissing snake, which, as they reach where the ever-changing and shining crescent is placed on his head, may appropriately be compared to Rahu,—beauties which are the result of frequent contact with the quivering cheeks of Girijâ (*Pârvatî*), and which are mistaken for the musk applied to them,—increase your prosperity!

May the active body of the enemy of Mura (Krishṇa), which the face of Lakshmî could not please, which the waters of the ocean could not cool, which the lotus of the lake of his own navel was powerless to pacify, and which could not be soothed by the fragrant breath issuing from the thousand mouths of Śesha: that body of Krishṇa so heated by Râdhâ's separation, protect you!

Happy be the great monarch, the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Amoghavarsha Deva, otherwise called the illustrious Vâkpatirâya Deva, the lord of the earth, the lord of wealth, and the lord of kings, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Sîyaka Deva, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vairisiñha Deva, successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Krishṇârâja Deva!* He

¶ Read °कुल:

* An inscription very like this, "naming the same kings, emanating likewise from Vâkpatirâja, and dated only four years later, in A.V. 1036, has appeared in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* for 1850, pp. 475-480. Another inscription from Nâgpur, which speaks of Vairisiñha and of Sîyaka,—misread Bhîmaka,—will be found in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. I. (No. vi.) pp. 259-286. It has since been deciphered and translated anew by Professor Lassen, and, no doubt, with much greater fidelity than was observed by the dilettante who first published it."—Dr. F. Hall, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXX. p. 197 n. This Vâkpati inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhavabhuti if the assertion of Kalhaṇa in the *Râjataranginî* be true:—

"कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्री भवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिबंदितां "

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VÂKPATI RÂJA OF DHÂRÂ. A.D. 974. II.

SÂSANA OF BHOJA, dated Saṁvat 1078.

orders all the Government officers, Brâhmaṇs and others, *patils*, and inhabitants, and cultivators assembled in the *Tadâr*† by name Pîpparikâ, situate on the banks of the holy Narmadâ, to the north of the portion of waters called the Gardabhapâni, that it be known to them that the said Tadâr (?), which is bounded on the east by the Agârvâhalâ, and on the north by the rivulet which flows into the ditch belonging to Chikhillikâ, and on the west by the Gardabha river, and on the south by the Piśâchatîrtha—the Tadâr whose boundaries on the four sides have thus been described—the king being at Ujjain on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrapada, the auspicious day of the Pavitrak Parvaṇi of the Saṁvat year 1031, after bathing himself in the waters of the Śiva lake and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of Bhavânî, and considering on the vanity of the world—

"The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest clouds," &c.‡

"The life of man is like a drop of water," &c.‡

"Wealth is changing like the edge of the circumference of a revolving wheel," &c.‡

—being thus convinced of the vanity of all created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the merits of his mother and father as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (on the palms of the hands of the grantee) does hereby give away the above-mentioned Tadâr, with all its proper boundaries, which extend as far as the ground for the tending of the cattle and for cutting grass and fuel extends, covering the space of one *kos*,—with all the rows of trees thereon and the minerals therein, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights belonging to it,—to the very learned Brâhmaṇ philosopher the illustrious Vasantâchârya, son of Dhanika Paṇḍit, who has emigrated from Ahichchhatra into this southern realm,—as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure.

Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brâhmaṇ, in obedience to the royal order, all established rents, servitudes, taxes, and the gold.

"Considering that the merit," &c.‡

"This earth has been enjoyed by many princes," &c.‡

"Of wealth, which is as transitory as a bubble of water," &c.‡

"To all future kings of this earth," &c.‡

"Looking upon wealth," &c.‡

Dated 1031 Bhâdrapada Śudi Chatturdaśi 14. This order has been given by Śrî Kaṇhapaika. This is the signature in Vâkpatirâja Deva's own handwriting.

II.—Bhoja's Inscription.

Plate I.

1 जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय बिभर्त्ति तां । ऐन्दवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिम् ॥
2 तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलय-
3 पिङ्गलाः ॥ परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री सीयकदेव पादा-
4 नुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेव-
5 पादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
6 परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥ नागद्रह पश्चिम पथ-
7 कांतः पाति वीराणके समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकि-
8 ल जनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ॥ यथा अतीताष्टसप्तत्यधिकसाहस्रिक-
9 सम्वत्सरे माघासिततृतीयायाम् । रवावुदगयनपर्व्वणि कल्पित ह-
10 लानां लेख्ये ॥ श्रीमद्धारायामवस्थितैरस्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगव-

† Dr. Hall reads this *Vaḍar*.—Ed.

‡ The full translation of the ślokas marked thus ‡ is given in the translation of the second inscription, where they occur again.

11 न्तन्भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्चर्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदम्वसुधाधिपत्य-
12 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिन्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मस्स-
13 खा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ भ्रमत्सन्सारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य येन
14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्योपरि
15 लिखितग्रामः स्वसीमातृणगोचर यूतिपर्य्यन्तस्सहिरण्यभागभो-
16 स्व ह स्तो य श्री भो ज दे व स्य

Plate II.

1 गः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादायसमेतः ब्राह्मणधनपतिभट्टाय भट्टगोविन्दसुताय व-
2 हृचाश्वलायनशाखाय अगस्तिगोत्राय । त्रिप्रवराय वेल्लवल्लप्रतिबद्ध श्रीवादाविनिर्ग्गतरा-
3 धसुरसंग कर्ण्णाटाय । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्ययशोभिवृद्धये । अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य आच-
4 न्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा
5 यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञा श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ।
6 सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलम्बुध्वास्मद्वन्सजैरन्यैरपि भावि भोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मादायो य-
7 मनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा
8 भूमिस्तस्य तस्यतदा फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयसस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्य-
9 वान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि रन्यैश्च
10 दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिच्छलिलबुद्बुदचंचलाया दानं फलंपरयसष्परिपा-
11 लनं च ॥ सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः
12 सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ इति क-
13 मलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमि-
14 दमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ सम्वत् १०
15 ७८ चैत्रशुदि १४ स्वयमाज्ञामंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य

Translation of Bhoja's Inscription.

Glory to the god whose hair is the sky (*Mâhadeva*), and who bears on his head the horned moon, emblematic of the shoot from which sprang the world!

May the braids of the enemy of the god of love, brown like the dread lightning of the day of final dissolution, always extend the sphere of your prosperity!

Happy be the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious B h o j a d e v a, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious S i n d h u r â j a d e v a,|| the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious V â k p a t i r â j a d e v a, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious S î y a k a d e v a. He orders all the officers of Government, good Brâhmaṇs and others, *pâṭîls* and *rayats* assembled in V i r â ṇ â k a, situate within the limits of the division or country to the west of the Nâgadraha, that it be known to them that on the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mâgha of the Saṁvat year 1078, on Sunday when the sun began his northern journey, he being then at the glorious city of Dhâr, after bathing himself and worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thing, the lord and husband of Bhavâni, and considering on the vanity of the world (*as in the ślokas*) :—

"The dominion of the earth is as shifting as the tempest-clouds that are wafted on the wind, and the enjoyments which it offers are pleasing only for a moment.

"The life of man is like a drop of water hanging on the point of a blade of grass, If one wish to go to heaven, virtue, O men, is the greatest friend in the journey!

"Wealth is changing, like the edge of the cir-

|| Tod read *Sindhula* on a marble inscription at Madhuhargaṛh dated Saṁ. 1164. See *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 220, 226, 228; Lassen reads S i n h a r â j a, apparently from the Nâgpur copperplate: *Ind. Altert.* III. 1169.—ED.

SÂSANA OF BHOJA (2nd plate).

cumference of the revolving wheel of worldly life. Repentance, therefore, will be the sole reward of those who obtaining wealth will not bestow it in works of charity."

And being thus convinced of the vanity of all created things, and choosing to abide by the unforeseen rewards for meritorious deeds, bent on furthering the glory and merits of his mother and father as well as of himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water (*on the hands of the grantee*), by this writ of the ploughs¶ of land to be given (*in charity*), he (*the king*) grants away, as long as the sun and moon, the earth and the seas endure, the above-mentioned village, with all its proper boundaries, which extend over the space of one *kos*, as far as the ground for tending cattle, with all the gold, the land revenue, and the servitude and sundry other revenues or fines, and with all sorts of rights thereof, to D h a n a p a t i B h a ṭ ṭ a, son of Govinda Bhaṭṭa, a Ṛigvedî Brâhmaṇ of the Â ś v a l â y a n a *śâkhâ*, of the Agasti *gotra* and *tripravara*, who, being an inhabitant of R â d h â S u r a s a n g a K a r ṇ â ṭ a, has come from Ś r î v â ḍ a, situate in V e l l u V a l l a. Knowing this, they are henceforth to give to this Brâhmaṇ, in obedience to the royal will, all established rents, taxes, and cash.

Considering that the merit of this charitable deed belongs to them in common with him, all succeeding kings, whether of his family or of any other, ought to acquiesce in this his charitable grant and uphold it; for it is said:—

"This earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others, and the merit (*of charitable grants*) has successively belonged to those who, for the time being, were possessed of sovereign power over her. Things given away in charity by former kings with aims of philanthropy and renown are likened to rejected things and to vomitings, and what good man would again resume them?

"This charity of ours should be acquiesced in alike by those who will glory in the nobility of our family, and by those who may be strangers to us.

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two: one is its employment in charities, and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame.

"To all future kings of this earth does the Śrî Râmachandra entreat again and again that as the bridge of charity is a common boon, which benefits all kings in their times alike, it should in successive times be maintained intact by them all."

Therefore, looking upon wealth as if it were a drop of water on the petal of a lotus-flower, and upon life as quite uncertain, and thinking on all that I have said, a man should never try to undo what others have done to commemorate their names.

Dated in the Saṁvat year 1078, Chaitra Śuddhi 14 Chaturdaśi. Svayamajñyâ Maṅgalam Mahâśrîḥ.

(*Witness*) this signature in Bhoja Deva's own handwriting.

III.—Inscription at Ingnoda.

1 छ ॥ ॐ नमः। संवत्सरशतेष्वेकादशसु नवत्यधिकेषु आषाढशुक्लपक्षेकादश्यां संवत् ११९० आशाढशुदि ११ अद्येह इंग-

2 णपटे समस्तराजावलीविराजितभर्त्तृपदाभिदानमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीपालपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-

3 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीतिहुणपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवेन भगवंतं भ-

4 वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां विचिंत्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये आत्मीयामात्यमंत्रिपुरोहित

5 घटिकावितसमस्तपरिवारसंविदितं अत्रत्यब्रह्मपुरिकाब्राह्मणः डदस्वामिः। सोमदेवगदेलाक तथा महां

6 कोकलः तथा राधांदूकं तथा श्रेः लाला तथाश्रे०* साढा तथा श्रे०लषमणादिप्रभृतिसमस्तमहाजनप्रत्यक्षम्। आ-

¶ A plough of land in Mâlwâ is equal to a piece of ground one can till with one pair of bullocks. *Drona* is another measure of land mentioned in old grants.

* श्रे॰ may be short for श्रेष्ट (modern शेट).

7 ढाढशुक्लपक्षेकादश्यां पर्व्वणि इंगणपटदाक्षिणपथके श्रीगोहडेश्वरदेवाय आगासियकग्रामं स्वसीमाप-
8 र्यंतं सवृक्षमालाकुलं सकाष्ठतृणेंधनोपेतं सहिरण्यभागभोगकरदानीसमेतं उदकपूर्व्वकत्वेनग्रामोयं प्र-
9 दत्तां तथैतन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादिलोकैराजाभिधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै देवाय प्रदातव्यं ॥ अन्यैश्च भावि-
10 भूपालैः पालनीया कालकालांतरेणापि केनापि परिपंथा न कार्य्या ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयश-
11 स्कराणि । निर्माल्यवस्त्रानि व मानितानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य-
12 यस्य यदाभूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ स्वदतां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां। षाष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि रौरवे नरके वसे-
13 त् ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यं आपातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ॥ प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिंदुसमा नराणां धर्मः
14 सखा परमहो परलोकयाते ॥ वालभान्वयकायस्थराजपालस्यसूनुना ॥ आसाधरसुतेनेयं केल्हणेन-तलेखितां
15 कुकासस्आन्वयसूत्रधारमहाबलस्य सूनुना हरसेणसुतसाजणेन लेखितं: ॥

Translation of the 3rd Inscription.

Adoration to Śiva. On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashâḍha of the Saṁvat year 1190, here in Inganapat, by me the king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Vijayapâladeva, the successor of the great monarch, king of kings, the lord paramount, the illustrious Tihunapâladeva, the successor of the prosperous Prithavipâladeva, who shone resplendent among the row of the kings, and who possessed the titles of the lord, king of kings and lord paramount: (By me) after worshipping the lord and husband of Bhavânî, and meditating on the vanity of the world—in order to increase the merit and fame of my mother and father as well as of myself, in the presence of all my councillors, the family priest, and the astrologer, and all other dependants, and of the Brâhmaṇ Indu Svâmi Sâdelâk, resident of the Brahmapuri street of this place, and of Mahâkokal, and Radhânduka, and Śrî Lâlâ, and Śrî Sadhâ, and Śrî Lakshmaṇâ, and others of the merchants, on the propitious 11th day of Ashâḍha, is given, with the ceremony of pouring water, the village of Agâsiyaka as far as its own boundaries extend, with all the trees, shrubs, and riches contained therein, as well as all the rents and servitude, taxes and titles, to the god Gohadeśvara, situate within the division or country to the south of Inganapat.

In virtue of this, the *pâṭils* and cultivators of the village should, in deference to the king's order, henceforth pay all this to the abovementioned god.

Things granted in charity by former kings, &c. &c.

This earth has been enjoyed by many princes, &c. &c.

He who resumes land given (in charity) either by himself or by anybody else, lives a worm in the hell called Raurava for sixty thousand years.

The dominion of the earth is as shifting as a tempest-cloud, &c.

This has been written by Âshâdhara, son of Kelahṇa, son of Râjapâla, a Kâyastha of the family of Valabha.

This is engraved by Sagana, son of Harsena, son of the artizan Mahâbal, of the family of Kukâs.†

† The last two paragraphs are unintelligible as they stand in the original; the translation is merely a guess at what the writer and engraver may have meant. This inscription, again, it will be observed, is interspersed with glaring grammatical mistakes, which, however, may easily be corrected. The transliteration given, however, is a faithful copy of the original,—of which a reduced facsimile is given in the accompanying plate.

ŚILAŚÂSANAM OF VIJAYAPÂLA DEVA.-A.D. 1123-4.

W. Griggs photo-lith. from a tracing.

SIZE OF ORIGINAL 20" BY 14."

NOTES ON GUPTA COINS.

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR E. C. BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.

SINCE the publication of Mr. Thomas's latest paper on the dynasty of the Guptas* I have become possessed, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, of three coins which tend to elucidate some of the points left doubtful by Mr. Thomas.

The first of these coins is a duplicate of that in the late Mr. Freeling's cabinet,† which Mr. Thomas attributes, though doubtfully, to "Śrî Gupta."

The rough execution of that coin allying it with those of the latest Guptas renders it, as Mr. Thomas points out, *à priori* unlikely that the coin could have been struck by the founder of the Gupta dynasty; but if the reading were correct it might still be attributed to a later king of the same name.

My coin, however, is in considerably better preservation, and though, unfortunately, the actual name of the king by whom it was struck is not legible, yet the rest of the inscription leaves little doubt that his name was *not* Śrî Gupta.

The words "Śrî Gupta" undoubtedly occur, but in the beginning of the legend; and though the letters which follow them are, unfortunately, too rudely cut to be legible, still there can be small doubt that the entire word is merely some epithet applied to the king, referring to the Gupta race. The legend reads as follows :—

or *Śrî Gupta râ - - ptarâja - - - - Gupta vikramârkasya.*

My own impression is that the blank for the fifth word in the above legend should be filled up with the word Kumâra, but I cannot pretend to make any suggestion as to the emendation of the third word.

The next coin is only curious as being allied to the above, for it is undoubtedly one of "Chandra Gupta," and in all probability of Chandra Gupta II.

Both coins have the same style of head on the obverse (unfortunately no dates), and the symbol which Mr. Thomas terms the Pârvatî symbol on the reverse.

I give the legend on the reverse :—

1 2 3 4 6 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

Of the above twenty-two letters, twelve, forming the latter half of the legend, are quite distinct, viz.

Râja Śrî Chandra Gupta Vikramâṅkasya.

The three first letters seem to be the same as those at the commencement of the legend on the coin already described, viz. *Śrî Gupta;* and the letters 4, 6, 7, and perhaps 8, seem (interrupted by a star) to form the conclusion of the word thus commenced. The 9th and 10th letters are not clear, and may be *de, va,—deva Râja* —being an epithet assumed by Chandra Gupta II.‡; but while the ninth letter seems preferably to read *ja,* the tenth *may* be *dhi.*

The entire legend would therefore read—

Śrî Gupta - .:. - - - râ-ja-dhirâja Śrî Chandra-
-de-va
Gupta-vikramaṅkasya.

I believe the epithet *Vikramaṅkasya* is new to Indian numismatics,—at least I can recall no other example of it.

These two coins have, however, rather a purely numismatic than an historic interest. The third coin is of value historically, for it gives the date of a king hitherto unplaced in the Gupta dynasty, viz. Bakra Gupta.

I do not give any description of this coin: for, save in the points noticed below, it is exactly the same as that figured by Mr. Thomas in his paper already quoted as No. XII.* (*Archæol. Rep.* p. 63).

The only points of difference are that the letter *B* is more clearly *B* on my coin,—squarer, that is, than in Mr. Thomas's figure, or ; and secondly the obverse is that of the coin No. X.* of Mr. Thomas's paper: it bears a date, that is to say, *behind* the head (as in the Kshatrapa coins) = *v*(*arsha*)§ 90. The date on both the

* In the *Report on the Antiquities of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh* of the Archæological Survey of Western India, pp. 18 ff., also printed separately (Trübner & Co.).

† Save that it does show the group of stars on the reverse, which Mr. Freeling's once, apparently, bore.

‡ I am indebted for this suggestion to General Cunningham.

§ It will be seen that I read the "iota" symbol prefixed to the date as *va* for *varshê*. I do this on the authority of an unpublished late Kshatrapa coin (also given me by Dr. Bühler); on it is clearly (*vasha*) 300. See also the *prathame* of Îśvaradata's coins.

known coins of Toramâṇa (to the style of which this coin closely approximates) is "82";|| in neither case is there any figure to represent the century.

The inference which I think may be first drawn from the fact is that, supposing both kings to use the same era, Bakra Gupta (I imagine *Bakra* to be a local barbarism for *Vakra*) was eight years later in date to Toramâṇa, and secondly that both were included in the series of later Gupta kings.

As to the era of the date, Mr. Thomas has suggested that it may be applied (1) to the Gupta family era; (2) to the era adopted by the Kshatrapa kings, as for a time used by the Guptas; and (3) to the Seleucidan era (so I understand), omitting the cipher for hundreds. I venture to suggest a fourth, viz. the "Loka Kâl," as to which General Cunningham and Dr. Bühler have recently written, and in applying which the century is *never* mentioned. Accepting the Gupta era, the date cannot be less than 190 of that era, for Chandra Gupta II. is of the year 90, and this coin is of far later date and execution. If the Gupta era be taken as the equivalent of the Śaka era,¶ this would place Bakra Gupta in 268 A.D.

If it be taken as representing the (2)90th year of the Kshatrapa dynasty, and that be the equivalent of the Vikramâditya era,* then the date would be 233 A.D.

If the Seleucidan era be adopted, the date would be (the fifth century of the Seleucidan era being taken) 278 A.D.

Again, if the *Loka Kâl* be taken, and supposing the century to be that beginning in 214 A.D. (it could scarcely be earlier with reference to the date of Chandra Gupta II.), then the date of Bakra Gupta would fall as low as 314 A.D., and Toramâṇa would be brought down to 306 A.D.

I proceed to consider which of these dates seems the most probable.

As to the first, if the Kshatrapa era is to be taken as equivalent to that of Vikramâditya, and the Gupta era as that of the Śakas, or if ever they respectively approximated, then Bakra Gupta would be brought in before Buddha Gupta, whose dates of 155 and 165 of the Gupta era are equal to 234 and 244 A.D. on the theory that they are Śaka dates. The style of Bakra Gupta coins hardly warrants this supposition, though it is not *impossible*.

The other three dates appear preferable; the Seleucidan era if applied to Toramâṇa's coin also would place that king in 270 A.D.,—about twenty-six years later than Buddha Gupta; the Gupta era would place Buddha Gupta, Toramâṇa, and Bakra Gupta in closer contact still; while the *Loka Kâl* would doubtless bring down the last named two kings 58 and 66 years respectively later than Buddha Gupta.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the Gupta era is that to be preferred. It is clear from the two Eran inscriptions that the kings Buddha Gupta and Toramâṇa both were reigning during the life of one and the same man, Dhanya Vishṇu, and that the latter was a man of some position and wealth under the earlier king. It is, of course, far from impossible that Dhanya Vishṇu may have been young when he caused one monument to be erected, and very old when the other was executed. If he lived even to, say, eighty years of age, even sixty years may well have elapsed between the execution of the two monuments, *i.e.* the later years of Buddha Gupta and the earlier of Toramâṇa. Still the shorter interval is certainly the more probable one, and I am therefore inclined to think, with Mr. Thomas, that Toramâṇa should be placed in 260-61 A.D., and Bakra Gupta I would accordingly place in 268-69,—adopting, that is, the Gupta family era as that of both coins, and assuming that to be identical with the Śaka era.

|| Mr. Thomas thinks that the year of the century is obliterated. I confess that on the British Museum coin, which I have closely examined, I see no trace of any century date; this point is of little importance, however, as will be subsequently apparent.

¶ This is a disputed point: Albîrûnî (if we can trust at all to his text) states that the Gupta era began in Śaka 241 (or A.D. 319); and this is supported by inscriptions quoted by Col. Tod. If this can be depended on, Bakra Gupta may have ruled in 190 + 319 = 509 A.D., and he or his predecessor may have been the Chinese *Kio-to* or 'Gupta' king who sent an embassy to China in A.D. 502.—Conf. *Jour. Asiatique*, IVme série, tom. X. pp. 91, 100; 2nd *Archæol. Rep.* ut sup. pp. 28, 80, 133.—ED.

* This assumption is opposed to Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's opinion in *Trans. Orient. Congress*, 1874, who regards the Śaka era as that from which the Kshatrapas dated.—ED.

A NEW GRANT OF GOVINDA III., RÂṬHOR.

BY G. BÜHLER.

In June last Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Revâkâṇṭhâ, informed me that, while acting in 1873-4 as Political Agent of Pahlanpur, he had been shown by the Kârbhârî of Râdhanpur two copperplates the writing of which resembled very closely that of the Morbî plate published by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar in the *Indian Antiquary*. I at once addressed Colonel Shortt, the present Political Agent, Pahlanpur, on the subject, and solicited his good offices with the Râdhanpur Darbâr for a loan of the plates seen by Major Watson. Colonel Shortt very kindly acquainted the Navâb with my request, and procured for me four plates, after a troublesome hunt for the half-forgotten grants. On examining them I found that two of them contain three-fourths of a land-grant issued by Govinda III., Râṭhor; while the other two belong to Bhîmadeva I., Châlukya, of Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâṭhaṇ. The latter will be published in my paper on the land-grants of the Aṇhilvâḍ Châlukyas. The former are so important that they deserve a separate article.

The two plates measure each 12 inches by 10, and have one hole in the middle of the left-hand side, in which the seal-ring was fixed. The latter has been lost, as well as the third sheet. For this grant, like other ancient Râṭhor *śâsanas*, was written on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the centre one bears letters on both sides.* The loss is of small importance, as the last plate contained only the well-known verses from the Smṛiti on the subject of gifts of land. The letters of our grant are ancient Devanâgarî, exactly resembling those of the Sâmangaḍh plate published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 371. The preservation of the plates is, on the whole, good. Only in the centre of Pl. I., and in the first line of Pl. II. *a*, some letters have become indistinct,—apparently by the friction of the sheets against each other. The execution is also good. A few letters have been left out accidentally, and a moderate number of other mistakes occur. Noticeable peculiarities are the employment of the *Anusvâra* instead of final *n*, and of the vowel *ṛi* instead of the syllable *ri*, both of which are incorrect, but of frequent occurrence in MSS. also.

As regards its substance, the *śâsana* is for the greater part identical with the Vaṇ Dindorî grant, which was discovered by L. Reid, Esq., and published by Mr. Wathen in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 350 *et seq*. Both have been issued by the same prince and in the same Śaka year. As might be expected from these circumstances, their historical portions agree very closely. But it is very fortunate that the new grant contains a few more verses than the earlier one, some of which are of great importance for the history of Western India.

Govinda III. was one of the most powerful princes of that great Râshṭrakûṭa, Râṭhor, or Raṭṭa family which rose to power in the Dekhan about the middle of the eighth century, and for the space of two centuries obscured and almost took the place of its older rival, the Châlukya race of Kalyâṇa. During the time of its prosperity it extended its rule not only over the Dekhan proper, but over the Koṅkaṇa, a portion of Gujarât, and Central India up to the Vindhyas. Its influence, no doubt, made itself felt much further north. Its power sank again towards the close of the tenth century, when the Châlukyas, under Tailapa of Kalyâṇa and his successors, regained their ancient position. But even after that period we find Râshṭrakûṭa states at Devagiri, at Belgâm, &c. in the Dekhan, in Central India, and even as far north as Kânôj, some of which played a considerable part during the last period of Hindu rule, and branches of which flourish even in the present day.

We possess a considerable number of grants issued by, or referring to, this particular Râshṭrakûṭa family, which, according to their dates, may be arranged in the following order:—

1. The Sâmangaḍh plates of Śaka 675.†
2. The Vaṇ Dindorî plates of Śaka 730.‡
3. The Râdhanpur plates dated Śaka 730.§
4. The Baroda plates dated Śaka 734.||
5. The Kâvî plates dated Śaka 749.¶

* Compare the description of the Kâvî grant, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 371 *et seq.*

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 350.

§ *i.e.* those now under review.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VIII. p. 292.

¶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144.

6. The Sânglî plates dated Śaka 855.*
7. The Salotgî inscription dated Śaka 867.†
8. The Kardâ plates dated Śaka 894.‡
9. The Khârepâṭaṇ plates dated Śaka 930.§

But, in spite of these considerable materials, the history of this family has not been made out satisfactorily,—partly because the first discovered grants have been badly read, and partly because the last discovered ones give fuller information than those accessible to H. H. Wilson, Lassen, Bâl Gangâdhar, and S. P. Paṇḍit. Other circumstances, too, have contributed to obscure the real state of things. The first point is the evil habit of the Râshṭrakûṭas (which, indeed, may be observed in the case of many other Indian dynasties||) of taking a large number of *birudas*, or honorific titles; and of their poets, who composed the historical portions of the grants, of using these names indiscriminately, or even of substituting synonyms for them.

The second cause of confusion is the still more reprehensible practice of some writers of the *śâsanas* of leaving out in the *vaṁśâvalî* any princes whom they considered unworthy of notice. Well-authenticated instances of this kind are afforded by the Valabhî grants, most of which omit the four sons of Bhaṭârka; by the grants of the Châlukyas of Aṇhilvâḍ, several of which pass in silence by the name of Vallabhasena, who reigned for a few months only; and by the *śâsanas* of the ancient Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa.

Instead of simply giving an analysis of the Râdhanpur plates, I shall now attempt to reconstruct a portion of the pedigree and of the history of the Dekhanî Râshṭrakûṭas from the above nine grants. I do not pretend to trace *all* Râshṭrakûṭas back to their origin, nor even to give the history of all the kings named in the nine grants. The historical documents which are accessible at present are in my opinion insufficient to decide whether the Râshṭrakûṭas were an Âryan Kshatriya, *i.e.* Râjput race, which immigrated into the Dekhan from the north like the Châlukyas, or a Dravidian family which was received into the Aryan community after the conquest of the Dekhan. It is, further, as yet impossible to determine the period when a Râshṭrakûṭa empire was first founded in the Dekhan. Only this much is clear, that Râshṭrakûṭa kings ruled over parts of the Dekhan in the fourth and fifth centuries; because the first Châlukya, Jayasiṁha, destroyed one Indra, the son of Krishṇa, who belonged to this family.¶ Nor is it feasible to determine the relation of the latest Râshṭrakûṭa dynasties, especially those of Kânoj, from whom the present Râṭhors of Jodhpur and Idar are descended, to the family of the grantors of the above *śâsanas*. The list also of the kings from Govinda I. to Kakkala, enumerated in the nine grants, offers a difficulty regarding the succession to the tenth prince, Akâlavarsha, which has already exercised the ingenuity of H. H. Wilson, Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî, and S. P. Paṇḍit. All I shall attempt is, therefore, to give an account of the first ten kings of the nine grants,—a contribution to the history of the Dekhan and the adjacent western coast during the time from 660 to 850 A.D.

The first three princes,—Govinda I., Karka I., and Indra I.,—who are noticed in grants Nos. 1, 4, and 5 only, are described in general terms. The poets, as in duty bound, extol their bravery, their justice and piety, but without stating how they distinguished themselves. Hence it may be inferred that not much was to be said about them, and especially that during their reigns the war with the Châlukyas had not yet broken out. In favour of this view the fact may be adduced that the queen of the third, Indra I., was the daughter of a Châlukya father and a Somânvaya (*i.e.* Yâdava or Râshṭrakûṭa) mother (grant No. 1, v. 9). For, with the state of things which existed during the succeeding reigns, matrimonial alliances between the two houses would hardly have been possible. Counting backwards three generations from Śaka 675, the date of grant No. 1, and allowing twenty-five years for each generation, the year 660 A.D. may be roughly assigned to Govinda I. as the initial date of his reign, 685 A.D. to Karka I., and 710 A.D. to Indra I.

The fourth prince, Dantidurga, the son

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 100.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 205.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 94.

§ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 209.

|| A glaring instance of this practice I have noted in my Introduction to the *Vikramâṅkacharita*, where eight names of the hero are mentioned: *Vikram.* p. 30, note 2.

¶ See the Mîraj plates, v. 7, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 259.

of Indra I. and of his Châlukya queen, was one of the great rulers of the family, and for this reason he has been considered its founder in three of the grants, Nos. 6, 8, and 9.

His own grant apparently attributes two great deeds to him,—the subjugation of a prince called V a l l a b h a (No. 1, v. 17), whereby he obtained the title of *Rájádhirájaparasmeśvara*, 'Supreme lord of kings of kings,' or 'king of kings and supreme lord,' and an easy victory over the army of K a r ṇ â ṭ a, "which was expert in defeating the lords of Kânchî and Kerala, the Chola, the Pâṇḍya, Śrîharsha, and Vajraṭa" (No. 1, v. 18). Possibly the two verses contain a '*hen dia dyoin*,' and both refer to the same event, *i.e.* V a l l a b h a was the K a r ṇ â ṭ a king who was defeated. But it is perfectly certain that the Karṇâṭa army is intended for 'the Châlukya army,' since the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa are frequently called 'the lords of Karṇâṭa,'* and since it is their constant boast in their older inscriptions that they conquered Śrîharsha.† Grant No. 5 repeats the two verses of No. 1. Nos. 6 and 8 describe the king merely in general terms, and No. 9 contains nothing but the name. He probably did nothing more of importance, and died soon after the date of his grant. A remark which No. 4 makes about his successor, K ṛ i s h ṇ a I., proves that he did not reach old age, and probably died a violent death. All the grants which mention both Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa I. state that the latter was the paternal uncle of the former, *i.e.* a brother of Indra I. Grant No. 8, v. 5, says that Dantidurga died childless. But No. 4, v. 8, affirms that Kṛishṇa I. "destroyed *his relative*, who had fallen into evil ways, and became king for the good of his race;" though it does not mention Dantidurga's name, and in fact ignores him and his father altogether. Considering how anxious the court poets must have been, and in some cases can be proved to have been,‡ to disguise, or to place in the best light, the internal dissensions and revolutions in the families of their patrons, I have no hesitation in accepting as correct this version of the manner in which Dantidurga lost his life and Kṛishṇa succeeded to the throne. It seems to me evident that, as it has happened so frequently in the Râjput families of India, the younger branch of the family ousted the elder one.

From the last line of the grant No. 1 we learn that Dantidurga was also called D a n t i v a r m a. The name may be translated 'he whose protection elephants are,' or 'he who is like an elephant that resembles a fort or a suit of armour. The same plate mentions two *birudas* or *gauṇa nâmas* of this prince,—*Prithvîvallabha* and *Khaḍgâvaloka* (?). The former, 'husband of the earth,' is a general title common to many kings. The reading of the latter is doubtful; the facsimile has a nonsensical form *Khaḍgâpaloka*, which Bâl Gangâdhar has changed into *Khaḍgadhârârka*.

The fifth king, K ṛ i s h ṇ a I., whose relation to his predecessor and accession to the throne have already been discussed, was likewise a ruler of great distinction. Two grants, Nos. 2 and 3, place him, for this reason, at the head of their enumeration, and most have something particular to relate regarding him. From grants Nos. 2, 3 (v. 3), and 6 (v. 5) it appears that he continued the work of D a n t i d u r g a, and further humbled the C h â l u k y a s. No. 4, v. 10, also states that "he changed to a deer the *great boar* (*mahâvarâha*), who was taken with an itching for the battle, and inspired by valour flashed his bow-tusk."§ As the *boar* is the cognizance of the Châlukyas, it is probable that this verse also refers to the defeat of a Châlukya prince, not of a person called Mahâvarâha. The same grant, vv. 11-13, connects him with the hill of E l â p u r a, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva.‖ Nos. 2 and 3 mention that he bore the *biruda* V a l l a b h a. His accession to the throne may be placed about 755 A.D., and, as he was the paternal uncle of his predecessor, he cannot have ruled very long. If we allow him ten years, until 765, that will be quite as much as is probable.

After him ruled successively his two sons,

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* See, *e.g.*, *Vikramânkacharita*, p. 28, note.

† I must add that I do not feel as certain as most of my colleagues (see, *e.g.*, A. Burnell, *Elem. of So.-Ind. Palæogr.*, p. 16) appear to do that the Ś r î h a r s h a conquered by the Châlukyas is Hiwen-Thsang's and Bâṇa's friend, H a r s h a v a r d h a n a of Thâṇesar. The question requires reconsideration, as the dates will not fit, and Ś r î h a r s h a is, like Vikrama and Bhoja, a name common to several powerful princes.

‡ Compare my remarks on the subject,—*Vikramânkacharita*, p. 37, note.

§ This translation differs from that given by Pandit Śâradaprasâḍa, who, as usual, had only a very dim idea of the meaning of his text.

‖ V. 11 has been badly deciphered or is corrupt.

Govinda II. and Dhruva. The only particular information which we receive about the former is that he also bore the surname Vallabha.¶ Three grants, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, do not mention his name at all: hence it may be inferred that he did not reign long, and was not particularly distinguished. If my view of the interpretation of v. 5 of Nos. 2 and 3 is correct, Govinda II. was dethroned by this younger brother, who appears to have been a much greater ruler and warrior.

This king, the seventh from Govinda I., is called Dhruva, 'the constant,' in grants Nos. 4 and 5; while he appears under the appellation Nirupama, 'the incomparable,' in Nos. 6, 8, and 9. In No. 2 he is called Nirupama and Paura, while No. 3 reads clearly *Dhora* instead of *Paura*. The preservation of this form is the first important service which the Râdhanpur grant (No. 3) renders to the history of the Râshṭrakûṭas. For while Paura,* the form of the Van Dindorî plates (No. 2), is utterly irreconcilable with the reading *Dhruva*† in Nos. 4 and 5, *Dhora* may be easily recognized as a Prakrit corruption of *Dhruva*; and thus our plate furnishes the complete proof that Dhruva and Nirupama are the same person. Only two grants give particulars regarding Dhruva-Nirupama's exploits. Both Nos. 2 (v. 6) and 3 (v. 6) state that he conquered and imprisoned a king called Ganga, and that (v. 7) he dispossessed a ruler named Vatsa or of VATSA, who had conquered the kingdom of Gauḍa, and that he drove him into the desert of Marvâḍ From the mention of Gauḍa it is clear that Vatsa's paternal realm must have been situated in Central India.‡ Our grant No. 3 (v. 7) states that he also conquered the Pallava king in the south. The same two grants show also that Dhruva-Nirupama had another *biruda*, Kalivallabha, 'the beloved of the Kali age' (Nos. 2, v. 8, and 3, v. 9), and a third, Dhârâvarsha, as his son and successor is said to "meditate on the feet of the supreme lord," &c., "the illustrious Dhârâvarsha." The phrase *pâdânudhyâta*, "meditating on the feet of," is no doubt ambiguous, and the subject of the meditation is in other cases sometimes a spiritual *guru*, and sometimes a lord paramount. But the epithets given to Dhârâvarsha show that he was not a priest, and he cannot have been a lord paramount, because these Râṭhors acknowledged none. It is, therefore, not doubtful that Govinda's father is meant.§ Another name, 'Samudra' which the translation of No. 6 gives to Dhruva, is nothing but the result of a mistake. As the reign of Govinda II. was probably of short duration, Dhruva-Nirupama's accession to the *gâdi* may be placed about 770 A.D.

The next king, Dhruva-Nirupama's son, is called Govinda III. in Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, Jagattunga in Nos. 6 and 8, and Jagadrudra in No. 9. As the latter two names are merely *birudas*, *Jagattunga* meaning 'the world-exalted,' and *Jagadrudra* 'the Siva, *i.e.* Supreme lord of the world,' I do not hesitate to assume that they belong to Govinda III. in order to express the high position which he occupied. But I must admit that any one who is hypercritically inclined may contend that Jagattunga was a third son of Dhruva-Nirupama, who succeeded his brother Govinda III. Govinda III. seems to have been the most eminent prince of the dynasty. Immediately after his accession to the throne he had to fight a confederacy of twelve kings, who assailed the supremacy of the Râshṭrakûṭas (No. 2, v. 11, No. 3, v. 13, No. 5, v. 27). Grant No. 5 names Stambha as their chief. The result of the contest was that "Govinda made their lustre pale, as the *Saṁvarta* fire extinguishes the twelve suns that shine at the end of a *kalpa*." After he had subdued these enemies, he released king Ganga, whom his

¶ The translation of No. 6 asserts that he was born at Indubimbaśilâtala. But the Sanskrit says nothing of the kind. The facsimile reads as follows:—*tasmâd govindarâjobhûd indubimbaśilâtale | yasyâriploshadhûmrotthkaḥ praśastir iva lakshyate* || "From him sprang Govindarâja; a dark spot (caused) by the burning of his enemies is visible on the crystal disc of the moon (*indubimbaśilâtale*) resembling a laudatory inscription." The poet means to say that Govinda destroyed so many enemies that the smoke from their pyres may be considered to have caused the spots in the moon, which latter, therefore, are in reality a *praśasti*, *i.e.* laudatory inscription executed by the king.

* I have no doubt that *Paura* is merely a mistake of the decipherer.

† This identity results also from his position on the list. For while grant No. 5 names the two sons of Kṛishṇa I. Govinda (II.) and Dhruva, Nos. 6, 8, and 9 call them Govinda (II.) and Nirupama. An argument which tends to show that *Dhora* is a corruption of *Dhruva* is that in Nos. 2 and 3 he is twice called emphatically *Dhairyavân* and *Dhairyadhanaḥ*, 'the constant.'

‡ Possibly the ruler of the Vatsa country may be meant. His capital was Kauśâmbî, the modern Kosam.

§ It ought also to be noted that most of the kings of this dynasty seem to have had *one biruda* ending in *varsha*. Thus, besides the Amoghavarsha and Akâlavarsha of Nos. 6, 8, and 9, we find a Govinda III. called Prabhûtavarsha, Karka of Bharoch Suvarnavarsha, Govinda of Bharoch Prabhûtavarsha, Kakkala (the last king) Amoghavarsha, and his father Akâlavarsha. These epithets were intended to commemorate the liberality of their wearers.

father had imprisoned, "from the prolonged pain of his fetters." But Ganga again opposed his benefactor, and had again to be reduced to obedience (No. 2, v. 12, No. 3, v. 14) and to be imprisoned.

Our grant (No. 3) describes his next exploits as follows (vv. 15-18) :—He undertook an expedition against the G û r j a r a king, who fled at his approach, "as the clouds disappear on the approach of the autumnal season." Next he received the submission of the 'politic' ruler of M â l a v a, who by the study of the *Nîtiśâstra* had learnt to form a just estimate of his own strength. Then, on his reaching the slopes of the V i n d h y a hills, a king called M â r a-ś a r v a hastened to offer him presents. Finally he spent the rainy season at Ś r î b h a v a n a. The last three statements occur also in grant No 2, vv. 13-15; but the first verse regarding the Gûrjara, which is of the last importance for the correct appreciation of the expedition and for the history of Gujarât, has been left out. This one piece of information forms the connecting link between several other scraps of information regarding the history of Gujarât. Firstly, we know from the grants of J a y a b h a ṭ a dated Vikrama 486, and of D a d d a II., dated Śaka 380, 384, 400, and 417, that during the fifth century A.D. Central Gujarât was governed by a dynasty of G û r j a r a kings, who had their capital at N â n d i p u r a, a fort once situated to the east of Bharoch, close to the Jhadeśvar gate. From Hiwen Thsang we learn that further north a Gûrjara kingdom existed in the seventh century, the capital of which was *Pilomolo*, the modern B h i n m â l,|| in Southern Marvâḍ, just across the Pahlanpur frontier. The grants of the Gujarât Râṭhors, Nos. 4 and 5, finally inform us that Govinda III. conquered 'the realm of the ruler of L â ṭ a (the region between the Mahî and the Taptî, and between the sea and the Sahyâdris), and made it over to his brother I n d r a, some time before the year 812. If we now read in the Râdhanpur grant (No. 3) that the same G o v i n d a III. conquered or drove into flight the G û r j a r a, while on the same expedition he afterwards received the submission of the king of M â l a v a, and a visit from king M â r a ś a r v a on the slopes of the V i n d h y a s, we are, I think, justified in arranging these facts in the following manner :—

G o v i n d a III. advanced from the highlands of the Dekhan by the pass of Bânsda or by that of Dharmapur into the districts which are now called Southern Gujarât, and which were formerly considered the northernmost part of the Koṅkaṇa. Next he crossed the Taptî and invaded the Lâṭa, and took this country from the Gûrjaras, driving them northwards. After disposing of them, he turned his attention to Mâlava. This country he may have reached, in case he did not pursue the Gûrjaras as far as Bhînmâl, by the Dohad-Dhâr or Harsol-Ratlâm routes. If he did march upon and occupy the Gûrjara capital, he had to take the Idar-Dungarpur or the Komalmer pass through the Âravalî. He must next have marched right across Mâlava in order to reach the Vindhyas. Probably he crossed their western portion as he returned to his Dekhan home. It is purely owing to the Râdhanpur plate that we are able to give this sketch of Govinda's great expedition to the west, and that we can at last connect two hitherto detached pieces of the history of Gujarât, the Gûrjara and the Râṭhor periods.

After Govinda had passed the rainy season at Ś r î b h a v a n a,¶ he marched to the banks of the T u n g a b h a d r â (No. 2, v. 15, No. 3, v. 18) and again subdued the P a l l a v a s, whom his father had conquered already, and "whose wealth was resting in his hands also." He, apparently, had to undertake an expedition against a foe who, though formerly humbled and made tributary, had again begun to lift his head. Finally he ordered the lord of V e n g î (No. 2, v. 16, No. 3, v. 19) into his presence, and made him assist in building or fortifying a city. V e n g i is the ancient name of the eastern coast between the mouths of the Godâvarî and Krishṇâ. The tract which Govinda III. either temporarily or permanently brought under his sway extends therefore from the western to the eastern coast, and from the Marvâḍ desert and the Vindhyas in the north to beyond the Tungabhadrâ in the south. His dominions

|| The identification of B h î n m â l with 'P i l o m o l o' belongs to Major J. W. Watson, whose services to the history of Gujarât I have had to acknowledge so frequently. Bhînmâl had two older names, Śrîmâla and B h i l l a m â l a. The latter is, I think, the parent of the modern one on our maps, and is represented by 'Pilomolo.' The Arabic Pahlmahl represents also Bhillamâlâ. Merutunga states that Bhoja of Dhâr called Srîmâlâ—Bhillamâlâ because its people allowed the poet Magha to die in want. Several castes now met with in Gujarât and Râjputâna call themselves, from the first form, Śrîmâlî.

¶ I am not able to identify this place. But I feel certain that it is not 'Cowidurga, in Mysore,' as Mr. Wathen's informants stated.

were certainly very considerable, and he fully deserves his titles, Jagattunga or Jagadrudra. Govinda bore, besides these two *birudas*, three others,—Prithvîvallabha, 'the husband of the earth' (Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5); Śrîvallabha, 'the husband of Fortune' (No. 3); and Prabhûtavarsha, 'the showerer of prodigious (wealth)' (Nos. 2 and 3). Both his grants are dated from Mayûrakhaṇḍî (No. 3), or Mayûrakhiṇḍî (No. 2),—no doubt the modern Morkhaṇḍâ, a hill-fort north of Vaṇ, in the Nâsik district. It does not seem likely to me that this place was his capital, though it may have been an occasional place of residence. For Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts.

Govinda's grants are both dated Śaka 730, or 808-9 A.D., and it is probable that he did not reign much longer. For, firstly, the number of his wars which the grants mention shows that he must have reigned a good many years before they were issued. Secondly, the manner in which the grant of his nephew Karka (No. 4) speaks of him indicates that he was dead at the time of its issue, *i.e.* Śaka 734, or A.D. 812-13.

We shall probably not go far wrong if we place the end of his reign in 810 A.D. His accession to the throne may be put about 785 A.D.

Not much is known regarding Govinda III.'s successor, his son Amoghavarsha (No. 6, v. 9, No. 8, v. 9, No. 9, v. 3). We do not even know his real name. For *Amoghavarsha*, 'he who showers not in vain,' is nothing but a *biruda*. But the one fact which No. 8 mentions, viz. that his capital was at Mânyakheṭa*, the modern Mâlkheḍ, in the Nizâm's territory, is of great importance. For it permits the identification of the Dekhanî Râṭhors with the Balharâs of the Muhammadan geographers of the tenth century. This identification has already been proposed by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, who correctly perceived that Tod's wild guess about the *Bâl kâ râi*, 'or Valabhî râja,' and Reinaud's identification with Mâlâvarâja, could not stand. The arguments in favour of Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's view are as follows:—Both Ibn Khordâdbah† and Maśûdî‡ allege that *Balharâ* meant 'king of kings,' and was a title which all kings of the dynasty bore. The corresponding Sanskrit word can only have been *Bhaṭṭâraka*, which means 'lord,' or 'supreme ruler.' Now, as grants Nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 show, all the kings of the Râṭhor dynasty affected the title *parama-bhaṭṭâraka*, 'supreme lord.' Secondly, the capital of the Balharâ is stated to have been Mânkîr. This word resembles Mânyakheṭa, the name of the capital of Amoghavarsha and of his successors,§ very closely, and it is absolutely identical with the Prakrit form Mânkheḍ or Mânkher, which must have preceded the modern form Mâlkheḍ. The identity of the two towns is further proved by the statement that Mânkîr was the *great centre* of India, and situated 80 farsangs, or 640 miles, from the sea. A glance at the map will show that Mâlkheḍ lies almost exactly in the middle, between the western and eastern seas. Its distance from the western coast is, as the crow flies, about 350 miles. But if we assume that Masûdî thought not of the straight line from the western sea, but of the distance from one of the northern ports to which the Muhammadans chiefly traded, say Khambay or Bharoch, his estimate of the distance is correct. There is another point in his notes on the town which may be used to support this identification. He says that the language spoken at Mânkîr is "the Kîriya, called so after the country Kîra." The word *kîra*, it is true, is not easily explained. For in Sanskrit *kîra* means 'a parrot,' and its plural is a name of the Kaśmîrians. But with a (for the Arabic alphabet) very slight change of the diacritical points we may read Kanara, *i.e.* Kânaḍa = Karṇâṭa, for Kîra, *i.e.* كدرة for كيرة; and this emendation exactly fits Mâlkheḍ, which lies just on the border of the Kanarese-speaking country.|| A third argument for the identity of the Râṭhors with the Balharâs of Mânkîr is the circumstance that while the Muhammadan writers of the ninth and tenth centuries state that the great prince of India, the Balharâ, resides at Mânkîr, Al Idrisi in the twelfth century asserts that Nahrwalla was his seat.

* *This*, not Mândyakheta, is the correct form of the name: see S. P. Paṇḍit, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 206, and the facsimile of grant No. 6.

† Elliott, *The History of India by its own Historians*, vol. I. p. 13.

‡ Elliott: *ibid.* 19-24.

§ Mânyakheta is also named as the seat of the king in grants Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

|| See Caldwell, *Comp. Gram. Drav. Lang.* p. 33.

GRANT OF GOVINDA III. RÂṬHOR PLATE I.

We know from the inscriptions of the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa and from grant No. 9 that the star of the Râṭhors of Mâlkheḍ set in the last quarter of the tenth century, and that Tailapa (973-1008 A.D.) humbled them to the dust, and reëstablished the supremacy of the Châlukyas in the Dekhan. At the same time the Châlukyas of Aṇhilvâḍ (Nahrwalla) rose to importance in the latter half of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, under Jayasiṁha Siddharâja and his still greater successor Kumârapâla; and these princes, too, assumed the title *parama-bhaṭṭâraka*.

But to return to Amoghavarsha. It is not clear from the inscriptions if he built Mânyakheṭa. I rather think that Mânyakheṭa is the unnamed town which the king of Vengi fortified for Govinda III. But it seems probable that Amoghavarsha was the first Râṭhor who made the place his capital. The statements of the Muhammadans about the Balharâs of the eighth century allow us to infer that during his reign the power and extent of the Râṭhor empire remained as great as under his father. The end of his reign may be placed about 835 A.D.

Amoghavarsha's successor is named Akâlavarsha. There can be no doubt that the real name of this prince also is unknown—Akâlavarsha, 'he who showers (gifts) out of season (as well as in season),' being merely an honorific title or *biruda*. The inscriptions give no details regarding his reign. Who really succeeded this prince is somewhat doubtful. The statements of grants Nos. 6, 8, and 9 are apparently not quite in harmony. I think, however, that if we obtained a good facsimile of the Kardâ plate the difficulty would be solved. As this is not within my reach, and, as I learn that a new grant of one of the later Râṭhors has recently been discovered and will be shortly published by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, I pass over the remaining princes of the dynasty. I will merely remark that Kakkala, who issued grant No. 8, is the last prince of the Mânyakheṭa dynasty. Grant No. 9, v. 9, states distinctly that he was the Râṭhor whom Tailapa¶ conquered. No. 8, Kakkala's own grant, is dated in 973 A.D., the very year of Tailapa's accession to the throne. Kakkala's fall must have come soon after.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

(1) ९ स वोव्याद्वेधसो धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं [॥१॥] भूपोभवद्दृहदुरस्थलराज-

(2) मानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकंण्ठः [।] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्रविनिर्जितारिचक्रोप्यकृष्णचारितोभु-*

(3) वि कृष्णराजः [॥२॥] पक्षच्छेदभयाश्रृताखिलमहाभूभृत्कुलभ्राजितात् दुर्लंघ्यादपरैरनेकविमल-भ्राजिष्णु-

(4) रत्नान्वितात् [।] यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनविबुधव्राताश्रयो वारिधेर्लक्ष्मीन्मन्दरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृ-ष्टवांन्वल्लभः [॥३॥]

(5) तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रतापविसरैराक्रान्तदिग्मण्डलः चंण्डांशोः सदृशोप्यचण्डकरतः प्रल्हादितक्ष्मा-तलः [।] धोरो

(6) धैर्यधनो विपक्षवनितावक्त्राम्वुजश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिग्मायिकाभिर्धृतं [॥४॥] ज्येष्ठोलंघन-

(7) जातयाप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सं योभून्निर्मलमण्डलास्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न क्कचित् [।] कर्ण्णाधस्थितदानसं-

(8) ततिभृतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दानं वीक्ष्य सुलजिता इव दिशां प्रान्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः [॥५॥] अन्यैर्न जातु विजितं

¶ The same statement is made in the Châlukya Miraj grant, v. 27, where the name is given as Karkara. I suspect that its Sanskrit form was Karkarâja.

* Line 2, read °कण्ठः. L. 3, read भयाश्रि. L. 4, read लक्ष्मीं मन्दर°; कृष्टवान्व°. L. 5, read चण्डांशोः. L. 6, read ज्येष्ठोलंघन°. L. 7, read सन्यो. L. 8, read सुलज्जिता इव.

(9) गुरुशक्तिसारमाक्रान्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं [।] येनेह वद्धमवलोक्य चिराय गंग-
(10) पूरं स्वनिग्रहभियेव कलिः प्रयातः [॥६॥] एकत्रात्मवहेन वारिनिधिनाप्यन्यत्र रुध्वा घनं निष्कृष्टारि-†
(11) भटोद्धतेन विहरद्ग्राहातिभीमेन च [।] मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्ज्झरमुचः प्राप्यानतात्पल्लवात्
(12) तच्चित्रं मदलेशमप्यनुदिनं यस्पृष्टवां नकाचित् [॥७॥] हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यकमलामत्तं प्रवे-श्याचिरात् दु-
(13) र्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिवलैर्यो वत्सराजं वलैः [।] गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं च्छत्रद्वयं केवलं तस्मान्नाहृ-
(14) त तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् [॥८॥] लब्धप्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्य शुद्धचरितैर्द्धर-
(15) णीतलस्य [।] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुगशृयमप्यशेषं चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत् [॥९॥] प्राभूद्धैर्यवतः
(16) ततो निरुपमादिन्दुर्यथा वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःसंसक्तपादः सुतः [।] पद्मानन्दकरः
(17) प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोन्नतेः पूर्वाद्रेरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराजः सतां [॥१०॥] यस्मिं सर्व-
(18) गुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो जाते यादववंशवन्मधुरि[पा]वासीदलंघ्यः परैः [।] दृष्टाशा-

Plate II A.

(1) वधयः कृतास्यसदृशा दानेन येनोद्धता मुक्ताहारविभूषितास्फुटामिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनो-[॥११॥] प्यस्याकार-‡
(2) ममानुषं तृभुवनव्यापत्तिरक्षोचितं कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति पितर्यैकाधिपत्यं भुवः [।] आस्तां तात त-
(3) वैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कंण्ठिका किन्नाज्ञेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं वचो योभ्यधात् [॥१२॥] तस्मिं स्वर्ग-
(4) विभूषणाय जनके जाते यशःशेषतामेकीभूय समुद्यतां वसुमतीं संहारमाधिच्छया [।] विच्छायां
(5) सहसा व्यधत्त नृपतीनेकोपि यो द्वादश ख्यातानप्याधिकप्रतापविसरैः संवर्तकार्कानिव [॥१३॥] येना-
(6) त्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात् स्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकूल्ये स्थितः [।] या-
(7) वन्न भ्रुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्बद्धः स गंगः पुनः [॥१४॥] सं-

† L. 10, aksharas 4-10, as well as the last, are very indistinct on the plate. L. 12, read यत्स्पृष्टवान्न°. L. 13, read छत्त्र°. L. 15, read युगश्रियं. L. 17, read यस्मिन्स°. L. 18. The restoration has been made according to the Van Dindori grant.

‡ L. 1, read कृताः सुसदृशाः; read °र्थिनाम् यस्य. L. 2, read त्रिभुवन°. L. 3, read कण्ठिका; तस्मिन्स्व°. L. 4, read याते; °समुद्यतान्; °माधित्सया विच्छायान्. L. 5. The स° of सहसा looks like वा; but the reading adopted is required on account of the sense and of the metre.

GRANT OF GOVINDA III. RÂṬHOR. - PLATE II A.

GRANT OF GOVINDA III. RÂṬHOR. - PLATE II B,

(8) धायाशु शिलीमुखां स्वसमयां वाणासनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वर्द्धितवन्धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिवृद्ध्यन्वि-§
(9) तं [।] सन्नक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं शरदृतुं पर्जन्यवद्गूर्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्व-
(10) प्नेपि पश्येद्यथा [॥१५॥] यत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामालोक्य लक्ष्मीं निजां दूरान्मालवना-
(11) यको नयपरो यं प्राणमत्प्रांजलिः [।] को विद्वां वलिना सहाल्पवलकस्पर्द्धां विधत्ते परां नी-
(12) तेस्तद्धि फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्यसंवेदनं [॥१६॥] विंध्याद्रेः कटके निविष्टकटकं श्रुत्वा चरैर्यं निजैः स्वं देशं
(13) समुपागतं ध्रुवमिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरितः [।] मारशर्वमहीपतिर्द्रुतमा[गा]दप्राप्तपूर्वैः परैः यस्येच्छाम-
(14) नुकूलयं कुलधनैः पादौ प्रणामैरपि [॥१७॥] नीत्वा श्रीभवने घनाघनघनव्याप्तांवरां प्रावृषं तस्मा-
(15) दागतवां समं निजवलैरातुंगभद्रातटं [।] तत्रस्थः स्वकरास्थितामपि पुनर्निःशेषमाकृष्टवां विक्षेपैरपि
(16) चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल्लवानां श्रृय [॥१८॥] लेखाहारमुखोदितार्द्धवचसा यत्रैत्य वेंगीश्वरो नित्यं किंकरवद्व्य-
(17) धादविरतः कर्म स्वशर्मेच्छया [।] वाह्यालीवृतिरस्य येन रचिता व्योमाग्रलग्ना न चेत् रात्रौ मौक्तिकमालि-
(18) कामिव धृता मूर्द्धस्थतारागणैः [॥१९॥] संत्रासात्परचक्रराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसेवाविधिः व्यावद्धांजलि-
(19) शोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना यदंह्वद्वयं [।] यद्यद्दत्तपरार्द्धभूषणगणैर्नालंकृतं [त]त्तथा माभैषी-

Plate II B.

(1) रिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या यथा तद्गिरा [॥] २०¶ [॥] तेनेदमनिलविद्युचंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं [।] क्षिति-
(2) दानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो ब्रह्मदायोयं [॥२१॥] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीम-
(3) द्धारावर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभरमभाट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवलभश्रीमत्प्रभू-
(4) तवर्षश्रीश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथा संवध्यमानकां राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटाकूयु-
(5) क्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमयूरखण्डीसमावासिते-
(6) न मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये तिगांविवास्तव्यतत्त्रैविद्यसामान्यतेत्तिरीय-
(7) यसव्रह्मचारिभारद्वाजसगोत्रनागेय्यभट्टपौत्राय चन्द्रियम्मगाहियसाहसपुत्राय परमेश्वरभ-

§ L. 8, read शिलीमुखान्स्वसमयान्. L. 11, read विद्वान्व°. L. 13. The restoration of °गा° is made according to the Van Dindorî plate. L. 14, read नुकूलयन्; L. 15, read °दागतवान्; °माकृष्टवान्. L. 16, read श्रियं. L. 17, read मौक्तिकमा°. L. 18. Dele Visarga after विधि, or write विधिं. L. 19, read यदंघ्रिद्वयं. The insertion of त before त्तथा is required by the metre and by the sense.

¶ L. 1. The sign used for 20 at the end of the *Praśasti* of the grant is ꣐ '*tha.*' It slightly differs from the form of the syllable used otherwise in the grant. The latter is written थ. It is the only instance of the syllabic notation of numerals hitherto observed on Râṭhor grants. Read विद्युच्च°. L. 3, read °परमभट्टारक°; °पृथ्वीवल्लभ°. L. 4, read °नरेन्द्र°; संवध्यमानकान्; °कूटायु°. L. 5, read महत्तरादीन्. L. 6, read °तैत्तिरीय.°. L. 7, Dele the first akshara of the line.

(8) ह्रोय राशियनभुक्यन्तर्गतः रत्तज्जुणनामग्रामः तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः सिन्हा नदी दक्षिणतः व-*
(9) बुलाला पश्चिमतः मिरियठाण उत्तरतः वडहग्रामः एवमेव चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः तथा अ-
(10) नन्तविष्णुभट्टविभुद्धवेज्ञगोइन्द्रमथरंगटिसव्वेभट्टचन्दरिभट्टकृष्णनागैभट्टमाध-
(11) वेरियघुविट्टपुदेवणोय्यभट्टरायेय्यभट्टयेवमादिप्रमुखानां ब्राह्मणा-
(12) नां चत्वारिंशन्महाजनसमन्वितानां रत्तज्जुणग्रामः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः स-
(13) दशापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः अचाट-
(14) भटप्रावेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वत-
(15) समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिध्या भू-
(16) मिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श[क]नृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु सर्वजिन्नाम्नि संवत्स-
(17) रे श्रावणबहुल अमावास्यां सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि बलिचरुवैश्यदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञ-
(18) क्रयोत्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
(19) भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतो कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदल्पापि परिपंथनां कार्या

Translation.

1. *Om!* May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel has been made the dwelling-place of Brahmâ and Hara, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-sickle.†

2. There was a truthful king on earth called Krishnarâja, whose throat was hidden by the twining arms of Fortune and by the far-reaching rays of the royal insignia, which glittered on his broad chest, just as Krishṇa's throat is hidden by the twining arms of Lakshmî and the far-reaching rays of the Kaustubha, who, though he conquered a host of foes with his large army (*chakra*), just as Krishṇa with his huge war-disc (*chakra*), lived a pure (*akṛishṇa*) life.‡

3. He (who was also called) Vallabha, and who was surrounded by a large crowd of exceedingly wise (Paṇḍits, *vibudha*), in sport and swiftly tore Fortune (*lakshmî*) from the ocean-like Châlukya race, which derives lustre from numerous powerful princes that, afraid of the destruction of their partizans, sought its protection (*pakshachchhedabhayâśritakhilâmahâbhûbhṛitkulabhrâjitât*), which is difficult to conquer for others (*durlanghyâdaparaiḥ*), and which contains many pure resplendent gems (*anekavimalabhrâjishṇuratnânvitât*),§ just as Mount Mandara, surrounded by a large crowd of immortals (*vibudha*), tore the goddess of Fortune (Lakshmî) from the ocean, which derives lustre from all the great mountains that, afraid of the loss of their wings, sought its protection (*pakshachchhedabhayâśritâkhilamahâbhûbhṛitkulabhrâjitât*) is difficult to cross for other (beings) (*durlanghyâdaparaiḥ*), and which contains various pure resplendent jewels (*anekavimalabhrâjishṇuratnânvitât*).

4. To him was born a son, (called) Dhora, whose only wealth was fortitude; who, though in conquering the universe by the expansion of his fierceness he resembled the god with the fierce rays, still gladdened the earth by the lightness of his taxes (*achaṇḍakaratah*), [while the sun torments it by the fierceness of its rays (*chaṇḍakaratah*)], who destroyed the beauty of the lotus faces of the wives of his enemies, whose fame the nymphs that guard the quarters

* L. 8, read °ह्राय. L. 9, °मेव is not distinct on the plate. But the reading must either be this or °मेतच°. L. 15, read सिद्ध्या. L. 16, read त्रिंशदु°. L. 17, read अमावास्यायां°; वैश्वदेवा°. L. 18, read क्रियो°. L. 19, dele Anusvâra over परिपन्थना.

† Metre *Anushṭubh*. Compare the Kâvî grant (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 144, note) and the Vaṇ Dindorî grant, v. 1.

‡ Metre *Vasantatilakâ*. The verse contains a series of puns. Each epithet has a double meaning, and fits both the king and the god Krishṇa. Compare also the Kâvî grant, v. 12. The verse is also the second of the Vaṇ Dindorî grant, but Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit has not seen all the poetical *finesses* which it contains. The double meaning of *âyatakara* has escaped him entirely.

§ Metre *Śârdulavikrîḍita*. Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit has misunderstood this verse also, which likewise stands third on the Vaṇ Dindorî plates.—'Gems,' *i.e.* illustrious princes.

of the universe wove into pearl strings and ever wore.||

5. Though he was endowed with a splendour acquired by a rebellion against his elder brother (*jyeshṭhollanghana*), still (that splendour) was pure and, established in a faultless realm (*nirmala maṇḍala*), he was never disfigured by any blot (*doshâkara*), [and he thus resembled and surpassed the moon that is endowed with a pure splendour after passing the constellation *Jyeshṭhâ*, and is surrounded by a spotless halo (*nirmala maṇḍala*), but always disfigured by a blot (*doshâkara*)]. Seeing his liberality, which surpassed the liberality (*dâna*) of all other men, the guardian elephants of the quarters that are covered with streams of ichor (*dâna*) issuing from beneath their ears, have placed themselves, deeply ashamed, as it were, at the extremities of the four regions of the universe.¶

6. Seeing that he (D h o r a) had conquered impetuous G a n g a, who, forsooth, had not been vanquished by others, who excelled through venerable regal qualities, who had conquered the world and possessed a pride not common to others, Kali fled, fearing lest he also should be punished.*

7. Wonderful it is that having obtained from the humbly bowing P a l l a v a,—whom on theone side (Dhora's) ocean-like cavalry pressed, that exulted over its crushed foes, that roamed about and was formidable on account of its bravery, while on the other side the self-moving ocean restrained him, that is uproarious like a victor in battle, and formidable on account of its roaming monsters,—elephants shedding streams of ichor (*mada*),† he never became in the least intoxicated (*mada*) with his glory.

8. Swiftly driving V a t s a r â j a, who was intoxicated with the wealth of the kingdom of Gauḍa that he had easily acquired, on an evil road into the heart of M a r u (land), he took from him not only the two royal parasols of Gauḍa, resplendent like the rays of the autumnal moon, but also, at the same moment, his fame, that had reached the extremities of the universe.‡

9. Wonderful it is how N i r u p a m a came to be (called) *Kalivallabha* ('the beloved of the *Kaliyuga*'), since by his pure life he drove Kali, who had gained a firm footing, swiftly far away, and entirely restored on earth the splendour of the (golden) Kṛita age.§

10. From that constant N i r u p a m a sprang a son, who is honoured by good men, called G o v i n d a r â j a, who may be likened to the moon produced from the ocean, since he was pure in mind, just as the moon is pure in splendour: since his feet were touched by the heads of the greatest princes, just as the rays of the moon touch the proud head of the supreme lord (Śiva); and since he was the favourite of Fortune (*padmânandakara*), just as the moon gladdens the night-lotuses; who also resembles the sun that comes from the lofty mountain of the east, since he is endowed with valour (*pratâpa*), just as the sun is possessed of exceeding heat (*pratâpa*); and since he is always prosperous (*nityodaya*), just as the sun rises daily (*nityodaya*).||

|| Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. *Pratâpa*, which I have rendered simply by 'fierceness,' has really a double meaning, —applied to the king it means 'valour, prowess;' applied to the sun it means 'exceeding heat.' The *tertium comparationis* between the king's fame and the pearl strings of the *Dignâyikâs* is the brilliancy or 'whiteness' (as a Hindu would say) common to both. The verse is the 4th of the Vaṇ Dindorî grant.

¶ Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The verse is identical with Vaṇ Dindorî 5, though Mr. Wathen's and my renderings differ very considerably. There are only two points in his version which require to be noticed. Firstly, it is possible to translate with him *jyeshṭhollanghanajâtayâ*, 'acquired by overcoming the goddess Jyeshṭhâ or Misfortune,' which is represented as the elder sister of Fortune. But I reject this translation, because the contrast to *amalayâ*, '(nevertheless) pure,' requires that the fortune of the king should owe its origin to a blamable act. The emphatic statement that Dhora was "never disfigured by any blemish" also favours this explanation. In the second half-verse *karṇâdhasthitadânabhritaḥ*, 'covered by streams of ichor issuing from beneath their temples,' can also be referred to the king, and be translated by 'endowed with a liberality inferior to that of king Karṇa.' But I am unable to stuff this into the translation. Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit has had a dim idea of both these renderings. The natural phenomenon which suggested the first series of puns is that after the month of Jeṭh, in the rainy season, the moon is constantly surrounded by a halo. Wathen's *variæ lectiones* are misreadings.

* Metre *Vasantatilakâ*. The Vaṇ Dindorî reading (v. 6) *anyonḍajâtavijitam* is nonsense; *gângam pûram*, for *gangapûram* is admissible. Mr. Wathen's translation is an utter failure, which partly is owing to the misreading of the first words, and partly to his not having seen that Ganga is the name of the king who is mentioned below,—v. 12 Vaṇ Dindorî, and v. 14 Râdhanpur. I do not think that any allusion to the "flood of the Ganges" is intended. The reading of our plate, *gangapûram*, is decidedly against the supposition that a pun is intended.

† Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. *Vaha*, which I have translated by 'cavalry,' may possibly mean 'army.' The dictionaries give neither meaning. But the sense of the passage cannot be doubtful. *Grahâ*, which I have rendered by 'bravery,' is not mentioned in this sense in the dictionaries: but its synonym *graha* is explained by *raṇodyama*.

‡ Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The various readings of the Vaṇ Dindorî plates, v. 7, are evidently caused by mistakes of the decipherer. They have seriously affected the translation.

§ Metre *Vasantatilakâ*. Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit has utterly misunderstood the verse, because he did not know that Dhora was also called Nirupama, and hence could not see that Kalivallabha was another *biruda* of the same prince.

|| Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. Vaṇ Dindorî, v. 9, which corresponds to this *śloka*, has been badly rendered by Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit, who appears not to have seen the double sense contained in most of the epithets. The com-

11. When that prince, the abode of all good qualities, was born, the family of the R â s h t r a k û ṭ a s became unconquerable to its foes, just as the Yâdava race after the birth of the foe of Madhu. He clearly made his foes and his dependants resemble each other, since in consequence of his slashing (*dâna*) the former were made acquainted with the extremities of the regions (*drishṭâśâvadhayaḥ*), were annihilated (*uddhatâḥ*), and were made to leave their food and their ornaments (*muktâhâravibhûshitâḥ*), and (the latter) by means of his liberality (*dâna*) were made to see the limits of their desires (*drishṭâśâvadhayaḥ*), were made proud (*uddhatâḥ*), and were adorned with pearl necklaces (*muktâhâravibhushitâḥ*).¶

12. When his father, seeing his superhuman form fitted like that of Krishṇa to protect the world from ruin, offered him the sole supremacy over the earth, he addressed to him this seemly answer:—"Let it be, father! That belongs to thee; have I not kept the necklace bestowed by thee, like an order that must not be disobeyed?"*

13. When that parent had gone to adorn heaven, and nothing was left of him but his fame, (Govinda,) resembling the world-destroying fire that extinguishes the (twelve) suns (at the end of the *kalpa*), bereft, though alone, by means of superior valour, twelve famous kings of their lustre, who, allied, were bent on destroying the earth through their desire of acquiring its possession.†

14. Exceedingly compassionate, he liberated G a n g a from his protracted, painful captivity, and sent him to his country. When (Ganga) nevertheless, in his great pride, opposed him, he conquered him by a shower (of arrows), in less time than was required to observe a frown on his lofty brow, and swiftly fettered him again.‡

15. When the G û r j a r a (king) saw that (Govinda), the protector of the lives and wealth of his relations, whose fortune was increasing, and who (was born under) an auspicious constellation, approaching with arrows placed on the bow (and) directed against him, he fled in fear to some (unknown hiding-place), so that even in his dreams he had no hope of giving battle; just as the clouds (disappear) at the approach of the autumnal season, which increases the splendour of the *Bandhujîva* flowers, which is favourable to the growth of lotuses, and during which the stars shine with particular brilliancy.§

16. The politic lord of M â l a v a, seeing from afar that the only safety for his prosperity lay in submission at (Govinda's) feet, bowed to him with joined hands. What wise man of small power would engage in a desperate conflict with a powerful (antagonist)? For the result of (a study of the rules of) polity is that one learns to estimate accurately one's own and the enemy's strength.||

17. Prince M â r a ś a r v a, learning through his spies that (Govinda) had pitched his camp on the slopes of the V i n d h y a hills, and considering him as already within his country, quickly went, impelled by fear, to satisfy his desires with excellent heirlooms (such as he had) not before obtained, and (to worship) his feet by prostrations.¶

parison of Nirupama to the ocean and to the mountain of the east indicates that the poet attributes to him *gâmbhîrya*, 'depth of mind,' and *unnatatva*, 'loftiness.' Compare also the description of Guhasena in the Valabhî grants. The moon-sickle is one of the well-known attributes of Śiva; hence the elaborate pun on *parameśvaronnataśiraḥsaṁsaktapâdaḥ*. I am not quite certain about my translation of *padmânandakara*. I dissolve *padmayâ lakshmyâ ânandaṁ karotîti padmânandakaraḥ*. But *padma* may be a N. pr., or be taken as a synonym of *senâ*, 'army,' since one of the *senâvyûhas* is called *padma*.

¶ Metre *Śârdûla*. In the first half of the verse Govindarâja is compared to Krishṇa. The end of the second half offends against the rules of versification, as it is connected by *Sandhi* with v. 12. Such a connexion is only permissible in the case of two *pâdas* of the same stanza. The text of the Van Dindorî grant, v. 10, avoids this. But if its reading *arthinâm* is to be retained, *svasadriśâḥ* must be changed to *susadriśâḥ*, which perhaps is the correct reading. Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit has not understood the second half. Mr. Wathen's own suggestion to change the *râshṭrakûṭânvaye* of the Van Dindorî grant to *râshṭrakûṭânvayo* is shown to be correct by the reading of our grant.

* Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The Van Dindorî grant has only the second half of this verse, 11*a*. The first seems to have been left out accidentally. I do not feel certain about the ulterior meaning of *kaṇṭhikâ*, 'a necklace.' Was it a sign of the dignity of *Yuvarâja*?

† Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The Van Dindorî grant, 11 *b* and *c*, gives three *pâdas* of this *śloka*. The omission of the fourth is no doubt accidental, as the remainder gives no sense. Its various readings *vasumatîn* and *dvâdaśân* are ungrammatical. The construction of *samudyata* with the accusative *saṁhâram* is unusual. The infinitive *saṁhartum* is required.

‡ Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. Compare Van Dindorî, v 12, where the text shows an erroneous *varia lectio*, and the translation is an utter failure. Regarding Ganga compare above, v. 6. *Vikshepa*, which I have rendered by 'a shower,' may possibly have a technical meaning, as in the Gûrjara grants of Dadda II.

§ Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The first part of the compound *padmâbhivriddhyanvita* if referred to the king is *padmâ*—Lakshmî. Regarding the importance of the verse, compare above.

|| Metre *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*. Compare Van Dindorî 13, the text of which contains a mistake, *yat for yaṁ*. The translation is on the whole correct, though not accurate.

¶ Metre *Śârdûla*. Compare Van Dindorî, v. 14, the translation of which is satisfactory except in the last *pâda*.

18. Having passed the rainy season, during which the sky is covered by dense clouds, at Śrîbhavana, he marched thence with his army to the banks of Tuṅgabhadrâ. Tarrying there, he whose foes are submissive again drew towards himself, by showers (of arrows) even—oh, wonder!—the entire wealth of the Pallavas, though he already held it in his hand.*

19. In obedience to one brief half-sentence which (Govinda) sent by the mouth of his messenger, the lord of Vengi came thither and worked (for him) like a servant without cessation, desiring his own welfare. If the external circumvallation raised by him for his master has not stuck to the summit of the heavens, then the star-crowds above-head wear it as their pearl-garland.†

20. Out of fear many hostile kings, their heads (bowing, and) adorned by their hands joined in supplication, bent on doing service to him, came to his two feet for protection. Those feet were not so much ornamented by priceless jewels, the gifts of various (princes), as by his word "Fear not," which was famed for its trustworthiness.‡

21. He,§ perceiving this life to be unstable like the wind or the lightning, and worthless, has effected this gift to a Brahman, which is most meritorious because it consists of a grant of land.

And he, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the husband of the earth, the illustrious prince Śrîvallabha, (called also) Prabhûtavarsha, who meditates on the feet of the supreme lord, the supreme ruler of the kings of kings, the illustrious Dhârâvarshadeva, being in good health, (thus) admonishes *all* rulers of provinces, rulers of zillâs, heads of villages, officials, officers, and persons in authority, aldermen, and all others, whatever their connexion (with his government) may be:—

"Be it known to you that I, residing at Śrî Mayûrakhaṇḍî, have given to-day—after having bathed, and confirming the gift by a libation of water—on the new moon of the month Śrâvaṇa, when an eclipse of the sun took place, in the year (of the Bṛihaspati cycle) called *Sarvajit*,|| after *seven hundred and thirty years* from the time of the Śaka king had passed, for the increase of my own and my parents' spiritual merit and fame both in this world and in the next, the village of Ratajuṇa, situated in the Râsiyana *bhukti*,¶—the boundaries of which are to the east the river Siñhâ,* to the south Vavulâlâ, to the west Miriyathâṇa, and to the north the village of Vaḍaha,—together with . . . . . , together with . . . . . . together with the (right of) fine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten flaws, together with its natural and adventitious produce, together with the right of forced labour, and together with its taxes in grain and gold, formerly granted gifts to gods and Brahmans being excluded, which is not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by royal officers, to Parameśvarabhaṭṭa the son of Chandriyamma-Gahiyasâhasa and the grandson of Nâgaiyyabhaṭṭa, who dwells at Tigambi, is one of the Trivedis of that place, studies the *Taittirîyaveda*, and belongs to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*,† as well as to the chief Brahmans and forty *Mahâjans*, viz. Anantavishṇubhaṭṭa, Vibhuduvejhago (?), Indramatharangaṭi, Sarvaibhaṭṭa. Chandaribhaṭṭa, Krishṇanâgaibhaṭṭa, Mâdhavairiyaghuviṭṭhapudeva, Ṇoyyabhaṭṭa (?), Râyebhaṭṭa, and others—the same village being to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons, and their lineal descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the hills endure,—according to the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein,—for defraying the cost of *Bali*, *Charu*, and *Vaiśvadeva* offerings, of an *Agnihotra*, and the five great sacrifices, &c.

* Metre *Śârdûla*. Compare Vaṇ Dindorî, v. 14. The plain meaning of the second half of the verse is that Govinda again subjected and plundered the Pallavas, whom his father had already subdued; compare above, v. 7.

† Metre *Śârdûla*. *Vâhyâlî*, which I translate by 'external,' is not to be traced elsewhere. It seems to be a compound of *vâhya* and *âlî*. The accusative *mâlikâm* is ungrammatical. The poet seems to have employed it in order to avoid a *hiatus*. The meaning of the whole verse is that the king of Vengi built for Govinda the walls of a town or fort, which were exceedingly high.

‡ Metre *Śârdûla*.

§ Metre *Âryâ*.

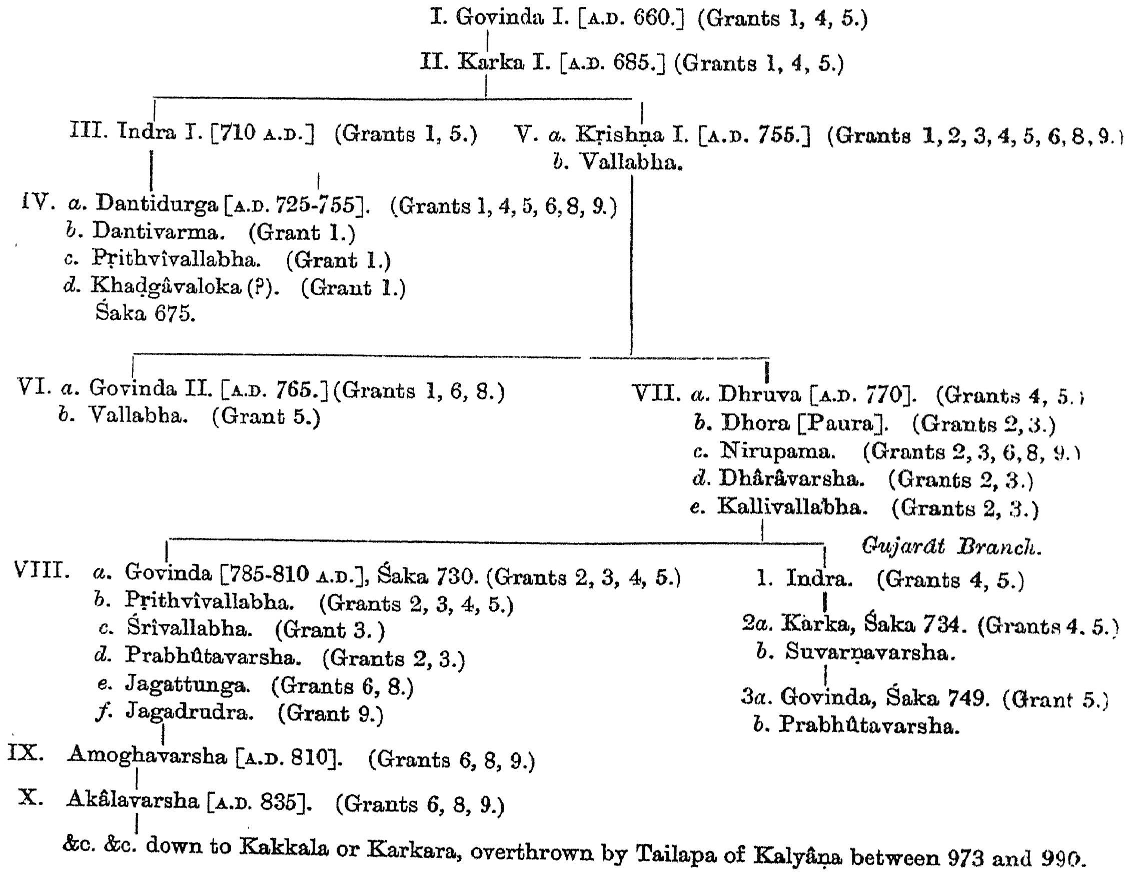
|| The year *Sarvajit* corresponds to Śaka 731.

¶ Probably the modern Râsîn, in the Ahmadnagar collectorate, which is still the chief town of a tâlukâ.

* Apparently the Sinâ, which joins the Bhîmâ river.

† This passage is somewhat doubtful. The word *Ratajunagrâma* is repeated in the text, and the names of the Brahmans and Mahâjans now enumerated stand in the genitive, not in the dative as the name of Parameśvarabhaṭṭa. The village was, therefore, not given to be *shared* by them, but they were probably merely allowed to live there. I am not certain that I have correctly divided the string of Telingana names.

PEDIGREE OF THE RÂṬHORS OF MÂLKHEḌ, OR BALHARÂS, FROM ABOUT 660 TO 850 A.D.



SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from p. 32.*)

No. XXVII.

I continue with the Châlukyas of Vâtâpînagarî, or Bâdâmi, and afterwards of Kalyâṇa, of whom I have already given a notice at Vol. V., pp. 67 *et seqq.*

The present inscription is a copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, obtained by him from General Fraser, and a transcription of it is given at p. 19 of Vol. I. of his MS. collection now with me. The original belonged to the Jain *Guru*, Mahêndraśântayya, of the Bêgam Bâzâr at Haidarâbâd in the Dekkan; it consists of three plates, about 7¾″ long by 3″ broad. The characters are those of the Cave-alphabet, not yet fully developed into the Old Canarese alphabet, and the language is Sanskṛit. The impression does not show whether there is any emblem on the ring connecting the plates.

It records a grant by the Great King Satyâśraya, or Pulikêśî II. of my previous notice, in the Śaka year 535.*

This inscription introduces the first uncertainty in the history of the Châlukyas. For, whereas we find in No. XIII. that Pulikêśî II. was reigning in Śaka 507, we now have the Śaka year 535 spoken of as the third year of his reign. I can only suggest the following explanation of this discrepancy. It is well known that the Western and Eastern Châlukya dynasties were separated in the persons of respectively Pulikêśî II. and his younger

* According to the original, "five hundred and thirty-*four* years of the Śaka king *having elapsed*."

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

DATED ŚAKA 535.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p 72.

I

I a.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

DATED ŚAKA 535.

II b.

III

W Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

SCALE - 0.96 OF THE ORIGINAL

brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana.† The exact date of the latter has not yet been determined, no inscription of his own time being known of; but, calculating backwards by means of inscriptions which give the duration of the reigns of him and his successors of the Eastern dynasty, Dr. Burnell‡ places it at about A.D. 630, or Śaka 552. It may well be that the two dynasties were separated in Śaka 533, and that Pulikêśî II. was then installed afresh on the throne of the Western branch of the family, at the same time when his younger brother, after being already united with him in the government as *Yuvarâja*, according to the usual custom, was installed as the separate sovereign of the Eastern branch. The expression made use of in line 11 of the present inscription,—"in the third year of *my own* installation in the sovereignty,"—seems to point to some such ceremony having been gone through, and thus to support this suggestion. And,—the duration of the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana being always recorded as eighteen years,—if we take Śaka 533 as the starting-point, the computation agrees closely enough with the date otherwise arrived at by Dr. Burnell.

The separation of the two dynasties in the persons of Pulikêśî II. and his younger brother is a historical fact, whatever the exact date of the occurrence may be. Accordingly, in future notices I shall speak of the successors of Pulikêśî II. as 'the Western Châlukyas,' and of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana and his successors as 'the Eastern Châlukyas.'

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [॥] श्रीमतां सकलो(ल)भुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारी(रि)तीपुत्राणां स-

[2] प्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयानुग्रहपरिरक्षणप्रा-

[3] प्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहला-

[4] ञ्छनेक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णु(ष्णोः)

[5] अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्री-

[6] पोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवाश्या(स्या)दिपरनृ-

[7] पतिमण्डलप्रतिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तिपताकस्य कीर्त्तिवर्म्मवल्लभमहा-

[8] राजस्य तनयो नयविनयादिगुणविभूं(भू)त्याश्रयः श्रीसत्या-

Second plate; first side.

[9] श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजः समरशतसंघट्टसंसक्तपरनृपतिपरा-

[10] जयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सर्व्वानाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं म-

[11] या वातापीनगरीमधितिष्ठतात्मनः प्रवर्द्धमानराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरे तृती-

[12] ये शकनृपतिसंवत्सरशतेषु चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकेषु पञ्चस्वतीतेषु भाद्र-

[13] पदामावास्यायां सूर्य्यग्रहणनिमित्तं मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्या-

[14] वाप्तये वासिष्ठसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीयाय तगराधिवासिने

[15] चतुर्व्वेदार्योबरखेद(?ड)कुलनामधेयाय ज्येष्ठशर्म्मणे रोल्कू-

[16] ळुक्युत्तरतः कदप्पग्रामदक्षिणतः माकरप्पिर्न्नाम ग्रामः

Second plate; second side.

[17] सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सक्लृप्तः सोपरिकरः पञ्चमहायज्ञनिर्व्वाप-

[18] णार्त्थमुदकपूर्व्वकं दत्तः [॥] अयमस्मद्दायो न्यैरागामिनृपतिभिरनुम-

† I do not know of any mention of this person in the grants of the Western dynasty; but his elder brother is always mentioned, usually under the name of Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra, in such of the grants of the Eastern dynasty as trace the genealogy back to Kîrttivarmâ I., the father of the two brothers.

‡ *So.-Ind. Pal.*, p. 19.

[19] न्तव्यो वर्द्धनीयश्च [।] यो वाज्ञानादजरममरं वात्मानं मन्यमानो प-
[20] हरेत्स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तः बहूनि. कल्पसह-
[21] स्राणि नरकं वसति [।] यः पालयति तान्येव स्वर्गं वसति [॥]
[22] उक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
[23] राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

Third plate.

[24] तदा फलं [॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर महीं मही-
[25] मतां श्रेष्टं(ष्ठ) दानाच्छ्रेयो नुपालनं [॥] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
[26] मोदति भूमिदः आच्छ(च्छे)त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥] विन्ध्या-
[27] टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो पि जा-
[28] यन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये [॥] दत्तानि यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि ध-
[29] र्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा-
[30] धुः पुनराददीतः(त) [।] इति [॥]

Translation.

Hail! The grandson of the Great King Satyâśraya-Śrî-Pôlikêśivallabha, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyas§, who are of the kindred of Mânavya which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hâritî, and who have been nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind||, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the favour and protection of Kârttikêya, and who have had all kings made subject to them by the mere sight of the sign¶ of the Boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa;—the son of the Great King Kîrttivarmavallabha, the banner of whose pure fame was hung up in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavâsî and other countries that had been invaded by his prowess;—the favourite of the world, the Great King Śrî-Satyâśraya,—who is the abode of the power of statesmanship and humility and other good qualities, and who has acquired the second name of 'Supreme Lord'* by victory over hostile kings who applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles,—issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you that, five hundred and thirty-four of the years of the Śaka king having elapsed, in the third year of my own installation in the sovereignty, on the day of the new-moon of (*the month*) Bhâdrapada, on account of an eclipse of the sun†, in order that my parents may acquire my own religious merit, the village of Mâkarappi, with its treasures and deposits and assignments and major taxes‡, to the north of (*the village of*) Rôlkûṛuki and to the south of the village of Kadappa, has been given by me, while governing (*at*) the city of Vâtâpinagarî, with libations of water, for the purpose of celebrating the five great sacrifices§, to Jyêshṭhaśarmâ, whose family-

§ This form of the name is not of very common occurrence. The other forms are Chalkya, probably the oldest and original form,—Chalukya,—and Châlukya. Tradition,—as recorded in a stone-tablet inscription at the temple of Lôkêśvaradêva, at Handarike in the Haidarâbâd territories; Ell. MS., I., 612,—states that the Châlukyas sprang from the spray of a waterpot (*chulka, chuluka, chaluka*) when Hâriti, who wore five tufts of hair on his head, was pouring out a libation to the gods.

|| The seven divine mothers, or personified energies of the principal deities; viz., Brâhmî or Brahmâṇî, Vaishṇavî, Mâhêśvarî, Kaumârî, Vârâhî, Indrâṇî, and Châmuṇḍâ. They are also reckoned as sometimes eight, sometimes nine, and sometimes sixteen in number. They are figured several times in the sculptures at Elora.

¶ Crest, signet, or ensign. * *Paramêśvara.*

† The computation of this eclipse would be interesting. —ED.

‡ The meaning of *klipta* and *uparikara* is somewhat doubtful.

§ The *Brahmayajña*, or offering of prayer or of repeating the Vêda; *Dêvayajña*, or burnt sacrifice offered to the gods; *Pitṛiyajña*, or sacrifice offered to the Manes; *Manushyayajña* or *Nṛiyajña*, or the sacrifice or act of hospitality due to guests; and *Bhûtayajña*, or the oblation of food, &c. to all created beings.

name is Umbarakhêda, of the kindred of Vâsishṭha and of the school of the Taittirîyas, an inhabitant of (*the city of*) Tagara||, who is acquainted with the four Vêdas. This my gift should be recognized and increased by other kings who may come after me. He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins¶ and shall dwell for many thousands of ages in hell, who, through ignorance or because he esteems himself incapable of decay or immortal, may confiscate it; he, who preserves it, shall dwell for the same duration of time in heaven!"

And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara, &c.! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! He, who bestows land, enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; he, who revokes (*a grant*) or connives at such an act, shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! They, who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in dried-up hollow trees in the forests of the Vindhya mountains, which are destitute of water! What good man would resume those gifts which have been made in former times by kings, and which produce piety and wealth and fame, but which, (*if revoked*), are like the remains of an oblation that are vomited forth?!

No. XXVIII.

This is a Western Châlukya copper-plate grant from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and a transcription of it is given in his MS. collection, Vol. I., p. 17. The original, which belonged to the same person as the original of No. XXVII., and was also obtained through Gen. Fraser, consists of three plates about 8¼″ long by 3⅞″ broad. The facsimile does not show whether there is any emblem on the ring with which the plates are strung together. The characters are of much the same standard as those of No. XXVII., and the language is Sanskrit.

It records a grant made by Vikramâditya I., or Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the son of Pulikêśî II.

No date is given, either in the year of the Śaka era, or in the year of Vikramâditya's reign. The language, again, is decidedly more inaccurate than is usually the case. And the concluding passage, which commences in line 34, and which, in addition to its irregularity of diction, contains the Prâkṛit or Marâṭhi word *pannâs*, 'fifty', is in all probability a later addition, an attempt being made to imitate the antique writing. But, down to line 34, the characters of the original appear to be genuinely antique.

The genealogy differs from that of the Yêwûr stone-tablet inscription, followed by Sir W. Elliot and transcribed in Vol. I., p. 258, of his MS. collection, which gives Amara as the son of Pulikêśî II. and Âdityavarmâ as the son of Amara, and makes Vikramâditya I. the son of Âdityavarmâ and, thus, the *great-grandson* of Pulikêśî II. With reference to this discrepancy in the genealogical account, I have to remark,—on the one hand;—1, that, down to the mention of Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla (Śaka 998 to 1049), the genealogy given in the Yêwûr inscription only professes to be derived from some unspecified copper-plate grant of earlier date; and 2, that the inscriptions of Vinayâditya I., the son of Vikramâditya I., which I shall give in another paper, agree with the present in making Vikramâditya I. the *son* of Pulikêśî II., and in omitting any mention of Amara and Âdityavarmâ. And, on the other hand; that, as the reign of Vinayâditya I. commenced in Śaka 602-3, then if only Vikramâditya I. intervened between him and Pulikêśî II., there is, taking into consideration the date which is allotted to Pulikêśî II. in No. XIII. of this series, a full century occupied, at first sight, only by the two reigns of Pulikêśî II. and Vikramâditya I. In line 16 of this inscription, however, we have a distinct indication that Vikramâditya I. did not immediately succeed his father, whoever that father was, but was ousted for a time. And, if we admit the possibility of this fact of an interruption of the rule of the Châlukyas being due to their having no capable leader by reason of Vikramâditya I. being only of

|| Probably the ancient city mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, and of which the remains may be traced over a wide area, on the plateau to the south of Rozah, about four miles from Daulatâbâd (formerly Devagiri), not far from the cave temples of Elora.—ED.

¶ Viz., killing a Brâhman, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor, and associating with any one guilty of these crimes.

tender years at the time of the death of Pulikêśî II., and allow that the reign of Pulikêśî II. continued till about Śaka 550, which is perfectly possible, the lapse of time is sufficiently well accounted for.

In the case of such a discrepancy as the present, between a stone-tablet and a copper-plate grant, I should be inclined, *cæteris paribus*, to allow a preferential authority to the stone-tablet, as being a record of a more public nature and in every way less easy to fabricate. But, in the present instance, we have the concomitant testimony of other copper-plate grants in support of the one under notice. And the stone-tablet, with which it is at variance, professes only to be based upon an earlier copper-plate grant, and consequently is, at the best, of only precisely the same authority as a copper-plate grant; and it has, moreover, all the style of being a touched-up and amplified version of the original.

Accordingly, I accept Vikramâditya I. as the *son*, and not the grandson, of Pulikêśi II. And I would further suggest the probability of Amara and Âdityavarmâ being really not of the Châlukya family at all, but two of the three confederate kings, who seized upon the sovereignty after the reign of Pulikêśî II., and from whom Vikramâditya I. wrested it again.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [॥] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिताण्र्णवं दक्षिणोन(न्न)तदंष्ट्राग्र-

[2] विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यस-

[3] गोत्राणां हारिति(ती)पुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभि(भिः) सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धिता-

[4] नां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्ना-

[5] रायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणव-

[6] शीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमल(लं)कं(क)रिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृ-

[7] थस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य प्रपौ-

[8] त्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपातिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धाविशु-

[9] द्धकीर्ति(र्त्ति)श्रीकीर्ति(र्त्ति)वर्म्मप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-

Second plate; first side.

[10] संसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराज[योपल]ब्धपरमे-

[11] श्वर(रा)परन्ना(ना)मधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्ल[भमहाराजा]धिराजप-

[12] रमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनयः चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमे[णै]केनैव

[13] प्रेरिता(तो) नेकसमरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलस्वादनरसानायमनज्व-*

[14] लि(?ळि)तधवळनिशितनिस्त्रि(स्त्रि)शं(श)धारया धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोग-

[15] सदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः आत्मकवचाममानेकप्र-

[16] हार(रः) स्वगुरो(रोः) श्रियमवनिपतित्रिता(तया)न्तरितामात्मक†साकृ(त्कृ)त्य कृतैका-

[17] धिष्ठिताशेषराज्यभरस्तस्मिन्राज्यत्रयेण‡ विनष्टानि देवस्वं(स्व)ब्रह्म-

[18] देयानि धर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान(न्) रणशिरसि

[19] रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजान्§ लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मीं) प्राप्तपरमेश्व-

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* Some emendation seems necessary here. I would suggest *jala-svâdana-nâma-rasâyana-jvalita*, and have adopted this in my translation.

† This syllable,—*ka*,—is superfluous, the usual form, and, I apprehend, the only correct form, being *âtmasât-kritya*.

‡ This syllable,—*na*,—is superfluous, as the locative *râjya-trayê* is required with *tasmin*. Or, if *râjya-trayêṇa* is to be upheld, *tasmin* must be corrected into *têna*.

§ We must read here either *sva-vaṁśa-jânâm*, or *sva-vaṁśa-jâm*.

I

II a.

0.946 OF ORIGINAL SIZE

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 77

II b.

III

W Griggs. Photo-lith. London

Second plate; second side.

[20] रतामनिवारितं¶ विक्रमादित्य(त्यः) [।।] अपि च मृदितनरसिंहयशसा वि-

[21] हिते(त)महेन्द्रप्रतापविलयेन नयन*विजितेश्वरेण प्रभुणा

[22] श्रीवल्लभेन जितः कृतपल्लवमर्द्द(र्द्दो) दक्षिणदिग्युवतिमत्तकाञ्ची(ञ्चि)कायो(यां)

[23] भृशमभिरन्नापि† सुतरा(रां) श्रीवल्लभत्वमिदं वहति स्वमर्त्यवन्त‡ रण-

[24] रसिकश्रीमदुरुबलस्कन्धं(न्धो) यो राजमल्लशब्दविहितमहामल्ल-

[25] कुलपाराजितस्य§ [।।] दुल्ल(र्ल्ल)घं(ङ्घ्य)दुष्करविभेदविशालसाला दुर्ग्गाधदुस्त-

[26] रबृहत्परिखापरि(री)ता अग्राहि येन जयतेश्वरपोतराजं(ज)काञ्चीव

[27] दक्षिणदिशाक्षितिपेन काञ्ची [।।] स विक्रमाक्रान्तसकलमहीमण्डलाधि-

[28] राज्यो विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रि(पृ)थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-

[29] रः सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति [।] विदितमस्तु वो स्माभिः कौशिकसगोत्रस्य

Third plate.

[30] नन्दिस्वामिना(ने) कृच्छ्रा(च्छ्रा)तिकृच्छ्र(च्छ्र)चान्द्रायणादिकेन बहुविधेन तपसा सकल-

[31] वेदान्तपरमार्त्थाधिगतसतत्वे(त्त्वा)न(य) कण्णविषये कन्दुगुळ्ळामग्रामपूर्व्व-

[32] स्यान्दिशि चिन्तकुण्ठनामग्रामो दत्तः [।] काश्यपसगोत्रस्य शान्तिशर्म्मसोम-

[33] याजिन(ने) हारितसगोत्रस्य अशितितर्कस्य¶ आदित्यशर्म्मणे सोमयाजिन

[34] एतयोर्द्वयो[र**]पि ग्रामार्द्धन्दत्तम् [।।] भरद्वाजगोत्रस्य†† अगुन्छ(?)-

[35] भोयोपिद्दिशर्म्मणे द्वादशभागः दामशर्म्म एक-

[36] भागः लोहस्वामि एकभागः माण्डव्यगोत्रस्य भल्लस्वामि ए-

[37] कभागः बादिशर्म्म एकभागः पिदिशर्म्म एकभागः काश्यपगो-

[38] त्रस्य निज्ज(?)भोयोदोणशर्म्म एकभागः गन्दभोयो एकभागः [।]

[39] ग्रामे सर्व्वे पन्चासभागम् ।।

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk!

The great-grandson of the Great King Śrî-Pulakêśi-vallabha, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Mânavya (&c., as in No. XXVII.);—the grandson of the favourite of the world, the Great King Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, whose fame was established in the territories (&c., as in No. XXVII.);—the beloved son of the

¶ Some verb, such as *chakâra*, 'he made', or *prâpayâmâsa*, has to be supplied here to complete the sentence.

* A better reading would be *naya* for *nayana*, as the latter is hardly capable of use in the sense of *naya* or *nîti*, which is evidently intended here.

† The reading intended is probably *abhiramann=api*.

‡ The letters are clear, but what they are intended for is not very apparent.

§ Probably the reading intended is *mahâmalla-kulam parâjitavân*.

¶ Probably the reading intended is *adhîta-tarkâya*.

** This letter is omitted altogether in the original.

†† From here to the end the characters are of a larger and inferior type, and this portion seems to have been added at a later date. The language also is very inaccurate, and the use in the last line of the Prâkṛit or Marâṭhi word *pannâs*, 'fifty', is peculiar.

favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, Satyâśraya, who was possessed of the second name of 'Supreme Lord' acquired by defeating Śrî-Harshavardhana‡, the warlike lord of all the country of the north;—(*was*) Vikramâditya, who,—borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha§, and having with his arm, that was like the coils of the serpent who sustains the burden of the earth, conquered those who were desirous of conquering him,—though many blows fell upon his armour, acquired for himself, with his pure and sharp and cruel sword that was irradiated by the elixir which consisted of tasting the blood of the hostile kings in the front ranks of many battles, the royalty of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy|| of three kings, and who, having effected the subordination of the whole kingdom to one (*sovereign*), reëstablished, by his own (*word of*) mouth, in order to increase his piety and fame, the grants which had been made to gods and Brâhmaṇs, but had been destroyed by those three reigns, and, having conquered the hostile kings in country after country in the van of war, without any impediment (*made*)¶ the goddess of the fortunes of those of his lineage to possess the position of supreme lordship. And again, when he was conquered by the lord, Śrî-Vallabha*, who trampled upon the fame of Narasiṁha† and effected the destruction of Mahêndrapratâpa and surpassed even Îśvara in the art of government,—he achieved the ruin of the Pallavas, and, though delighting much in Kâñchikâ‡, which is, as it were, the wanton girdle of the woman who is the country of the south, he bears preëminently the condition of being the favourite of the goddess of fortune. Having shoulders that delighted in war and were glorious and of great strength, he conquered§ that family of mighty wrestlers|| who were possessed of the title of 'Royal Wrestler.' By him, the ruler of the southern region, was Kâñchî captured, the mighty abode of enmity that was hard to be surmounted and difficult to be borne,—which was girt about by a moat that was very deep and difficult to be crossed,—and which was as it were the girdle of the sea-king¶ Jayatêśvara.

He, Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who possesses the supreme sovereignty over all the countries of the world, which have been invaded by his prowess, thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you. The village of Chintakuṇṭha, to the east of the village of Kandugu!, in the district of Kaṇṇa, has been given by us to Nandisvâmî, of the lineage of Kâśyapa, who has attained the excellence of the supreme knowledge of the whole of the Vêdânta by means of his manifold penances which comprise the *Kṛichchhra* and *Atikṛichchhra* and *Châṇdrâyaṇa* and other ascetic exercises. And half of a village each has been given to Śântiśarmâ, of the lineage of Kâśyapa, who celebrates the Sôma sacrifice, and Âdityaśarmâ, of the lineage of Hârita, who has studied the science of reasoning, and who celebrates the Sôma sacrifice."

Twelve shares* (*were given*) to Agundubhôyôpiddiśarmâ, and one to Dâmaśarmâ, and one to Lôhasvâmî, of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*. One share (*was given*) to Bhallasvâmî, and one to Bâdiśarmâ, and one to Pidiśarmâ, of the Mâṇḍavya *gôtra*. One share was given to Nijubhôyôdôṇaśarmâ, and one to Gandabhôyô, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. In the whole village there are fifty shares.

‡ *Cf.* No. XIII., Transcr., l. 11, Vol. V., p. 70.

§ *Sc.*, 'speckle-throated.'

|| *Tritaya*, 'a collection of three', denotes clearly some confederacy that was formed against Vikramâditya. Probably the reference is to the three kings of Chôla, Pâṇḍya, and Kêrala, who, as we learn from the inscriptions of Vinayâditya I., were conquered by Vikramâditya I. Or, the reference may be to the Trairâjya-Pallavas, 'the Pallavas, whose kingdom consists of three dominions', of Vinayâditya's inscriptions, who were conquered by Vinayâditya at the command of his father, Vikramâditya, and whose leader, previously overcome also by Vikramâditya himself, is described as having been "the cause of the humiliation of that family (*of the Châlukyas*) which was as pure as the rays of the moon."

¶ See note ¶ to line 20 of the text; as it stands in the original, the sentence is incomplete, being without a verb.

* I do not know to what dynasties Śrî-Vallabha and Mahêndrapratâpa belong. From the context, Śrî-Vallabha may perhaps be a Pallava king.

† Whether the god or some king is alluded to, is not clear.

‡ Kâñchî, the capital of the Pallavas: see No. XIII., Transcr., l. 14, Vol. V., p. 70.

§ See note § to line 25 of the text, which is corrupt here.

|| What particular family is alluded to, is not clear. It was probably from this conquest that the Châlukyas came to assume, as secondary names, titles ending in *malla*,—Yudhamalla, Âhavamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c.

¶ *Pôtarâja*, lit. 'the king of ships.' Who Jayatêśvara was, I do not know.

* See note †† to l. 34 of the text.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.

I have seen many accounts of the Muharram ceremonies, and it is well known that the Indian form of them is confined to this country, and even here regarded with disfavour by many of the more educated Sunnìs. I do not think, however, that attention has been drawn to their exceeding resemblance, as observed in some places, to the Hindu processions of gods' cars and *pálkis*. In the course of my own service I have been obliged to spend many weary hours in the saddle, keeping order about the *tábuts*, but never noticed this feature of the festival so much as this year. The scene was Kalyâṇ, a port of the Ṭhâṇâ collectorate, inhabited by about 12,000 souls, of whom, at the outside, about 2,500 are Muhammadans. Nearly all these are of the Sunnî sect, and of the race called Koṅkaṇî Musalmâns,—descended chiefly, I believe, from Arab settlers on the coast. There were half-a-dozen *tábuts* and as many *panjás*, or standards.

On the ninth night of the Muharram most of the *panjás* and one *tábut* paraded particular streets with music and lights. This is usual; what is, I believe, less so is that each of the *panjás* went to visit its neighbours, when greetings were exchanged by bows of the Punch and Judy sort, and by a dance of the attendants of both host and guest round a hole full of fire. The rest of the 'fun of the fair' was of the usual type,—shouts of '*Dín*' and '*Ûllá*,' fireworks, dances,

> "Songs and quavers, roaring, humming,
> Guitars, and every other sort of strumming."

On the tenth day, when the *tábuts* were taken to be cooled (*ṭhaṇḍá karṇá*) in a tank, the start and progress of every one of them was impeded by dozens of Hindu women rushing out with female infants, whose noses and ears it is considered auspicious to pierce for the first time literally under the *tábut*. Some brought out water to pour out under the *tábuts* (not *before* them); and every one threw sweetmeats and coloured threads upon them, the fall of which on the ground was thought a great misfortune.

Some of the *tábuts* belonged to the tombs of saints, and each of these had before it a censer, the ashes from which were distributed by attendant *faqîrs* to Hindu women (at one house, at least, to Brâhmaṇîs), who made themselves "beautiful for ever" therewith on the spot, and in the sight of all men.

Whenever one *tábut* came to the place of another, or of a *panjá*, both solemnly circumambulated the firepits, and the attendants danced round them also, both before and after.

It is impossible not to see in these ceremonies the strongest resemblance to the mutual visits of Hindu idols borne in *raths* (chariots) or *pálkis*, to the distribution of ashes from Gosains' fires, the wild fire-dances of the Holi, and the occasional sacrifice of life under the wheels of the *raths*.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD 'MEHWÂSI.'

The derivation of the little words 'Mehwâsi' and 'Mehwâs,' so commonly used in Gujarât, has not, as far as I know, been hitherto attempted, except by Sir John Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I. p. 216, where he says:—"The chiefs on the Nerbudda are generally called Mowassee, which refers to the place they have chosen for their residence, *mowass* signifying, in the colloquial dialect of the country, a stronghold or fastness." The words occur in the Persian histories of the province, and are commonly used in the English correspondence and records regarding Gujarât. In the Persian histories the word is generally used in conjunction with the word *Girás*, thus *Girás* and *Mehwás*, or in contradistinction to *Rásti* or settled districts. Both Colonel Walker and Mr. Kinloch Forbes use the word *Mehwás* as signifying 'country inhabited by turbulent tribes,' or 'strong country' where those who exercised control over the province could with difficulty penetrate; and, in its modern meaning, a Mehwâs holding, no doubt, implies the possession of a more than ordinary amount of independence, and the absence, more or less, of the subordination which distinguishes other more ordinary tenures. But the original signification of the word, as far as I am able to ascertain, is merely a contraction for 'Mahiwâsi,' or 'dweller on the Mahî;' *Mehwás* would therefore be 'a dwelling on the Mahî,' and I believe both *Mehwás* and *Mehwási* are used only in Gujarât and part of Mâlwâ, in which latter province the Mahî has its source. Dr. Bühler informs me that he considers this derivation the correct one, and that there are analogous derivations. Thus he quotes *mahisha*, Sanskṛit for 'buffalo,' which has been contracted into *mheṅs* = *bheṅs*, and other words. And Joshi Atamrâm Dulabhrâm of Baroda informs me that this view is supported by the following *śloka*:—

श्लोक.

महीं महीमंडलगा विभाति
प्रभूतचौरा निवसंति यत्र
बालोपि चौरस्तरुणोपि चौर-
श्चौरान्विना न प्रसवंति नार्यः ॥ १ ॥

"The river Mahî is one of the most excellent in the world.
There reside only thieves;
Children even are thieves, the young men are also thieves,
And except thieves women give birth to none other."

Under the Marâṭhâs, as is well known, tributary Gujarât was divided into two portions, viz. Mahî Kânṭhâ and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and this broad definition of the Mahî banks would include all the Mehwâs holdings. The *śloka* quoted sufficiently shows the predatory character of the inhabitants from the earliest times.

The first instance of the use of this word that I am acquainted with, occurs in the *Dvaiâsharâya* (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 74), and it is there translated as 'forest.' This shows that so far back as early in the 12th century Saṁvat the word was in common use for a holding in difficult country. Mr. Sinclair has drawn my attention to Professor Dowson's notes to Minhâj-us-Sirâj (Elliot, vol. II.); and while I cannot agree with that distinguished scholar that so palpably Âryan a word as 'Mehwâs' is derived from the Semitic root وسی ااسی or واسی it seems probable that the word 'Mehwâs' or 'Mewâs' had become so generally accepted a term for a holding in difficult country, like that on the banks of the Mahî, that it may have reached distant Dihlî, and thus come to Minhâj-us-Sirâj's knowledge.

JOHN W. WATSON,
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EXPLORATIONS AT KORKEI AND KÂYAL.

BY THE REV. DR. R. CALDWELL.

I visited Korkei once many years ago, and, though my visit was a hurried one, yet from what I saw, and from the inquiries I made, I came to the conclusion that Korkei (in Tamil properly Kolkei, euphonized into Korkei), though now so insignificant, was to be identified with the Κόλχοι of the Greeks, which Lassen had identified with Kilakarei, a place on the Madura coast. The Greeks came to Κόλχοι, to purchase pearls, certainly soon after the Christian era,—probably many years before,—and represented it as the head-quarters of the pearl trade between Cape Kumârî and the place they called Κῶρυ, properly Kôṭi, now Râmeśvaram, which was also an emporium of the same trade. It must have been regarded as a considerable place at that time, seeing that from its name they called the Gulf of Mannar the Kolchic Gulf. It was easy to conclude also that this was the Korkei to which all native traditions pointed as the cradle of South Indian civilization,—the place where the three brothers Cheran, Chôlan, and Pâṇḍyan were said to have been born and brought up, and from whence they set forth to form dynasties and kingdoms,—or, as might more readily be admitted, the place where the rule of the Pâṇḍyas commenced, and from whence they afterwards migrated to Madura. The meaning of the name Korkei is 'an army, a camp.' The interest of this identification was heightened by the conclusion at which I arrived at the same time, that an insignificant place called Old Kâyal, about halfway between Korkei and the sea, was to be identified with the Cael of Marco Polo, the most important city and seaport on the eastern coast of India during the Middle Ages. (See Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo.*) The sites of two famous places were thus discovered in the same neighbourhood, and a glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason why each had been abandoned in turn. Both places are situated on the delta of the Tâmraparnî,—Korkei within five, Kâyal within two miles of the sea,—and each was originally on the sea-coast. As the silt accumulated in the sea near the mouth of the river, or as the land rose,—or from both causes,—Korkei was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of a sea-borne trade, and Kâyal (meaning a 'lagoon opening into the sea') rose in its stead on the sea-shore, and attained to still greater dimensions. Kâyal carried on an immense direct trade with China and Arabia, the evidences of which are found lying all over the open plain on which the city stood. In time, however, through the continuous operation of the same causes, Kâyal came to be too far from the sea; and accordingly, shortly after the Portuguese arrived on the Coromandel Coast, they abandoned Kâyal, and established themselves instead at Tuticorin, which has ever since been the principal seaport of Tinnevelly, there being no river near to silt up the harbour and roads. It would seem as if Korkei, though probably never so important an emporium of trade as Kâyal, must at one time have been nearly as large. This is proved by the relics of pottery, &c. scattered about the country for miles, and especially by the circumstance that places, such as Akkasâlei ('the Mint'), which are now at a distance from Korkei, are ascertained, by the inscriptions I have found on the walls of the temples, to have been portions of Korkei originally.

Whilst in Korkei and the neighbourhood I employed ten or twelve coolies for four days to make excavations here and there, under the superintendence of one of my assistants; whilst it was made the duty of the choir boys—much more a pleasure to them than a duty—to examine every shovelful of the earth that was thrown up, to see whether it contained any objects of interest. The Collector

of the District, Mr. Stuart, kindly sent me a peon, to let the people of the place see that nothing illegal or improper was going to be done, and in return I sent him a list of the articles found, though unfortunately they were of no particular interest.

The geology of the place seemed to me more interesting than its antiquities. The whole of the country in this neighbourhood is included in the delta of the Tâmrâparnî, the great river of Tinnevelly; and this place is situated in the last-formed portion of the delta, lowest and nearest the sea, so that the mode in which the delta was formed, which is doubtless more or less the mode in which all deltas have been formed, could be easily studied. The upper stratum is composed of stiff alluvial clay, which had been brought down by the river and deposited in the bed of the adjacent sea. Every portion of this alluvium contains sea-shells in great abundance,—not merely sea-shore shells, but deep-sea shells, such as the *chank* and the pearl-oyster. So abundant are they that in places where the surface of the ground has been washed away by rain, and cultivation has not been carried on, the white shell-covered surface glitters almost like water in the moonlight, and in some places as you walk along the roads, especially near Mâramangalam, the shells go crackling under your feet as they would by the sea-shore when the tide is out. This being the last formed portion of the delta, the alluvial stratum is very shallow. The average depth cannot be more than six feet, and at the bottoms of tanks I have found it no more than three. Underneath this I invariably found a layer of grit-stone (called by the people "salt-stone"), rarely more than a foot in thickness, composed of the larger grains of sea-sand, such as lie on the surface, mixed with comminuted shells. This had evidently been the surface of the ancient sea-bed, for underneath I invariably came upon beautiful white sea-sand, in smaller grains, containing great quantities of unbroken shells. Doubtless the grit-stone had been formed by the infiltration of the alluvium from above. I found it impossible to ascertain the depth of the sand, or what it rested on, for after digging into it for a few feet the hole always got filled with water, and the water flowed in so fast that baling out was useless. Strange to say, some of the shells I found in this ancient sea-bed retained a portion of their original colour. One in particular—a *Conus*—looked as if it had been alive only a few years ago. What makes this so remarkable is that this portion of the delta must have been inhabited at least 2500 years ago, and it must have been many ages earlier that the deposition of the alluvium commenced.

I hoped by making excavations in Korkei and the neighbourhood to find some traces of the Greeks, but in this I was doomed to be disappointed. The ancient level of the village is about eight feet below its present level, which of itself is a proof of great antiquity. When the diggers reached this depth they invariably found traces of human habitations, shreds of Indian pottery, &c., but nothing of the nature I hoped to find. On the surface we found two Singhalese copper coins (I conclude them to be Singhalese from the management of the drapery), but the inscriptions were quite obliterated. I also found two images of Buddha, sitting, in his usual attitude of contemplation. One of them was out in the fields, the other in the village. I suspected that the latter was worshipped, though it was known to belong to a different religion. The people strenuously denied this, but one morning when I happened to pass I saw a garland of flowers which had been placed by some person round its neck. The person who did so evidently thought that if ever Buddha got his head above water again, he had a chance of being remembered for good! The most interesting things that were found were three of those mysterious sepulchral urns which have hitherto puzzled everybody. The natives know nothing about them, and the common opinion amongst Europeans is that they pertained to a race which died out, but of which no relic remains except these urns. The urns are made of the ordinary pottery of the country, but there are always some little vessels found inside, some of which are beautifully shaped, with a polish or glaze which the potters of these days cannot imitate. Two of the urns I found contained no bones, but only traces of bone-dust; but one, a monster urn, 11 feet in circumference—unfortunately found broken—contained a complete set of entire human bones, including a perfect skull. The circumstances in which this urn was found were very interesting. The people to whom it belonged had dug down through the alluvial soil of the delta and the grit-stone till they came to the white sea-sand, and in this they had deposited the urn. The grit-stone had then partially re-formed all round, and I found the cavity of the skull filled up with grit-stone. The notion invariably entertained by the natives of these days is that the people buried in these urns were a race of pygmies, but the bones found in this urn were admitted by the natives who were standing about when it was opened to be those of a full-grown man of the usual size. Strange to say, a deputation of women came to my tent one day for the purpose of seeing the bones.

I visited Old Kâyal (Marco Polo's Cael) twice, and set my excavators at work for a day in a place about two miles from the present village,

which represents only the western boundary of the ancient city. At a depth of three feet beneath the present surface they came on the *chunammed* floor of a house, but found nothing of importance. The extent of the site of Kâyal was so great that it would take a month, instead of a single day merely, to explore it properly. I found, however, the whole surface of the ground, literally for miles, covered with evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo's statements respecting the trade of the place, confirmed by those of the Muhammadan historians. According to those statements, Kâyal was frequented by great numbers of vessels from the Arabian coast and from China—(*junks*),—in one of which latter Marco Polo himself arrived; and accordingly I picked up everywhere on the open plain broken pieces of China porcelain of all qualities, and broken pieces of Arabian pottery. I could easily, if I had chosen, have collected a cartload, but the pieces had been broken again and again by the plough and the feet of bullocks, so that, though the material in each case was obvious enough, all trace of the shape of the article had disappeared. Old Kâyal, or what remains of it, is now inhabited almost exclusively by Labbis (native Muhammadans) and Roman Catholic fishermen.

The people of these parts, as generally throughout India, have not the remotest notion of the object Europeans have in view in searching for antiquities. Whatever we may say, they think our real object is to endeavour to discover hidden treasures; and this they consider a very risky business, for all hidden treasures are in the custody of demons, who will not allow them to be rifled with impunity. At Korkei, before my explorations commenced, many of the people expressed an earnest hope that I would not make any excavations near any temple or image, because, although very likely there might be treasure underneath, the demons in charge would be so enraged that they would destroy the village outright. I assured the people that I would take care not to come near any temple or image, and I scrupulously kept my word. My old friend Mânikavâsagar of Ârumugamangalam professes to have received a dreadful fright some years ago from the demons that watch over hidden treasure, when he helped Mr. Puckle, the then Collector of Tinnevelly, to make some explorations near Kâyal. The night after the first day's exploration a she-demon appeared to him in a dream, and asked him in terrible tones how he dared to meddle with her treasures. In the morning when he awoke, he found—dreadful to relate—that his feet were fastened round the back of his neck in such a way that he was unable to loose them without assistance! I need scarcely add that no further part in the exploration was taken by him. I wanted him to tell me the story; but he was afraid, I suppose, I should laugh at him, and so I failed; but he told it quite gravely to my assistants, and has told the story so often that he evidently believes it himself now. Even Europeans, it seems, are not quite so free from danger as they suppose. Many years ago there was a Collector of Tinnevelly, it is said, who determined to dig for the treasure which was believed to have been hidden in a certain place by a woman who intended to make use of it in some subsequent birth, and which for the time being, of course, was under the custody of demons. He was warned that something dreadful would happen, but, being an European, he did not care. He pitched his tent near the place, and the whole of the first day was occupied by himself, his peons, and his coolies in digging. At length, as night drew on, they came to a carefully built stone receptacle; and, justly concluding that this was the place where the treasure was hidden, the Collector set a watch over it and went to sleep in his tent, with the intention of opening the stone receptacle the next morning. The next morning came, and the Collector found himself, not in his tent, but in bed in his own bungalow at Palamkotta; the tent was found pitched at the other side of the river, and of the excavations that had been made the previous day not a trace remained!*

EXCAVATIONS AT KÂYAL.

THE Cael of Marco Polo having been identified by Dr. Caldwell as Kâyal, a port at the mouth of the Tâmraparnî river, in Tinnevelly, ... The ancient city—whose name signifies a lagoon—was one of those enormous emporiums of the East, the first mentioned of which is Ophir. At Kâyal the sea has greatly receded, for the Tâmraparnî river, rushing down through the clays and rice-fields of Tinnevelly, has, in the course of centuries, made for itself a large delta. The Cael (*Kâyal*) of Marco Polo is thus described by him†:—"Cael is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the five Brother-Kings.‡ It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as

* From the appendix to the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's *Second Journal of Evangelistic Work in Tinnevelly*, 1876.

† *Vide* Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. 1875, vol. II. p. 357.

‡ The five Brother-Kings were descendants of the old Pandion race, and gave themselves the title of the Pancha-Pâṇḍeyal, acknowledging no subordination to any other prince. In the *Pandion Chronicle* the great king Vishvanâtha Naiker, who was installed ruler of Madurâ and the adjacent countries of the south in S.S. 1482 (A.D. 1559), is spoken of as defeating them. The words of the Chronicle are:—"On coming to Madurâ he constructed seventy-two bastions to the fort, and appointed seventy-two Palliya-karers (Polygars), corresponding with the bastions. He also caused the fort of Tiruchinapalli to be

from Hormos, and from Kis, and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in the city of Cael. The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state, and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city. This king has some 300 wives; for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of." Marco Polo goes on to speak of the one mother of the five Brother-Kings of the South India of his day, of whom the chief was the king of Cael, and to all of whom, in their disputes, the mother, who was then alive, acted as a mediator. He also alludes to the use of the betel-leaf in Cael.

The following extracts (dated June 23, Shepherd's-land—*Ideiyarkâdu*, Tinnevelly), from a private letter by Dr. Caldwell, written on the outskirts of Kâyal, will be read with interest:—

"I set my coolies last evening to dig for sepulchral urns in the lowest ground in the neighbourhood. These are 'jars'—*matonmattantâḻi*—in which a race of people, of whom nothing is known, used to bury.§ Before long they found one in the deepest part of a tank which is now dry. It was a monster, eleven feet in circumference. Unfortunately it had been so often soaked in water that it was found broken in three. The contents, however, were perfect,—the bones of a man with an exceedingly perfect skull. There is a small hole in one part of the skull, apparently made by a weapon. The grand interest, however, is this. This place is a portion of the Tâmraparnî delta, and the ancient people had dug right through the alluvium of the delta till they had come to the white sea-sand underneath, in which they had deposited the urn. The upper stratum of the sea-sand has generally turned into a grit-stone, through the infiltration of the alluvium deposited above. The grit-stone accordingly had formed round the urn, and even inside, and the cavity of the skull is filled with compact grit-stone! The teeth are very perfect and complete. Altogether, the skull would be an interesting addition to a naturalist's studio. I have found no traces of the Greeks here, but plenty to prove that the place is of great antiquity. I have had ten coolies digging for several days, and wherever they dig they find nothing till they get to a depth of about eight feet. Then brick floors, &c. are found. The thorough excavation of a place like this would prove very expensive. The Collector sent me a peon, to be present as a sign of Government authorization. I am to send in a list of what I find to the Government.

"A certain Dr. J——, of Berlin, was in Tinnevelly in the beginning of the year. He made a considerable collection of urns, skulls, &c., which he carried off to Germany without communication with the Madras authorities. For this the Collector, it is said, was reprimanded. . . .

"I am taking the greatest possible care not to irritate the people in any way; so I make no excavations near their temples, and have not dug about the numerous images of Buddha, even though they are not now worshipped. There is an image of Buddha, near Kâyal, which the people have turned back upwards, and the washermen use it for beating their clothes upon!

"*Saturday 24th.*—I have been this morning to Kâyal again, and returned. This time I went in a palanquin, and did my journey comfortably. I went two miles beyond what now remains of Kâyal, and still found myself only in the centre of the remains of the great city of Marco Polo's time. I marked out several places for excavation, and left ten men to do as much work as ten men could do in a day. . . I intend to cross the mouth of the Tâmraparnî, and see Pinnei-Kâyal. . . .

"Yesterday my people found a couple of urns at Mâramangalam. One was as large as the one found at Korkei, but empty. The meaning of that is that it only contained the bone-dust of the dead. The other was a smaller one, which my coolies were able to take out whole. It contained two beautiful little polished *kalasams*, or vessels, but no bones. The inside is black, and so are the *kalasams*. . . ." —*Athenæum, 12th August* 1876.

BOOK NOTICE.

Musharrah Fiqra'î Bible: Nayâ 'Ahdnama. (The New Testament portion of the Annotated Paragraph Bible in Roman Urdû.) London: The Religious Tract Socy. 1876.

This is the first part issued of a Commentary on the whole Bible under the title of *Musharrah fiqra'î Bible.* (We must confess that we stumble on the threshold; the word *Bible* may pass, but

built. He likewise conquered the five independent princes to the south, who acknowledge no earthly superior." Many of the Palliya-karers or Polygars, constituted by Vishvanâtha Naiker, exist to the present day. The estates or Pallyams, given on the feudal tenure of rendering military service and defending the bastions of the metropolitan fort allotted to their holders, are all well known; most of them were forfeited in the Polygar war, which fills so many pages of Wilks and Hume, and the history and traditions of each, which doubtless survive in the families, would, if collected, throw much light on the antiquities and affairs of the days of the Southern Râjas.—M. J. W.

§ See the last chap., Appendix, to Dr. C.'s *Comp. Gram.*

surely not in the English spelling.) The work is published in London by the Religious Tract Society. It extends to 534 pages royal 8vo, comprising both the text of the New Testament, and notes about equal in extent to the text itself. The whole is in the Roman character. Dissertations on several important points are given. Two carefully constructed maps enhance the value of the work,—one presenting Palestine as it was at the Christian era, and another showing the travels of the Apostles.

It indicates progress on the part of missions in India, and a considerable amount of education as prevailing in the native Christian community, when a work of this kind is required. For we presume the Commentary is not intended chiefly for the missionaries, European or American, but for the native churches.

The version adopted is that of the North India Bible Society; the commentary accompanying is now published for the first time.

We must put a force on our inclinations and refrain from entering on the many and difficult questions connected with the translation of the Scriptures. Is the *textus receptus* to be followed even when recent investigation has shown its readings to be inaccurate? How far is it desirable that versions should be literal, striving to give the exact sense even when the idiom of the language is sacrificed? Questions of this kind start up at once; but we resolutely pass them by.

One of our chief complaints against our own, generally excellent, English version, is the variety of renderings given to the same word. Much of the force of a passage is often, in this way, missed. For example, in 1 *John* ii. 24 the verb μένω occurs three times, the repetition being emphatic and significant; but, with ingenious perversity, the English translators dissipate the force of the passage by using three different words—*abide, continue, remain.* We have just now turned to the Vulgate, and find it uses *maneo* once, and *permaneo* twice, which is a near approach to what we insist on. In the version before us we find two different words employed—*basná* once, and *rahná* twice. We object to this, though the rendering is better than that of the English translation. So in *Heb.* xii. 27, 28, our translation gives two words—*shaken* and *moved*—where the Greek, with evident purpose, has only one. The Hindustâní, we are sorry to see, follows here the bad example of the English. Jerome was wiser.

The Commentary—on which, as new, we should especially comment—seems executed with much care and no small success. It is simple, and as brief as is consistent with perspicuity. Thus, on the verse "The Word was made flesh" (*John* i. 14) it sufficiently explains the meaning, and so supplements, or rather corrects, the somewhat peculiar rendering of the text, *Kalám mujassam húá*. And, throughout, the annotations are unpretending, sensible, and such as will recommend themselves to the members of Protestant churches generally.

On the question of style we must express ourselves with some hesitation. We start with a perfect abhorrence of that

"Babylonish dialect
Which learned pedants much affect."

We shudder when Urdû is stuffed full of Arabic and Persian terms, and when Hindî or Bengâlî becomes half Sanskṛit. Further, we hold that while Urdû and Hindî must both advance, they should do so not on divergent, but if possible on convergent, or at all events parallel lines. Sanskṛit and Arabic are wide as the poles asunder. We hope to have, in the future, not an Arabicized Urdû and a Sanskritized Hindî, but two dialects of one language not much more apart, perhaps, than the "Johnsonese" of the great lexicographer, and the Saxon English of Addison or Swift. Now we by no means think this Commentary so faulty as many, or even most, Urdû compositions. Still it is *higher* than we expected or desired. We believe it is somewhat too much so for the native Christians generally, even for those who speak Urdû. To the multitudes of Hindî-speaking natives much of it must be unintelligible. Such, briefly, is our judgment on the style, and we feel bound to express it, although we are fully aware that all the munshis, and many of the missionaries, will take a different view.

We are very glad to see this work appear in Roman character. It is to the credit of the missions planted among the Hindî-speaking and Urdû-speaking populations that, instead of the cumbrous Devanâgarî and the rather enigmatical Persian, they should so often employ the clear, compact, and comparatively inexpensive Roman letters. The array of diacritical marks looks by no means formidable. The type is small, in order to keep the size of the work within moderate bounds, but the letters are perfectly distinct. The getting up of the whole book is remarkably good, and most creditable to all concerned.

We congratulate the venerable missionary Dr. Cotton Mather, who is, we believe, the translator of the notes and dissertations, and also the editor of the work. Dr. Mather has performed his important task both diligently and successfully.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(Continued from p. 78.)

No. XXIX.

THIS and the following two inscriptions carry us one step further in the Western Châlukya genealogy, being Sanskrit copper-plate charters of Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the son of Vikramâditya I. of my last notice.

The present one is from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection, and is marked as having been found at 'Togurshode' in the Karnûl District. It consists of three plates, about 9¾″ long by 4″ broad. It is not stated whether the seal of the ring connecting the plates bears any emblem. The characters are the customary Western Châlukya characters derived from the Cave-alphabet, and nearly fully developed into the Old Canarese alphabet. They are not so neatly formed as those of the inscriptions last published by me, and they have a decided slant from left to right. It is also to be noted that the practice as to writing the *Anusvâra* is not uniform; sometimes it is written above the line, as was the rule in the earliest adaptations of the Cave-alphabet, and sometimes,—in *âgraṁ(gra)-viśrânta*, l. 1; *vaṁśa*, l. 13; *mâna-śriṁga*, l. 17; and *chaṁchala*, l. 31,—on, or just a trifle below, the upper line of the writing.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 612*, and records a grant by Vinayâditya, made by him in the tenth year of his reign, in celebration of some victory, while encamped on the banks of the Pampâ river or lake. The locality is certainly the Hampe, Vijayanagara, or Bijnagar of modern times,—referred to in Sanskrit books by the name of 'Pampâkshêtra,'—on the south bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, in the Baḷḷâri district. There is a sacred pool at Hampe which is still called 'Pampâsarôvara,' and Mr. Sanderson, in his *Canarese Dictionary*, gives 'Hampe,' or 'Pampâ,' as another name of the Tuṅgabhadrâ itself. Mr. Garrett, also, in his *Classical Dictionary*, gives 'Pampâ' as the name of a river that rises at Ṛishyamûka in the Dekkan. And 'Ṛishyamûka' is the name by which a small hill on the north of the ruined town of Hampe is still known. Whether 'Pampâ' *is* another name of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, I cannot say. But this conjunction of names leaves no doubt as to the neighbourhood in which Vinayâditya's camp was pitched at the time of making this grant, and as to the part of the country that had just been subjugated by him.

I cannot trace on the map the villages affected by the grant, or the district,—named in line 28;—where, however, there is some doubt as to the exact reading,—in which they were situated. The grant was of certain dues, perquisites, or taxes, called *Âdityuñchhamaṟumanna* and *Mâruñchhamaṟumanna*. These are Drâviḍian terms, which I am not able to explain; but one component part of them is plainly the Sanskrit *uñchha*, 'gleaning.'

The record of the grant was made by Râmapuṇyavallabha, Vinayâditya's Minister for peace and war.

In the epithets applied to Vikramâditya I., a clear allusion is made to a confederacy that was formed against him by the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and Kêraḷa, and to some interruption of the Western Châlukya rule that was effected by the leader of the Pallavas, the lord of Kâñchî. I have had occasion to allude to this already, in my introductory remarks to No. XXVIII. of this series. It would seem that the results of the conquest of the ruler of Kâñchî by Vikramâditya I. were not very decisive or permanent. For we find Vinayâditya again campaigning against the Pallavas, as the leader of his father's army. And a short inscription at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi District, recently uncovered by me and thus brought to light for the first time, states, almost in so many words, that the great temple there†, the temple of Virûpâkshadêva as it is now called, or of Lôkêśvaradêva as it was then called, was built by Lôkamahâdêvî, the queen-consort of Vikramâditya II., expressly to celebrate another victory over the king of Kâñchî by her husband, who was the great-grandson of Vikramâditya I.

* According to the original, "*six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (era) having elapsed.*"

† Plates xxxviii. and xxxix. of Mr. Burgess's *Archæological Report* for 1873-4.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [॥]‡ जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णो[र्व्वा]राहं क्षोभिताण्र्णवं दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रं(ग्र)विश्रान्त-
[2] भुवनं वपुः [॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हा-
[3] रितीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरि-
[4] रक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमा-
[5] सादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्या-
[6] नां कुलमलङ्करिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपु-
[7] लकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृ-
[8] पतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहारा-

Second plate; first side.

[9] जस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरा[पथे]श्व[रश्री]ह[र्ष] वर्द्धन-
[10] [प] राजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः [सत्या]श्रयश्री-
[11] [पृ]थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तत्प्रि[य]सुतस्य विक्र-
[12] [मादि]त्यपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य मतिसहायसाहसमात्रसमधि-
[13] गतनिजवंशसमुचितचितराज्यविभवस्य विविधर[सित]सि[त]-
[14] समरमुखगत[रि]पुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्धकीर्त्तिपताकावभा-
[15] सितदिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलपरिभवविलयहेतु-
[16] पल्लव[प]तिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्चीपुरस्य प्रभावकु-

Second plate; second side.

[17] [लिशदलि]तचोळपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणीधरकृ(त्र)यमानमानशृंगस्य अनन्यसम-
[18] वन[त]काञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिलाभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्री(त्रि)स-
[19] मुद्रमघ्द्य(ध्य)वर्त्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराज्ञया बालि(ले)न्दुशेखरस्येव
[20] सेनानीर्द्दैत्यबलमातिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यपल्लवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तविष-
[21] यप्रशमनाद्विहिततन्मनोनुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाद्युधिष्ठिर इव श्री-
[22] रामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्परशुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वाद्भर-
[23] त इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभ-
[24] ट्टारकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति [।] विदितमस्तु वो स्माभिरेकादशोत्तरषट्छतेषु
[25] शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे दशमे वर्त्तमाने पम्पा-
[26] [त]टमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे कार्त्तिकपौर्ण्णमास्यां भारद्वाजसगोत्रस्य दे-

Third plate.

[27] वशर्म्मणः पौत्राय दुर्गशर्म्मणः पुत्राय भीमशर्म्मणे सर्व्वशास्त्रविशारदाय वे-
[28] दवेदांगविदे पेदे(?डे)कु(?क)ल्विषये तो....§दुग्रामे आदित्युञ्छमञ्छमन्नो गु-
[29] ळ्ळ्वेळेण्ड(?न्दो)ञ्छग्रामे माञ्छञ्छमञ्छमन्नो वरेयूग्रामे माञ्छञ्छमञ्छमन्नो बट्टेयू-

‡ There are no marks of punctuation in the original. I insert them for the sake of clearness.

§ Two letters are illegible with any approach to certainty here.

11a

SCALE OF ORIGINAL SIZE

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY. DATED ŚAKA 612.

II b.

III.

[30] ग्रामे माछुञ्छमछुमन्नो. . . . ¶ सभा(भो)गो दत्तः [।।] तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभि-
[31] रायुरैश्वर्य्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचंचलमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधरार्ण्ण-
[32] वस्थितिसमकालं स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
[33] सेन [।] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-
[34] दा फलं [।।] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो नुपा-
[35] लनं [।।] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रि-
[36] मिः [।।] महासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीरामपुण्यवल्लभेन लिखितमिदं शासनमिति [।।]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of V i s h ṇ u,—which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

The son of the great king Ś r î-P u l a k ê-ś i v a l l a b h a,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious C h a l u k y a s, who are of the kindred of M â n a v y a, which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of H â r i t î, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the protection of K â r t t i k ê y a, and who have all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy N â r â y a ṇ a,—(*was*) the great king K î r t t i v a r m â, the favourite of the world, whose pure fame was established in V a n a v â s î and other territories of hostile kings that had been invaded by his prowess.

His son (*was*) S a t y â ś r a y a, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who acquired the second name of 'supreme lord' by defeating Ś r î-H a r s h a v a r d h a n a, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

His dear son (*was*) V i k r a m â d i t y a, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired, only by his impetuosity assisted by his intellect, the appropriate and accumulated regal power of his own family; who illumined the distant regions with the banner of his fame, that was acquired by the conquest of hostile kings who engaged in wars of various kinds that were brought to an end (*by him*)*; who seized the city of K â ñ c h î after the defeat of the leader of the P a l l a v a s, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of that family† which was as pure as the rays of the moon; who rent open with the thunderbolt that was his prowess the proud summits of the haughtiness of the three mountains which were the kings of C h ô ḷ a, P â ṇ ḍ y a, and K ê r a ḷ a; who had the lotuses which were his feet besprinkled with the waters which were the rays of the watering-pot which was the jewelled diadem of the lord of K â ñ c h î, who bowed down before no other (*but who performed obeisance to him*); and who was the supreme lord of the whole extent of the earth included within the three oceans.

His son‡, V i n a y â d i t y a-S a t y â ś r a y a, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the P a l l a v a s, whose kingdom consisted of three (*component*) dominions, as The General§ did arrest the strength of the D a i t y a s‖ (*at the command*) of him¶ who bears the young

¶ Two letters are quite illegible here; only the *Visarga* after them is discernible. Some word meaning *tax*, *due*, or *perquisite*, in apposition with *Âdityuñchhamaṟumannaḥ* and *Mâṟuñchhamaṟumannaḥ*, stands here in the original, but I cannot decipher it in the facsimile.

* '*Vividha-rasita-sita-samara*', &c., ll. 13-14; *sita* here seems to be the past participle passive of *sô*, 'to destroy, finish, bring to an end.'

† The Chalukyavaṁśa, which was one of the offshoots of the Sômavaṁśa or 'race of the moon.'

‡ The construction of the original, ll. 10 to 24, is different, being, in outline, '*Satyâśrayaḥ | Tat-priya-sutasya Vikramâdityasya sûnuḥ Vinayâdityaḥ âjñâpayati* ||', which could only be literally followed by taking the relative pronoun as the basis of the construction in the translation. In all such involved passages, it is preferable to avoid the use of the relative pronoun as much as possible, by breaking up the sentences.

§ Kârttikêya, the leader of the armies of the gods.

‖ The demons, the descendants of Diti.

¶ Śiva. Kârttikêya being the *son* of Śiva, this is another point of comparison hinted at in the epithets applied to Vinayâditya.

moon on his crest-tuft, and having pleased his mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet, was like Yudhishṭhira on account of his excessive affection, and like Vâsudêva* on account of his being the beloved of the goddess of fortune†, and like Paraśurama on account of his being the elephant-goad of kings, and like Bharata on account of his being the refuge of kings‡,—d as issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and eleven years of the Śaka (*era*) having elapsed, in the tenth year of (*Our*) augmenting and victorious reign, at (*Our*) victorious camp which is located on the bank of the Pampâ (*river*, or *lake*), on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, there is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, to Bhîmaśarmâ, who is proficient in all the sacred writings and who knows the Vêdas and the Vêdâṅgas, the son's son of Dêvaśarmâ and the son of Durgaśarmâ, of the lineage of Bhâradvâja, ... §, (*viz.*) the *Âdityuñchhamarumanna* at the village of Tŏ . . . . du, (*and*) the *Mâruñchhamarumanna* at the village of Gulḷavĕḷeṇḍaṛu, (*and*) the *Mâruñchhamarumanna* at the village of Varĕyû, (*and*) the *Mâruñchhamarumanna* at the village of Baṭtĕyû, in the district of Pĕdĕkul. This (*grant*, or *charter*) should be preserved by future kings, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant bestowed by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches &c. are as evanescent as the lightnihg. And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings from Sagara downwards; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, (*but*) the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult; (*if the question is*) whether giving or preserving (*is the more commendable act*),—preservation is better than giving! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been bestowed, whether by himself or by another! This charter has been written by Śrî-Râmapuṇyavallabha, the High (*Minister*), who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war."

* Kṛishṇa.

† Supply, to complete the comparison, the second meaning intended in '*Śrî-râmatvât*', *viz.* 'just as Vâsudêva was the beloved of the goddess Śrî, *sc.* because he was an incarnation of Vishṇu, the husband of Śrî or Lakshmî.'

‡ In No. 98 of Major Dixon's collection (see below) he is called 'Vinayâditya-Râjâśraya.'

§ See note to l. 30 of the text; some such word as *tax*, *due*, or *perquisite* has to be supplied here.

No. XXX.

This is another from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. It is marked as having been obtained through Captain Newbold from the Karṇûl district. The original consists of three plates about 9″ long by 4″ broad, and the seal of the ring connecting them bears the emblem of a boar. The characters are still more carelessly formed than those of the preceding; so much so that in lines 28 to 42, where many proper names occur, the reading is in many places very doubtful. This is, in fact, the most indifferent specimen of an early copper-plate charter that I have yet seen. The slant of the letters from left to right is still more distinct than in the preceding grant.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 614, (according to the original, 'six hundred and *thirteen* years of the Śaka [*era*] *having elapsed*)', in the thirteenth year of Vinayâditya's reign, and, like the preceding, records a grant to celebrate some victory that he had just gained. At the time of making this grant, he was encamped at the village of Ĕlumpundalĕ, and the principal grant is of the village of Musuṇipaṛu. This village was somewhere on the north bank of the Kṛishṇavêrṇâ, *i. e.* of the Kṛishṇâ after its confluence with the Vêrṇâ.‖ Except thus far, I cannot identify the locality in question; and the other two names in line 28 are very doubtful. The grant was made at the request of Vinayâditya's son, Vijayâdityá, who at that time was holding the post of *Yuvarâja*, and who succeeded his father on the throne. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Râmapuṇyavallabha.

‖ Conf. Gadag Inscription No. 2, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III., p. 300, Transcription line 13. The Vêṇâ would seem to be the Vêṇâ or Vênyâ near Satârâ. The 'Kûḍala-Kṛishṇavêṇî', or 'the Kṛishṇa and the Vêṇî of the confluence', of line 14 of a Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscription at Khêdrâpûr in the Kôlhâpûr territory (published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxxiii., vol. XII.), seems to be another form of the same name.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY.
DATED SAKA 614.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 88.

II a.

0·96 OF ORIGINAL SIZE

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.
DATED ŚAKA 614

II b.

III

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [॥]¶ जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोः वाराहं क्षोभितार्णवं दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रवि-
[2] श्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्रा-
[3] णां हारी(रि)तीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेय-
[4] परिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-
[5] वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलं-
[6] करिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभम-
[7] हाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धवि-
[8] शुद्धकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसंसक्तस-
[9] कलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्ष्व(र्ष)वर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वराप-
[10] रनामधेयस्सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराम(जा)धिराजपर-

Second plate; first side.

[11] मेश्वरस्तत्प्रियसुतस्य विक्रमादित्यपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य मतिसहा-
[12] यसाहसमात्रसमधिगतनिजवंशसमुपचितराज्यविभवस्य वि-
[13] विधरसितसितसमरमुखगतरिपुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्ध-
[14] कीर्त्तिपताकावभासितादिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलपरि-
[15] भवविलयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्ची-
[16] पुरस्य प्रभावकुलिशदलितचोळपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणीधरतृ(त्र)-
[17] यमानमानशृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपतिमणिमकुट-
[18] कुटकिरणसलिलाभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमध्यव-
[19] र्त्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखर-
[20] स्येव सेनानीर्दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यपल्लवबलम-

Second plate; second side.

[21] वष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनाद्विहितमनो*नुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सल[त्वा]-
[22] द्युधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्परशुराम इव राजाश्र-
[23] यत्वाद्भरत इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराज-
[24] परमेश्वरभट्टारकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति [।] विदितमस्तु वो स्माभिः त्रयोदशो-
[25] त्तरषट्छतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे एका-
[26] दशे वर्त्तमाने एळुंपुन्दलेग्राममधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे मा-
[27] घपौर्णमास्यां श्रीविजयादित्ययुत(व)राजविज्ञापनया कृष्णवेण्णाया उ-
[28] त्तरतटे गन्यतत्रये वेलहि(?)ण(?)ळु(?)भागे मुसुणिपळुनामग्रामः प्रो(?)क्ते(?)भ्यो
[29] ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तः [।] तेषां नामगोत्राण्युच्यन्ते [।] कौशिकसगोत्राय रविशर्म्मद्वि-

¶ The original has no marks of punctuation.

* The proper reading, as shown by No. XXIX., l. 21, No. XXXI. l. 19, and No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants, Pl. II. *a*, l. 15 (see below), is *'vihita-tan-manô-'*, &c.

[30] वेदाय पुनः कौशिकसगोत्राय आदित्यषडंगविदे काश्यपसगोत्रा-
[31] य शिवशर्म्मणे कौत्ससगोत्राय महाकाळाय कौशिकसगोत्राय दास-
[32] शर्म्मणे कौ(?)त्स(?)सगोत्राय देव(?)शर्म्मणे कामु(?)कायनसगोत्राभ्यां शंकर-

Third plate.

[33] स्वामिशर्म्मभ्यां भारद्वाजसगोत्राय पति(?)शर्म्मणे काश्यपसगोत्राय देवशर्म्मणे भारद्वा-
[34] जसगोत्राय मादिशर्म्मणे काश्यपसगोत्राय त(?)मानशर्म्मणे वा........† कौशिकस-
[35] गोत्राय दासशर्म्मणे व....‡ त्रिंशतो(?) ग्रामा नाम....§ सत्या(?)श्रया दत्ताः(?)
[36] कदुवपर्वे(?)पु(?)नामग्रामे भारद्वाजसगोत्राय दोणशर्म्मणे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं राजमाने-
[37] न क्षेत्रं कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राय वृद्धशर्म्मणे तथा पञ्चाशन्निवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं कौशिकसगोत्राय आदित्य-
[38] षडंगविदे तथा पञ्चाशन्निवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं तस्यैव सिहुकूरे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं
[39] प्राजापत्यं काश्यपसगोत्राय देवशर्म्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं
[40] मानव्यसगोत्राय वासुदेवाय (?) यु(?)सासाय तथा पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं
[41] मानव्यसगोत्रायै ब्राह्मण्यै द्वादशनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं प्राजापत्यं सत्ति(?)क(?)रग्रामे कौण्डिन्यसगो-
[42] त्राय हे(?)तिशर्म्मणे पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं प्राजापत्यं [।] उक्तानि नामगोत्राणि वृत्तयश्च [॥] त-
[43] दागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्वर्य्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांसु(शु)चंचलमवग-
[44] च्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्क्कधरार्णवस्थितिसमकालं यशश्चिचीषुभिः स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयं [॥]
[45] उक्तञ्च [।] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः [॥]
[46] इति [॥] महासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीरामपुण्यवल्लभेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [॥]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of V i s h ṇ u (&c., as in No. XXIX.)!

The son of the great king Ś r î-P u l a k ê ś i-v a l l a b h a,—whose body was purified (&c., as in No. XXIX.)—(*was*) the great king K î r t t i-v a r m â, the favourite of the world, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (*was*) S a t y â ś r a y a, the favourite of the world, the great king, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (*was*) V i k r a m â d i t y a, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (&c., as in No. XXIX.)||

His son, V i n a y â d i t y a-S a t y â ś r a y a, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. XXIX.),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and thirteen years of the Ś a k a (*era*) having elapsed, in the eleventh year of (*Our*) augmenting and victorious reign, at (*Our*) victorious camp which is located at the village of Ĕ ḻ u m p u n d a l ĕ, on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) M â g h a, at the request of the *Yuvarâja* Ś r î-V i j a y â d i t y a, the village of M u s u ṇ i p a ṟ u, in the division of V ê l a h i ṇ a ṟ u (?), in the three *Ganyatas*, on the north bank of the K ṛ i s h ṇ a v ê r ṇ â, is given by us to the B r â h m a ṇ s (*herein*) mentioned. Their names and *gôtras* are declared. To R a v i ś a r m â, of the K a u ś i k a *gôtra*, who is familiar with two V ê d a s; to Â d i t y a, again of the K a u-ś i k a *gôtra*, who is acquainted with the *Sha-*

† There are seven letters here, which I cannot read with any approach to certainty.

‡ Similarly, there are eight letters here, of which I can make no intelligible words.

§ Here, again, there are four, or perhaps five, letters, of which I can make no sense. And such letters as are clear in the latter part of this line do not give any satisfactory meaning.

|| Excepting the *v. l.* '*samupachita*' in l. 12, for '*samuchita-chita*' in l. 13 of No. XXIX.

ḍaṅga¶; to Śivaśarmâ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* to Mahâkâḷa, of the Kautsa *gôtra;* to Dâsaśarmâ, of the Kauśika *gôtra;* to Dêvaśarmâ (?), of the Kautsa (?) *gôtra;* to Śaṁkaraśarmâ and Svâmiśarmâ, of the Kâmukâyana *gôtra;* to Patiśarmâ (?), of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra;* to Dêvaśarmâ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* to Mâdiśarmâ, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra;* to Tamânaśarma (?), of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* . . . . * to Dâsasarmâ, of the Kauśika *gôtra;* . . . .† At the village of Kaduvapavĕpu (?), (*there is given*) to Dôṇaśarmâ, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure; likewise a field of the measure of fifty *nivartanas* to Vṛiddhasarmâ, of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra;* likewise a field of the measure of fifty *nivartanas* to Âditya, of the Kauśika *gôtra*, who is acquainted with the *Shaḍaṅga*, (*and*) he has also a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* at (*the village of*) Sihukûra, for the *Prâjâpatya* rites (?); a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure to Dêvaśarmâ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* likewise a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* to Vâsudêva, ... ‡ of the Mânavya *gôtra;* (*and*) a field of the measure of twelve *nivartanas* to a Brâhmaṇ woman of the Mânavya *gôtra*, for the *Prâjâpatya* rites (?). At the village of Sattikkara (?), (*there is given*) a field of the measure of twenty-five *nivartanas* to Hêtiśarmâ (?), of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, for the *Prâjâpatya* rites (?). The names and *gôtras* have been declared, and the shares. This (*grant*, or *charter*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c.! And it has been said:—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.!" This charter has been written by Śrî-Râmapuṇyavallabha, the High (*Minister*) who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

No. XXXI.

This is from No. 3 of the photographs of copper-plate grants at the end of Major Dixon's collection. The original consists of three plates, and is stated to be at Harihar in Maisûr; I tried to obtain it to edit from, but failed to trace the owner of it. The original plates would seem to be very well preserved; but the photograph is imperfect in several places, owing to the letters not having been properly filled in with white paint or chalk when it was taken. The characters are of a much better standard than those of either of the two preceding inscriptions, and do not slant as much. The *Anusvâra* is uniformly written above the line.

This inscription, again, records a grant made in celebration of some victory gained by Vinayâditya. It is dated in the Śaka year 617, (according to the original, 'six hundred and *sixteen* years of the Śaka [*era*] *having elapsed*'), in the fourteenth year of his reign, while he was encamped at the village of Karañjapatra near the city of Harêshapura. These places must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Banawâsi and Harihar; and *possibly* 'Harêsha' should be 'Harêśa', and is the old name of 'Harihar.' The grant was of the village of Kiṟu-Kâgâmâsi, or 'the smaller Kâgâmâsi', in the Edevoḷal division and in the Vanavâsî district. The grant was made at the request of Âḷuvarâja, who was probably the hostile king just subjugated by Vinayâditya. I take it that *âḷuva* has to be interpreted here as a proper name; but it might also be taken as the present relative participle of the Canarese *âḷu*, 'to rule', in which case *âḷuva-râja* would mean 'the reigning king'; this, however, does not give any suitable sense. The record of this grant, again, was made by the Peace and War Minister, Râmapuṇyavallabha.

In line 21 the Haihayas are mentioned among the royal races subjugated by Vinayâditya. Lôkamahâdêvî, the wife of Vikramâditya II., the grandson of Vinayâditya, was from this family.

¶ Also '*Vêdâṅga*'; the six works auxiliary to the Vêdas;—*viz.*, 1, *Sikshâ*, 'the science of proper articulation and pronunciation'; 2, *Chhandas*, 'metre'; 3, *Vyâkarana*, 'linguistic analysis, or grammar'; 4, *Nirukta*, 'explanation of difficult Vêdic words'; 5, *Jyôtisha*, 'astronomy'; and 6, *Kalpa*, 'ceremonial rules.'

* See note to l. 34 of the text.

† See notes to l. 35 of the text.

‡ '*Yusâsâya*' is unintelligible, in l. 40.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] स्वस्ति [॥]§ जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिताण्र्णवं दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभु-
[2] वनं वपुः [॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारी(रि)तीपुत्राणां
[3] सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याण-
[4] परंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणव-
[5] शीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलं(ल)ङ्करिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानप-
[6] वित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवा-
[7] स्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्त्तिः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्ल-
[8] भमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्री-
[9] हर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः सत्या-
[10] श्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तत्प्रियसु-
[11] तस्य विक्रमादित्यपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य मतिसहायसाहसमात्रस-

Second plate; first side.

[12] मधिगतनिजवंशसमुचितोचितराज्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुख-
[13] गतारिपुनरपतिविजयसमुपलब्धकीर्त्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तस्य हिमकर-
[14] करविमलकुलपरिभवविलयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीत-
[15] काञ्चीपुरस्य प्रभावकुलिशदलितचोळपाण्ड्यकेरळधराणि(णी)धरत्रयमानमानभृं-
[16] गस्य अनन्यसमवन [त¶] काञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिलाभिषिक्तचर-
[17] णकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवर्त्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितु-
[18] राज्ञया बाली(ले)न्दुशेखरस्येव सेनानि(नी)र्दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यपल्लव-
[19] बलमवष्टभ्य:(भ्य) समस्तविषयप्रशमनाद्विहित[त*]न्मनोनुरं(र)ञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सल-
[20] त्वाद्युधिष्टि(ष्ठि)र इव श्रीरामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्परशुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वा-
[21] द्भरत इव पल्लवकळंभ्रकेरळहैहयविळमळवचोळपाण्ड्याद्याः(द्या) येनाळु. . . . † गाँद्वै-
[22] र्म्मौलैस्समभृत्यतान्नीताः(ता) विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभम-

Second plate; second side.

[23] हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति [।] विदितममस्तु वो स्माभिः षो[डशोत्त]र-
[24] षट्छतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्द्दशे वर्त्त[माने]
[25] हरेषपुरमत्यासन्ने करञ्जपत्रग्राममधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे कार्त्तिकपौर्ण्ण-
[26] मास्यां श्रीमदाळुवराजविज्ञापनया वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य श्रीशर्म्मणः सोमयां-
[27] जिनः पौत्राय मारशर्म्मणः पुत्राय‡ शानशर्म्मणे वेदवेदांग-

§ Except in lines 27, 32, 33, and 34, the original has no marks of punctuation.

¶ This letter *ta* is omitted in the original.

* This letter *ta*, also, is omitted in the original.

† Two letters, probably part of some proper name, are quite illegible in the photograph here.

‡ This word is followed in the original by the letter *ra*, with a dot like an *Anusvâra* on each side of it. This is an old mark of punctuation, and is out of place in this passage. It occurs several times in the inscriptions at Paṭṭadakal, which I have recently examined in original, and from which I first learnt the meaning of it; as a published instance see Pl. xliv., No. 26, of Mr Burgess's *Archæological Report* for 1873-4,—[1]Śrî-Veṁgamma pratime[2]yaṁ kaṭṭidon; *Trans.*, "Śrî-Veṅgamma made the image."

[28] पारगाय वनवासि(सी)मण्डल एदे(?डे)वोळ्ळगे किरुकागामासि-
[29] ना[म]ग्रामस्सभोगस्सर्व्वबाधापरिहारोपेतो दत्तः [।] पेग्गागामासि-
[30] ग्रामपश्चिमभागग(?)तो कृतं क्षेत्रं [।] च तस्य क्षेत्रस्य
[31] सीमा पूर्वोत्तरदिभा(ग्भा)गे सिरिगोदुग्रामसीम्नि पूलि-
[32] वतु । तत आगत्य । कर्व्वुसुरिगोदु । तत पेद्दा(?)तु । तत

Third plate.

[33] आलेळ्ळे । तत §........ळ । तत नित्त कल्लु(?) । तत प्राग्गतो नेळ्ळि-
[34] ळ्ळै(?) । तत कुळ्ळपकेळ्ळे । तत दक्षिणदिशमावृत्य ¶......कट्ट [॥]
[35] तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै[र]न्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्वर्य्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचञ्च-
[36] लमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधरार्ण्णवस्थितिसमे(म)कालं यशश्चिचि(ची)षुभिस्स्वदत्तिनि-
[37] र्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [।] बहुभि-
[38] र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
[39] तदा फलं [॥] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं दानं वा पाल-
[40] नं चेति दानाच्छ्रेयो नु पालनं [॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेति(त) वसुन्धरां ष-
[41] ष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः [॥] महासान्धिविग्रहिक-
[42] श्रीरामपुण्यवल्लभेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [॥]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu, (&c., as in No. XXIX.)!

The son of the great king Śrî-Pulikêśi-vallabha*,—whose body was purified (&c., as in No. XXIX.)—(*was*) the great king Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (*was*) Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (*was*) Vikramâditya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son, Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. XXIX.), (*was*) like Bharata, on account of his being the refuge of kings, and by whom the Pallavas, the Kaḷambhras, the Kêraḷas, the Haihayas, the Viḷas, the Maḷavas, the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Âḷu . . . . rga† and others, who were hereditarily (*subject to him*),—thus issues his commands to all people :—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and sixteen years of the Śaka (*era*) having elapsed, in the fourteenth year of (*Our*) augmenting and victorious reign, at (*Our*) victorious camp, which is located at the village of Karañjapatra in the neighbourhood of (*the city of*) Harêshapura, on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, at the request of the illustrious Âḷuvarâja, the village of Kiṟu-Kâgâmâsi, in the Edevoḷal division in the Vanavâsî district, is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, and free from all opposing claims, to Sânaśarmâ, who is thoroughly well versed in the Vêdas and the Vêdâṅgas, the son's son of Śrîśarmâ, who performed the Sôma sacrifice, of the Vâtsya *gôtra*, (*and*) the son of Mâraśarmâ. (*Also there is given*) an uncultivated (?)‡ field

§ Two letters are quite illegible in the photograph here.

¶ Two letters are illegible in the photograph here.

* In No. XXVIII., l. 7, No. XXIX., ll. 6-7, No. XXX., l. 6, and Major Dixon's copper-plate grant No. 5, Pl. I., l. 5, the name is spelt 'Pulakêśivallabha.' In ll. 3 and 7 of the Aihole inscription, No. XIII., the reading is distinctly 'Pulikêśî.' In No. XXVII., l. 6, it is 'Pôlikêśivallabha.'

† See note to l. 21 of the text. ‡ *Akṛitaṁ*; l. 30.

on the west of the village of Pêrgâgamâsi.§ And the boundaries of that field (*are*):—On the north-east, ...|| in the boundaries of the village of Sirigŏdu; coming thence, (*the village of*) (?) Karvêsurigŏdu; thence, (*the village of*) (?) Pêrdâtu (?); thence, (*the village of*) (?) Âlere; thence . . . .¶ thence, a stone (?) . . . .*; thence, to the east, (*the village of*) (?) Nĕrire (?); thence, (*the tank*, or *village, called*) Kurupakere; thence turning to the south, ...-katta.† This (*grant*, or *charter*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c.! And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; &c.! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, &c.! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! This charter has been written by Śrî-Râmapuṇyavallabha, the High (*Minister*) who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war."

Before leaving this part of my subject, I should notice two more inscriptions of Vinayâditya.—1, No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plate grants. The original is at Surab in Maisûr, and seems to be fairly well preserved; but the photograph is too small and indistinct for me to edit from it. Down to '*ājñâpayati*,' Pl. II., *a*, l. 17, the language is the same as in the corresponding part of No. XXIX. now published. It is dated in the Śaka year 615, (according to the original, 'six hundred and *fourteen* years of the Śaka [*era*] *having elapsed*'), the thirteenth year of his reign, and apparently on Saturday, the day of the sun's commencing his progress to the south. It records another grant in celebration of a victory, and is issued from the camp at the village of Chitrasêdu in the district of Tŏravara or Tŏramara. The grant is made at the request of the Great King Śrî-Chitrapâda, the son of Upêndra. The name of the village bestowed seems to be Sâthîvoge, in the Edevoḷal division, and near to Vaijayantîpura or Vanavâsî. The record of this grant, again, is made by Râmapuṇyavallabha, the Peace and War Minister.—2, No. 98 of Major Dixon's Collection; a stone-tablet 3′ 6″ high by 1′ 10″ broad at Baḷagâṁve. The photograph is so small,—only 3⅛″ by 1⅝″,—and so blurred, that only a few detached and familiar words can be made out here and there. The language is Old Canarese. It records a grant by one of the Sêndraka family, while Vinayâditya-Râjâśraya‡ was the reigning paramount sovereign. It does not seem to be dated. At the top of the stone is an elephant, standing; this is the earliest stone-tablet that I am aware of with any emblems on it.

§ *i.e.*, 'the larger Kâgâmâsi.'
|| *Pûlivatu*, ll. 31-2; meaning not known.
¶ See note to l. 33 of the text.
* *Nitta*, l. 33; meaning not known.
† See note to l. 34 of the text.
‡ Conf. '*Râjâśrayatvâd Bharata iva*,' No. XXIX., ll. 22-3, and in the corresponding place in each of the remaining inscriptions.

PAPER-MAKING IN THE HIMÂLAYAS.

BY THE LATE CHARLES HORNE, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

At a time when the scarcity of rags for paper-making, combined with an increased demand for the manufactured article, has set every one seeking for substances wherewith to manufacture, I have thought that a short account of the paper-making in the Himâlayas might prove of interest.

The reports on the manufacture of paper in Japan, published as a Parliamentary paper (No. 4 of 1871), have shown how the inner bark of various trees, notably the mulberry, is there used. That used in the Hills of India is from the *Daphne papyracea*, a shrub abundant at certain heights, and the paper produced is very tough and durable. I almost fear, however, that the material could neither be supplied in sufficient quantity, nor that it would bear the heavy cost of carriage to the coast. I will, however, gather together all I can find on the subject scattered in various works, and then conclude with my own experience in the matter, as for many years I was in the Hills and witnessed the manufacture.

Almost every one who has been residing at

Nainî Tâl, the well-known sanitarium in Kumaon, and has had a garden, must well know the *Daphne* plant, the bark of which, as the plant grows ready to hand, is stripped off and used for tying up plants, securing trellis-work of *rangâl'* (or small bamboos), and for all kindred uses. Many a sportsman, too, has been saved from an unpleasant slide by catching at its tough twigs, off which, however, the bark sometimes slips in the hand, leaving a white slippery core. Still I fear that where a large quantity would be required, as for export, it would be very hard to obtain.

I will now, however, without further digression, proceed firstly to detail the accounts of others.

In *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 8 is a paper by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Nipâl, on the native method of making the paper denominated in Hindustânî 'Nipâlese.' It is extracted entire, as it is not susceptible of abridgment:—

"For the manufacture of Nipâlese paper the following implements are necessary, but a very rude construction of them suffices for the end in view:—

"1*st*.—A stone mortar, of shallow and wide cavity, or a large block of stone, slightly but smoothly excavated. 2*nd*.—A mallet or pestle of hard wood, such as oak, and in size proportioned to the mortar, and to the quantity of boiled rind of the paper plant which it is desired to pound into pulp. 3*rd*.—A basket of close wicker-work, to put the ashes in, and through which water will only pass drop by drop. 4*th*.—An earthen vessel or receiver, to receive the juice of the *ashes* after they have been watered. 5*th*.—A metallic open-mouthed pot, to boil the rind of the plant in. It may be of iron, or copper, or brass, indifferently; an earthen one would hardly bear the requisite degree of fire. 6*th*.—A sieve, the reticulation of the bottom of which is wide and open, so as to let all the pulp pass through, save only the lumpy portion of it. 7*th*.—A frame with stout wooden sides, so that it will float well in water, and with a bottom of a cloth only so porous that the meshes of it will stay all the pulp, even when diluted and diffused in water, but will let the water pass off when the frame is raised out of the cistern.

"The operator must also have the command of a cistern of clear water, plenty of firewood, ashes of oak (though I fancy other ashes might answer as well); a fireplace, however rude; and lastly *quant. suffic't* of slips of the inner bark of the paper tree, such as is peeled off the plant by the paper-makers, who commonly use the peelings when *fresh* from the plant,—but that is not indispensable. With these 'appliances and means to boot,' suppose you take four *sers* of ashes of oak, put them into the basket above mentioned, place the earthen receiver or vessel beneath the basket, and then gradually pour five *sers* of clear water upon the ashes, and let the water drip slowly through the ashes and fall into the receiver. This juice of ashes must be strong, of dark bark-like red colour, and in quantity about two pounds; and if the first filtering yield not such a produce, pass the juice through the ashes a second time. Next, pour this extract of ashes into the metal pot already described, and boil the extract; and so soon as it begins to boil, throw into it as many slips or peelings of the inner bark of the paper plant as you can easily grasp, each slip being about a cubit long and an inch wide (in fact the quantity of the slips of bark should be to the quantity of juice of ashes such that the former should float freely in the latter, and that the juice shall not be absorbed or evaporated with less than half an hour's boiling). Boil the slips for about half an hour, at the expiration of which time the juice will be nearly absorbed, and the slips quite soft. Then take the softened slips and put them into the stone mortar, and beat them with the oaken mallet till they are reduced to a homogeneous or uniform pulp, like so much dough. Take this pulp, put it into any wide-mouthed vessel, add a little pure water to it, and churn it with a wooden instrument, like a chocolate mill, for ten minutes, or until it loses all its stringiness and will spread itself out when shaken about under water. Next, take as much of this prepared pulp as will cover your paper-frame (with a thicker or thinner coat, according to the strength of the paper you need), toss it into such a sieve as I have described, and lay the sieve upon the paper-frame and let both sieve and frame float in the cistern; agitate them and the pulp will spread itself over the sieve; the grosser and knotty parts of the pulp will remain in the sieve, but all the rest will ooze through into the frame. Then put away the sieve, and, taking the frame in your left hand

as it floats on the water, shake the water and pulp smartly with your right hand, and the pulp will readily diffuse itself in a uniform manner over the bottom of the frame. When it is thus properly diffused, raise the frame out of the water, easing off the water in such a manner that the uniformity of the pulp spread shall continue after the frame is clear of the water, *and the paper is made*.

"To dry it the frame is set endwise near a large fire, and so soon as it is dry the sheet is peeled off the bottom of the frame and folded up. When (which is seldom the case) it is deemed necessary to smooth and polish the surface of the paper, the dry sheets are laid upon wooden boards and rubbed with the convex entire side of the conch-shell, or, in case of the sheets of paper being large, with the flat surface of a large rubber of hard smooth-grained wood; no sort of size is ever needed or applied to prevent the ink from running. It would probably surprise the papermakers of England to hear that the *Kachâr* Bhotiâs can make up this paper into fine smooth sheets of *seven yards square*.

"This paper may be purchased [in 1831] at Katmâṇḍu, in almost any quantity, at the price of seventeen annas *sikkâ* per *dhârni* of three *śers*, and the bricks of dried pulp may be had at the same place for from eight to ten annas *sikkâ* per *dhârni*. Though called Nipâlese, the paper is not in fact made in Nipâl Proper. It is manufactured exclusively in Cis-Himâlayan Bhôt, and by the race of Bhotiâs denominated (in their own tongue) *Rangbo*, in contradistinction to the Trans-Himâlayan Bhotiâs, whose vernacular name is *Sokpo*. . . . . . . To return to our paper-making—most of the Cis-Himâlayan Bhotiâs east of the Kâli river make the Nipâlese paper; but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nipâl Proper, and the best market for it is afforded by the Nipâlese people, and hence probably it derived its name; a great quantity is annually made and exported southwards to Nipâl and Hindustân, and northwards to Sakya-Gûmba, Digarchi, and other places in Transmontane Bhôt. The manufactories are mere sheds, established in the midst of the immense forests of Cis-Himâlayan Bhôt, which afford to the paper-makers an inexhaustible supply, on the very spot, of the firewood and ashes which they consume so largely: abundance of clear water (another requisite) is likewise procurable everywhere in the same region. I cannot learn by whom or when the valuable properties of the paper plant were discovered; but the Nipâlese say that any one of their books now existent which is made of palmyra leaves may be safely pronounced on that account to be five hundred years old, whence we may perhaps infer that the paper manufacture was founded about that time. I conjecture that the art of paper-making was got by the Cis-Himâlayan Bhotiâs *viâ* Lhassa from China, a paper of the very same sort being manufactured at Lhassa, and most of the useful arts of these regions having flowed upon them, through Tibet, from China, and not from Hindustân.

"*P.S.*" (*abridged.*) "Dr. Wallich has fully described (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIII. p. 387) the paper-plant. 'The *raw produce* or pulp (beat up into bricks) has been sent to England, and declared upon competent authority to be of unrivalled excellence for the manufacture of that sort of paper upon which proof engravings are taken off.''

I subjoin the botanical description of the paper-producing plant, with a few remarks for the reader who may not be a botanist.

As far as my own experience goes, this plant is but small, being a shrub of generally three to four feet; although, I am told, it often grows higher. The thickness of the stem is not generally greater than one's finger, and it would bear cutting down every year; although of course by this process, in such a cold climate as that in which it grows,—at 5000 to 9000 feet above the sea-level,—it should properly be left some two or three years to grow up again. Even without maceration in water the inner as well as the outer bark is easily separated from the wood. For tying purposes, both inner and outer bark are used at the same time.

The leaves are small and glabrous, being somewhat glossy; and the flower is insignificant, but with a slightly pleasant odour. The berries, which come on the tree in April to June, are showy, red, and very acrid. It will grow where there is very little soil,—preferring, however, like most plants, leaf-mould caused by the decomposition of the fallen oak-leaves,—and has a stout hold by its fibrous roots in the rocks below. As I have never visited Nipâl and the forests spoken of by Mr. Hodgson, I have never seen it growing in great profusion, but it is scattered

over a wide area, being found, as briefly put by Mr. Edgeworth, 'from Bhutân to Chambu.' In Major Madden's paper (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XVII. Pt. I. p. 368) on the Turaee and outer mountains of Kumaon, he speaks of both the white and purple flowering varieties of the *Daphne cannabina*,—"*sêt barwâ*," a synonym of *papyracea*, as being found at Nainî Tâl; also the *Daphne sericea* or "*Chumlia*." He adds that the Nipâl paper is made from the *Wikstrœmia salicifolia* of Jacquemot, and from the purple flowering variety of *D. cannabina*. There must be many other inner barks of shrubs on the hills which would make paper; but until these have been tried it is of no use to speak of them.

Moorcroft, the well-known Himâlayan traveller, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XII. p. 375, speaks of the plant, but he merely imagines that the paper is made from a shrub, not unlike butcher's-broom (!), called "Setharuâ." He adds that it is strong, and used for *hundis* (or bills of exchange). A glance at the flower will show that he could not have been much of a botanist. In vol. XIII. p. 385 of the *Asiatic Researches* is a paper by Dr. Wallich—"Description of some rare Indian plants." In this, "*Daphne cannabina*" (Loureiro ?) is described in nearly the same terms as those used by DeCandolle and above quoted. The English observations appear worthy of quotation, as our notices of this plant are in general very scanty.

"Among the extensive and constant supplies of plants and weeds from Nipâl which the Botanic Gardens (Calcutta) owe to the liberality of the Honourable Edward Gardner, Resident at Katmâṇḍu, are also specimens and plants of the paper shrub, which, I am informed by this gentleman, grows very commonly in that country, and when in flower is exquisitely fragrant. It appears that there are two varieties,—one with perfectly white, the other with reddish flowers; both are used for ornament and for the manufacture of paper, of which I am enabled to present to the Society's museum specimens of various dimensions and texture. The common kind measures generally about two feet square. The first kind measures ten feet in length and four feet in breadth, and it is manufactured chiefly in Dotî, a province to the eastward of Kumaon. It approaches in softness and size to that which is made in China, and it is not improbable that some of the latter may be produced from the same material. Loureiro mentions that paper is manufactured in the neighbouring kingdom of Cochin-China from the bark of *Daphne cannabina*, which seems to differ only in having opposite leaves,—a circumstance which may perhaps be owing to culture. It comes extremely near to *D. odora* of Thunberg and *D. indica* of Osbeck, which (at least that described in the *Flora Cochin-chinensis*) Dr. Sims, with great propriety, suggests may be only a variety of the former. The question respecting the identity or difference of these three plants can be settled only by those who have the means of comparing them.

"I am indebted for an account of the manner of preparing this paper from the bark of this charming shrub, and for some parts of the description given above, to the communications of Lieut. H. R. Murray, and to the following notes extracted from the official correspondence of that gentleman with the Military Board at Calcutta :—

"'The *sêt-baruâ*, or paper shrub, is found on the most exposed parts of the mountains, and those the most elevated and covered with snow, throughout the province of Kumaon.

"'In traversing the oak forests between Bhîmâl and Râmgur, and again from Âlmorâ to Champâvat, and down towards the river, it has come under the immediate observation of the writer of these communications that the *sêt-baruâ*, or paper plant, only thrives luxuriantly where the oak grows; so that it is not likely that it will succeed in the plains. It is hardy, and attains a height of five or six feet, blossoming in January and February, and ripening its acrid red fruit about the end of April. The paper prepared of its bark is particularly calculated for cartridges, being strong, tough, not liable to crack or break,—however much bent or folded—proof against being moth-eaten, and not in the least subject to dampness from any change in the weather; besides if drenched or kept in water for any considerable time it will not rot. It is invariably used all over Kumaon, and in great request in many parts of the plains for the purpose of writing *nasâb-nâmis*, or genealogical records, deeds, &c., from its extraordinary durability. It is generally made about one yard square, and of three different qualities. The

best sort is retailed at the rate of 40 sheets for a current rupee [1s. 10d.], and at wholesale 80 sheets. The second is retailed at the rate of 50 sheets for a current rupee, and 100 at wholesale. The third is of a much smaller size, is retailed at 140 sheets, and wholesale 160 to 170 for the rupee. The following is the very simple method of manufacturing this paper :—

"'After scraping off the outer surface of the bark, what remains is boiled in fair water with a small quantity of the ashes of the oak,—a most necessary part of the ingredients, which have the effect of cleaning and whitening the stuff. After the boiling, it is washed, and immediately beat to a pulp with small mallets on a stone, so that when mixed up in a vat with the fairest water it has the appearance of flour and water. It is then spread on moulds or frames made of common bamboo mats.'"

Thus ends Wallich's notice of this interesting plant.

From what has been here written, the general inference would appear to be that the pulp, in bricks or otherwise, could not be procured in any large quantity for the supply of paper factories; although, as in many other cases, it might be employed to usefully supplement existing and available materials.

Perhaps the Society of Arts was the medium through which, as Mr. Hodgson states, the pulp was supplied to the English manufacturers, who pronounced so favourably upon it, or it may have been through the Court of Directors. From the character of the plant, and the elevation at which it grows, I am of opinion that it might easily be grown in England, even on poor soils. Lieut. Murray says it is found on the bleakest spots; but my experience is quite to the contrary. I have always found it growing best with forest trees, even in shade, and nourished by the free leaf-mould formed of the decayed oak-leaves. At the same time I am bound to admit I have found it growing in other situations, more bleak and exposed. Major Hay, who was long in the hills, always found it with and under trees, and agrees with me that it seldom exceeds three feet in height.

(Extract from Journal in 1845.)

Near the residence of a Lâmâ at Kardang, in Lâhûl, we saw a number of Bhotiâs making paper from the bark of a tree they say they get in Kûllû, called "*Bujîl*," a species of *Daphne*. A number of people were beating it into a pulp, which others made into round balls; and, a little further on, the paper was being made in oblong and square forms of a large size, entirely for the purpose of having religious books printed on it, and not for sale. The form was made of a light wooden frame, covered with rather a coarse cloth, on which the pulp was mashed. I saw a quantity of the paper drying, but not the process of putting it on the cloth.

NOTES ON THE CAVE OF PANCHALEŚVARA IN MOUJE BHAMBURDE, TÂLUKÂ HAVEḶI, ZILLÂ PUṆÂ.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

This cave is mentioned by Dr. Wilson in his first *Memorandum on the Ancient Remains of Western India*, and by Mr. Fergusson, who gives a woodcut from a sketch by Daniell,* tolerably accurate as representing the style of architecture, but failing as regards the general appearance of the place. It has also been at least twice photographed, but I am not aware that any copies are now in print. During the past monsoon I had an accurate plan taken of it, which is now with the Archæological Surveyor, and I think the following notes may be useful.

It is in "a rocky hillock forming a gentle swell of the ground" close to the cattle bazaar of the village of Bhamburde, opposite Puṇâ, immediately north of a small hill crowned by a Muhammadân *pirasthân*, and east of a large quarry.

The entrance is through a tunnel about twenty feet long and five wide. This—which has suffered a good deal from time, and is now partly supported by masonry—opens into the east side of a court averaging 95 feet north and south by 90 east and west, and ten feet below the surface of the ground around. The centre of this court is occupied by the Nandi pavilion, which is remarkable and, I believe, unique.† It is hewn

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 55; Fergusson's *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 446.

† A square pavilion stands in front of the large Śaiva cave at Ambâ or Mominâbâd.—ED.

out of the rock *in situ*, and was originally supported by twelve pillars round the outside, and four in square in the centre. The four eastern pillars have come down during the last five years, with that part of the roof which they supported. Between the outer circle and inner square of pillars is an annular cistern about two feet deep, which was within my time kept filled with water. The Nandi and four inner pillars rest upon an insulated plinth or pedestal in the cistern. The roof of this pavilion is externally carefully smoothed and dressed into the shape of an umbrella, except at the very top; where the original rock surface remains,—not having been high enough, apparently, for the architect to finish his design. There is no trace of his having made any structural addition, either here or over the main cave. The rest of the courtyard is almost filled up by a modern well and garden.

The façade of the cave occupies the whole west side of the court, and is 96 feet long, exclusive of the thickness of two pilasters. These and eight free-standing pillars, plain and square, with bracket capitals, support the roof in front. The eaves are very narrow, and dressed below; the entrance, a flight of five steps up from the court, and three down again into the cave, is between the centre pillars. The outer steps are flanked by two stone tigers couchant, hewn *in situ*. An aisle eight feet wide separates the front row of pillars from another precisely similar, having a great false architrave; and nine feet further in is a third row of the same character, but having only three pillars and a pilaster to the south of the central interval, as the south side of the cave here contracts eleven feet at a right angle, the north side retaining its direction. Between the third pillar from the south and fourth from the north is a small Nandi hewn *in situ;* and 6½ feet inside of this third row of pillars is the shrine, containing three cells hewn in a mass of rock 39 feet long in front by 27½ deep to rear, left standing from floor to ceiling. The central cell is occupied by the linga of Mahâdeva Panchaleśvara; to his left is Bhavâni, to his right Gaṇapati. A wide and dark passage leads round the back of the shrine, and it would seem that the architect meant to have supported all this part of the cave with pillars and pilasters symmetrical with those in front; but much of the work remains merely blocked out. The maximum depth of the cave (in the north-west corner) is 75 feet. The northern section is now divided from the rest by a mud wall. Between the pilasters on the true north wall I found some traces of figures,—whether blocked out for sculpture, or destroyed, it was impossible to say,—and thought I recognized the outline of the Śaiva A s h ṭ a M â t r a. Below them were a few conventional ornaments, especially that derived from the Chaitya, and found in many Hindu caves, as at Elephanta. On the faces of the great Nandi's island-pedestal are panels of a pattern which suggests a similar derivation from the Buddhist rail. There are no other sculptures, but a few unintelligible marks in the south wall, and I found no inscription whatever. There is a small cell; the front supported by two pillars, in the south-west corner of the court; and in the hill, about a mile behind, there are three or four more, which are mere square cells. Modern Hinduism has the whole set in full possession, has adorned the cave of Panchaleśvara with marvellous frescoes, and even hewn new images in the cells on the hill. There is nothing to show that the great cave has not always been, as now, a Śaiva temple. As regards its chronological position we have but little evidence. The long open front and rows of pillars point to the period of the Bâdâmi caves; the Nandi pavilion hewn in the court reminds one of Elora and the solid shrine of Dhokeśvara, which is in fact the nearest Brahmanical cave (58 miles off as the crow flies), and the one which to my mind presents most points of affinity. All of these, however, are much more ornate than the cave of Panchaleśvara, which, for its originality and vigour of design, deserves to be a good deal better known than it is, though lying at the very doors of one of the largest European stations in India.

THREE KŎṄGÛ INSCRIPTIONS.*

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following Old Kanarese inscriptions in the letters of the period (resembling those of

* Cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 360 *et seq.;* vol. II. pp. 155 *et seq.;* vol. III. pp. 262 *et seqq.*, p. 302. As evinced by the pronunciation of Kanarese, Kŏḍaga, and other peoples, the name of the country is K ŏ ṅ g u (not Koṅgu with the long

the Kadamba inscriptions†) are from three stone-tablets in the woods of Kiggaṭnâḍu, the south-eastern tâlukâ of Kŏḍagu (*Coorg*). They are in places neighbouring the Lakshmaṇa tîrtha river, which enters the Kâveri beyond the frontiers of the province. No. I.‡ is in the lands of Pĕrga or Pĕggü ûr (*i.e.* 'big village'), No. II. in those of Biḷi ûr or Bâḷi ûr (*i. e.* 'bright village'), and No. III. in those of Kotûr (*i. e.* 'well-arranged village') in the Lakkuṇḍa jungle. Neither Lakkuṇḍa (*i.e.*, probably, 'high tank')§ nor Kotûr are mentioned in the grant, but Kalnâḍu (or 'stone district') is, a name which seems to be now forgotten. The *great river* in Nos. I. and II. perhaps is the Lakshmaṇa tîrtha, which is still so called, with this difference only, that other Kanarese terms are used, viz. dŏḍḍahŏḷĕ ('great river') instead of pĕd-dŏṟĕ; another possibility, however, is that the Kâveri (*i.e.* 'red bank') is meant. The *basti*, or Jaina temple, for which grant No. I. was intended, was never built. At Biḷi-ûr, not far from the stone-tablet that originally stood on the brink of a large trench (*kaḍaṅga*), but at present lies in it, is a small *Jinâlaya* of unpolished stone, quite filled with white-ants' nests. The name of the trench, Pĕṇṇĕ-gaḍaṅga, nobody seems to remember.

The general title of the donor or donors, Pĕrmmanaḍi (*i.e.* 'potentate')||, occurs in each of the grants. Apparently his real name, or the name of one of them, Râchamalla¶, is given in No. I.,—from which it might be concluded that here (Satyavâkya) Kŏṅgiṇi or Kŏṅguṇivarma dharmamahârâjâdhirâja, which, like Pĕrmmanaḍi, is also in each grant, is nothing but a name of the dynasty*, at the head of which, as is known, stands Kŏṅgaṇivarma dharmamahârâjâdhirâja, who has no successor of that name in the *śâsanas* down till A.D. 777. The *satyavâkya* in the beginning of the title perhaps means the same as, in grant No. II., the *satyavâkya* added to Jinâlaya or the Jaina doctrine.†

The inscription No. II. bears the date of Ś. Ś. 809 (A.D. 887), so that its donor lived one hundred and ten years after Pṛithvî Kŏṅ-

Sanskrit *o*); an inhabitant of that country, now-a-days often identified with the Koyambuttûr (Coimbatore) district, is called a Kŏṅga. Thus also Kŏḍagu (Coorg) is the country, and Kŏḍaga a native of Coorg. Kŏṅgiṇi, Kŏṅguṇi, Kŏṅgaṇi are Sanskritized forms. Though Kŏṅgu and Kŏḍagu more than probably have the same root (*Kuḍ*), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the Kŏḍagas of our time there is a well-known family called the Kŏṅga house,—a secondary evidence as to the influence of the Kŏṅgas over at least a portion of Coorg. It would be of some interest to know in what document Kŏḍagu is first mentioned. As the Kŏḍagas do not possess the sounds of the now obsolete letters ṟ and ḻ in their dialect, it does not appear to be so old as these *śâsanas*; the Baḍagas on the Nîlagiri hills still use these sounds in their language.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 357.

‡ People of Pĕggü told me that this No. I. had been inspected by Mr. L. Rice; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 155. Cf. Dr. Burnell's *So.-Ind. Palæog.* p. 27, n. 1.

§ Cf. Lŏkkiguṇḍi (or Lakkuṇḍi), *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 300-303.

|| Pĕrmmanaḍi (or Pĕrmanaḍi—the doubling of the consonant after the *repha* being optional, if this is preceded by a short vowel; cf. *Śabdamaṇidarpana*, Mangalore edition, p. 140) is Pĕrmmana-aḍi, 'the great one's foot,' a term honorifically used instead of 'the great one' himself. In Kanarese poetry, *e.g.* "I tell your foot or feet" is frequently used for "I tell you." *Aḍi*, 'the foot,' or *aḍigaḷ*, 'the feet' (twice in the present inscriptions), are often personified in Kannaḍa, Tamiḻ, and Malĕyâḷa, so that the terms also by themselves mean 'master'; see, *e.g.*, *aḍigaḷ* in this sense affixed to the names of *gurus*: Gôravaḍigaḷ, Guruvaḍigaḷ, Dimmaḍigaḷ, in the inscriptions at Bĕḷgŏḷa (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 324;—cf. *sayyaḍi*, 'straight foot,' *i.e.* teacher; *kittaḍi*, 'short foot,' *i.e.* 'ascetic'). Pĕrmanaḍi is equivalent to the Pĕrum-âḷ (or Pĕrmân) of the Malĕyâḷas, a title with which they honoured the Chera, Choḷa, and Pâṇḍi kings. A play upon the title of Pĕrmmanaḍi we find in the "*sarvapâdaparihâra Pĕrmmanaḍi*" of No. II.,—lit. "the great one's foot that is free from (any) obligations to all the (other) feet." *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 203, an inscription of A.D. 1055-6 in the text contains the expression "the Châlukya king Gaṅga Pèrmanaḍi Vikramâdityadeva"; in a note is added "Gaṅga pêrmânaḍi or Gaṅga pemmânadi was also adopted as a Kâdamba title." See p. 210. There seems to be no doubt that here and in the Kiggaṭnâḍu inscriptions the same title is meant; a writer, for the sake of the metre, may have lengthened the Kanarese Pĕrmanaḍi into Pĕrmânaḍi; in Kanarese (Tamiḻ, and Malĕyâḷa), as indicated by the diacritical mark, also the letter *e* is short (*ĕ*; cf. Pĕmmaḍi; see also Pĕrma, Pĕmma, Hĕmmaḍi in the genealogy of the Châlukyas in "Old Canarese and Sanskrit Inscriptions, &c. by J. F. Fleet, Esq., Bo. C.S.", reprinted from the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* pp. 1-2; cf. also the village Pĕggü, *i. e.* Pĕrgü); only when the secondary adjective *pĕr* (its primitive form is *pir*,—see, *e.g.*, '*piridu punyam̃*,' 'great virtue,' in grant No. I., l. 18) in a compound is followed by a vowel, its *ĕ* becomes *e* (*i.e.* long: see *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, pp. 213, 214). If no linguistic license has taken place as to the form of Pĕrmânadi, the first part of the title is simply taken from the Malĕyâḷa *Pĕrumân* or *Pĕrmân*.

¶ The proper name Râchamalla figures also in Liṅgâyta legends, *e.g.* in the story of king Bhairava of Sâsalapura, by Naṅjuṇḍa, wherein (chapter I. v. 385) two Liṅgâytas of that name are introduced. In Tĕlugu *râcha* = râja. In the abstract from the list of the *Kŏṅgudeśa Râjarkaḷ*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 363 *et seq.*, there appears, as the next successor of the donor of the Nâgamaṅgala grant (of A.D. 777), a Râjamalladeva I., the younger brother of his predecessor; and as the fourth ruler after him, and the second after Satyavâkya râya (Râja) Malladeva II. is mentioned, in whose reign, A.D. 894, a temple was built upon some land in the midst of the Kâveri, and who was the last king of the dynasty (?). The year 894 is only seven years in advance of the date in No. II. of the present plates.

* This supposition becomes more plausible from the circumstance that after A.D. 777 the name of Kŏṅgiṇi (Kŏṅguṇi, Kŏṅgaṇi)-varma is not met with in the genealogical abstract.

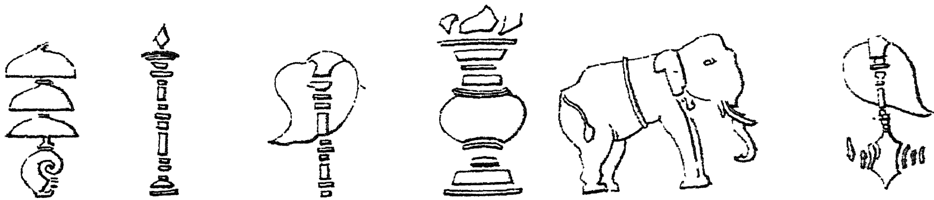
† The abstract says of Satyavâkyarâya: "He was never failing in truth, hence he obtained the title of Satyavâkyarâya."

gaṇi Mahâdhirâja, the donor of the Nâgamañgala copper-plate grant. The donor of No. I. is called the sovereign of Śrîpura, which is mentioned also in the Nâgamañgala grant at least once, but perhaps thrice (if *Śrîcura* means the same). According to the Merkara and Nâgamañgala plates, the sixth Kŏṅga king,—Kŏṅgaṇi Mahâdhirâja, was "the beloved son of the sister of Krishṇavarma Mahâdhirâja, who was the sun in the sky of the fortunate Kâdamba race." This statement connects the rulers of Banavasĕ with those of Śrîpura; and from a grant of A.D. 1075-6, published by Mr. Fleet,‡ we learn that even at that time the connection had not only not been severed, but on the contrary had somehow become closer; for in that grant the very titles of the Kŏṅgas in the present grants are used by the Kâdambas. It states: "While the fortunate Gaṅga§ Pĕmmânaḍi . . . . . . the supreme king of great kings (*mahârâjâdhirâja*), the supreme lord, the excellent lord of the city of Koḷâḷapura (*Koḷâḷapuravareśvara*), the lord of Nandagiri (*Nandagirinâtha*)," &c. And further in a grant of A.D. 1055-6, published by the same||, the Châlukya king Pĕrmanaḍi Vikramâdityadeva has the same titles attached to his name. Koḷâḷapura of Coorg No. I. is written exactly as in the Kâdamba grant; the Kŏvaḷâlapura of Nos. II. and III. (Koḷâḷapura by syncope) is the Kuvaḷâḷapura of the Châlukya grant.¶ On the common epithet of Pĕrmanaḍi some remarks are already made in a note.

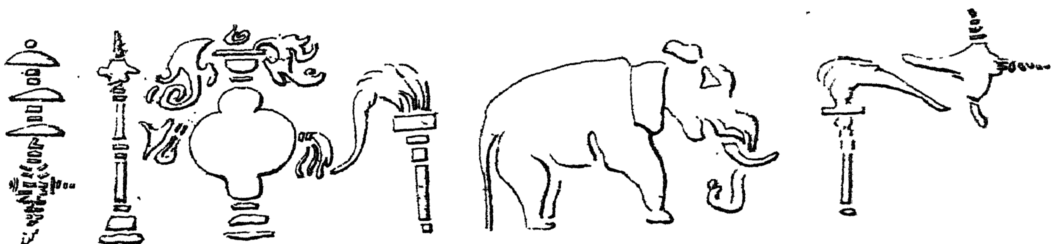
After such identity it is only natural to find that "the 96,000 royal representatives of the countries" (*shaṇṇavatisahasra vishayaprakṛitayaḥ*) of the Nâgamaṅgala grant, or, as they are briefly styled in Coorg Nos. I. and II., "the 96,000 people," are also adduced in the said Châlukya grant. The Malĕpas (Malapas, Malavas), however, who at the time of Pĕrmâḍi I. (A.D. 950-51), the subordinate of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya II., were the enemies of the Châlukyas, and in later times (towards the end of the 12th century) of the Kâdamba chieftains of Govĕ, and probably also of king Vîraballâḷa of the Hŏysaḷas (A.D. 1193)*, in the Kiggatnâḍu grants appear as the friends of the Kŏṅgas.

The emblem of No. III. is simply an elephant, which combined with others appears also at the top of the tablets I. and II. :—

On No. 1.



On No. 2.



‡ *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 210.

§ Cf. *Pĕddŏṛĕ*, 'the great river,' in the present inscriptions.

|| *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 203.

¶ The last form of the name occurs also in another inscription, according to note 2, p. 203, *ibid.*; *ŏ* often changes place with *u*, as does *ḷ* with *ḷ*.

* See the reprint of Mr. Fleet's paper, p. 16.

The meaning of the text in a few instances remains to be settled; I have refrained from giving any tentative explanations. The translation is as literal as possible.

I.

[1] Svasti Śakanṛipakâḷâtîtasaṁvatsarasatañga . . tanĕya† Íśvarasaṁva [2]tsaraṁ pravattisĕ svastisatyavâkya Kŏñgiṇivarmmadharmmamahâ-‡[3] râjâdhirâjâ Koḷâḷapuravareśvara-Nandagirinâthaśrîmat [4]RâchamallaPĕrmmanaḍigaḷ tadvarshasyântarapâlguṇasuklapakshada Na-[5]ṇḍîsvaraṁ talpadĕvasamâgĕ svastisamastavairigajaghaṭâṭopa [6]kumbhikumbhastaḷasphuṭitânarghyasuktâpaḷagrahaṇabhîkarakarâ [7] sĕnivâsitadakshiṇadorddaṇḍamaṇḍitaprachhaṇḍaṁ *chi*nnana§ piṇḍapî [8]ḍadharanaṇḍaṁ śrîmat rakkasaBĕddŏṛĕgarĕyanâḷuttirĕ bhadrama-[9]stu Jinaśâsanâya śrî Bĕlgŏḷanivâsigaḷappa śrî Vîrasenasi-[10]ddhântadevara varaśishyaṁ śrî Goṇasenapaṇḍitabhaṭṭârakara vara-[11]śishyar śrîmatAnantavîryyayyañgaḷ Pĕrggadûruṁ pŏ[12]savâḍagamunanabhyantarasiddhiyâgĕ paḍĕdaradarkkî sâ-[13]kshitŏmbhattaṛu sâsirbbarumaysâmantarum Pĕddŏṛĕgarĕ [14]yeḷpaḍimbarumĕṇṭŏkkalumidaṁ Kâva*rmnâ*lvar mmalĕparu-[15]maynûrbbarumaydâmarigaruṁ Śrîpurada mahârâja bha[16]dattiyanâvŏnŏrbbanaḷidĕṁ|| Bâṇarâsiyuṁ¶ sâsirbba brâhma-[17]ṇaruṁ sâsira kavilĕyumanaḷida pañchamahâpâtakanakkuṁ [18] idanârŏrbba kâdaravarggĕ piridu puṇyaṁ Chandaṇandiyayyana likhitaṁ [19]Pĕrggadûra basadiya śâsanaṁ.

Translation.

Hail! When the Îśvara year which was (the eightieth one in connection with?) the hundreds of the years that had passed since the time of the Śakaking (Ś. Ś. 780?), was current;—hail! Satyavâkya Kŏñgiṇivarma, the supreme king of virtuous sovereigns; the excellent lord of Koḷâḷapura; the protector of Nandagiri; the fortunate Râchamalla, the Pĕrmmanaḍi*; when the Nandîśvara (day) of the bright lunar fortnight of (the month) Phâlguna in that year was the chair-day;—hail! when he who is terrible by being adorned with a strong right fore-arm in which rests the sword that is formidable when (he) seizes the precious pearls that burst forth out of the globes of the proud globe-bearers, (viz.) the troops of the elephants of all enemies, (and) who is pleased with him who carries the ball-platter of gold (?), was ruling over the rich shores of the great river of Râkshasas;—prosperity to Jina's order!—the fortunate Anantavîryya Ayya, who was the beloved disciple of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* Śrî Goṇasena Paṇḍita that was the beloved disciple of Śrî Vîrasena Siddhântadeva, who was an inhabitant of Śrî Bĕḷgŏḷa,† obtained (*them, the village, &c.*), so that the village of Pĕrgga as well as the new rent became (his) acquisition not to be meddled with. Regarding this (*there are*) these witnesses: the ninety-six thousand people, the five (*tributary*) chiefs, the seven ascetics of the great river, and the eight farmers. They who guard this (*are*) the four Malĕpas, the five hundred people, and the five spokesmen. Any one who destroys the grant of the sovereign of Śrîpura becomes guilty of destroying Bâraṇâsi, a thousand Brâhmans, a thousand brown cows, (*and*) of the (*other*) five great crimes; to any one who guards this (*accrues*) great virtue. Chandanandi Ayya's writing. Grant of the temple of the village of Pĕrgga.

II.

[1]Bhadramastu Jinaśâsanâya Sakanṛipâ [2]tîtâ kâlasaṁvatsarañgaḷĕṇṭunûrŏmbattanĕya varsha-[3]ṁ pravattisuttirĕ svasti satyavâkya-Kŏñguṇivarmmadharmma‡ ma-[4]hârâjâdhirâja-Kŏvaḷâlapuravareśvara Nandagirinâthaśrîma-[5]t-Pĕrmmanaḍiya râjyâbhishekañgĕyda padi*nĕ*ṇ-

† The dots denote that in the original a few letters are greatly mutilated. The letter *t* proves that a *t* has disappeared just before it (in the original-below it), and further that the decimal *pattu* (ten) in its adjective form *pattanĕya* has been in the original. *Satañga* requires a following *ḷ*, that is, *ḷa*,—the sign of the genitive plural,—with a vowel and *bindu* denoting the value of the first part of the decimal number. What is left of the following consonant bears a very slight resemblance to the lower portion of the letter *bhu*. Thus the reading may have been *satañgaḷŏmbhattanĕya* or *satañguḷŏmbhattanĕya*. According to Mr. C. P. Brown's *Cyclic Tables*, Ś. Ś. 779 was an Íśvara year, then 839, then 899, &c. If Ś. Ś. 779 could be made correspond to Ś. Ś. 780 (80 = *ĕmbhattu*), this year would not be far from the date of Ś. Ś. 809 in the second inscription, but still too far to harmonize with the year of the king's coronation mentioned therein, if the same king is to be understood.

‡ In *Kŏñgiṇi* before *g* the *varga* letter is used instead of the *bindu*.

§ Letters in *italics* denote that their value is doubtful: hence *chinnana* ('of gold') may be *annana* ('of food').

|| Regarding the final *ŏṁ* see *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. 189.

¶ A slip of the chisel, instead of Bâraṇâsi, as appears from No. II.

* Here the plural is used—*Pĕrmmaḍigaḷ*.

† People generally say Bĕlguḷa, which is the same ('bright or clear tank').

‡ The nasal before *g* in *Kŏñguṇi* is expressed by the *bindu*.

KŎÑGÛ INSCRIPTION. No. I.

KŎṄGÛ INSCRIPTION. No. II.

ṭanĕya§ varshadandu pâ-[6]lguṇamâsada śrîpañchamĕyandu Śivaṇandisiddhântada bhaṭâra-[7]ra śishyarSsarvbaṇandidevarggĕ Pŏṇṇĕgaḍañgada satyavâkyaJinâla-[8]yakkĕ Pĕddŏṟĕgarĕya Biḷiûr ppannir ppaḷḷiyumaṁ sarvbapâdapari-[9]hâra Pĕrmmanaḍi kŏṭṭar tŏmbhattaṟu sâsirbbarumaysâmantaruṁ Pĕddŏ-[10]ṟĕgarĕya eḷ paḍimbaruṁ ĕṇṭŏkkaluṁ idarkkĕ sâkshi malĕ*pa*sâsi|| [11]rbbarumaynûrvbaruṁmaydâmarigaruṁ¶ idarkkĕ kâpu idanaḷidŏṁ [12]Bâraṇâsiyumaṁ sâsirvbar ppârvbarumaṁ sâsira kavilĕyumana-[13]ḷidŏṁ pañchamahâpâtakanakkuṁ Sejojana likhittaṁ [14]Bĕḷiûru ĕnbattu gadyâṇapŏnnuṁ ĕṇṭu nûṟu batta[15]muṁ tiṟuchŏṁ.

Translation.

Prosperity to Jina's order! When the eight hundred and ninth year of the time past since the Śaka king (Ś. Ś. 809) was current;—hail! Satyavâkya Kŏṅguṇivarma, the supreme king of the virtuous sovereigns; the excellent lord of Kŏvaḷâlapura; the protector of Nandagiri;—in the *eighteenth* year when (*after*) the kingdom-inauguration of the fortunate Pĕrmmanaḍi was being performed, on the lucky fifth day of the month Phâlguna, Pĕrmmanaḍi, who is free from obligations to all the (*other*) feet, gave even the twelve hamlets* (*that formed*) Biḷiûr on the shores of the great river, for the Jina temple of the Word of Truth of the Pŏṇṇĕ trench†, to Sarvanandideva who was a disciple of Śivanandi, the Bhaṭâra of the established truth. The ninety-six thousand people, the five (*tributary*) chiefs, the seven ascetics of the great river, and the eight farmers (*are*) the witnesses regarding this. The thousand Malĕpas‡, the five hundred people, and the five spokesmen (*are*) the guardians of it. Any one who destroys this becomes a person that is guilty of destroying Bâraṇâsi, a thousand *pârvas*§, a thousand brown cows, (*and*) of the (*other*) five great crimes. The teacher Seja's writing. Bĕḷiûr pays eighty gold (*coins*) of full weight, as well as eight hundred (*measures of*) paddy.

III.

[1]Svasti satyavâkyaKŏṅguṇivarmma||
[2]dharmmamahârâjadhirâjaṁ Kŏva-
[3]ḷâlapuravareśvaraṁ Nandagirinâthaṁ
[4]śrîmatPĕrmmanaḍigaḷ Jeḍala
[5]Ĕṟĕyañgañgă Vuṇḍana magañgĕ Pĕrmmana-
[6]ḍi vaṭṭañgaṭṭi biḍĕ stitikramamâ
[7]vaḍĕndŏḍĕ siddhâyada pŏnnŏmbattu
[8]gadyâṇapŏnnuṁ biḷtiya bha-
[9]ttadŏḷ nûṟu bhattamumaṁ ĕllâ
[10]kâlakkaṁ sâsanamâgĕ bi-
[11]ṭṭar Bummayyanakkaraṁ mañgaḷam
[12]Ĕṟĕyañgañgĕ Kalnâḍu mahâśrî.

Translation.

Hail! Satyavâkya Kŏṅguṇivarma, the supreme king of all the virtuous sovereigns; the excellent lord of Kŏvaḷâlapura; the protector of Nandagiri; the fortunate Pĕrmmanaḍi.¶ When Pĕrmmanaḍi enfeoffed Jeḍala Ĕṟĕyañga, the son of that Muṇḍa, the order fixed was this:—he set down (*as*) the gold of land-rent nine (?) gold (*coins*) of full weight, as well as a hundred (*measures of*) paddy in seed-paddy, to be intended to be a grant for ever. Bumma Ayya's letters. (*May*) Kalnâḍu (*be*) a blessing to Ĕṟĕyañga! Great prosperity!

§ The syllable *nĕ* was at first omitted in the original, and afterwards, though not clearly, inserted below its place in the line.

|| The letter *pa* is not in the line, but something unrecognizable appears below its place.

¶ According to No. I. and to the meaning that is required, the *ṁ* (expressed by a *bindu* in the original) before *maydâ* &c. is a slip of the chisel.

* Or 'houses.'

† From this it appears to follow that the Coorg *kaḍañgas*, or large trenches, originally were intended for landmarks.

‡ Or, if the syllable *pa* had not been supplied under the line in the original, "the thousand (personified) hills." At all events it is strange that here a thousand Malĕpas are mentioned (and the number is quite distinct), whereas in No. I. the only number I can make of the (a little indistinct) letters is that of 'four'; of that of 'thousand' there is no trace in it.

§ Or 'overseers,' *i.e.* Brâhmaṇs.

|| The nasal in *Kŏṅguṇi* is the *bindu*.

¶ The plural—*Pĕrmmanaḍigaḷ*.

BOOK NOTICE.

History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., forming the third volume (but complete in itself) of the new edition of the *History of Architecture*. London: John Murray, 1876.

When the religions and literature of India had succumbed to the determined scrutiny of the first great company of European scholars, the equally attractive field of architectural art was not long wanting in enthusiastic explorers, and the blank left by the neglect and ignorance of the two preceding centuries of European settlement and conquest was rapidly filled up. It was then discovered that, how-

ever strong might be the claims of India to an old and high civilization, there were no material evidences of it which could claim a place beside the similar memorials of Egypt, Assyria, and Greece.

This achievement was accomplished by the labours of Buchanan, Wilson, Sykes, Mackenzie, and Prinsep,—not to mention other names nearly as great; but it was reserved for a later writer, Mr. James Fergussen, to leave the limited field of more or less provincial inquiry, and to bring together, in one comprehensive body, the complete results of all that had been effected by the several preceding investigators.

When one considers the influence the religions of the Indian races have on all their actions and aspirations, and the aid to a proper comprehension of such influence which is afforded by an intelligible acquaintance with the architectural remains of the country, the Government and the public alike are under a deep debt of obligation to one who has done, and is doing, so much in this important sphere of knowledge. And the feeling of obligation must be accompanied by a large admiration for the learning and energy of a writer who has effected single-handed, without Government assistance, not only the first popular introduction of the subject to the European and Asiatic public, but who, after a lapse of upwards of thirty years, still maintains his position as the sole and most able instructor of the world in this section of antiquities. The effect which the writings of Mr. Fergusson have had on the knowledge and taste of the present generation is admittedly great; numbers must owe to his architectural works their first awakening from the ignorance or indifference about the country and its peoples which distinguishes but too many of the European residents of this country.

The learned societies of Europe and the East have long acknowledged all this by every means in their power; but the general public has few opportunities of doing so, and we have therefore thought fit to preface this brief notice of the work under review with some tribute of admiration and respect for one who has done so much to aid in the intelligent government of India, and to render attractive the country in which so many thousands of his countrymen have to find their homes.

It is impossible to deal here in any adequate way with the subject-matter of a work of this description. The space of the *Quarterly Review* would scarcely allow that to be done. It will only be practicable to refer briefly to the more marked features of the book, and to point out its unique and indispensable character for the purposes alike of the resident and of the European traveller.

Mr. Fergusson's *History of Architecture* first appeared in 1855, as part of his well-known *Hand-Book*. A new edition, very liberally enlarged, appeared in 1862, also as part of a similar general *History of Architecture in all Countries*. The present is therefore a third revision; but it has borne such an entire remodelling, and has been so considerably added to, that it is practically and professedly a new and distinct work. The bulk of it, or more than 600 pages out of 750, is taken up by the Indian styles, to which the following remarks will almost exclusively refer; but the sections devoted to Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, Java, and China are quite as complete as existing materials permit, and important as the best extant authority for the architectural history of the countries to which they refer.

The great features of the work are that it does not confine itself to the mere technicalities of architectural science, and that it expresses small sympathy with those who look at the knowledge of the exterior phases of structural art merely as so many means of æsthetic enjoyment, and as ends in themselves. On the contrary, while fully satisfying the reader who may take up the work with no higher objects than those we have indicated, it aims at the broader and deeper task of illustrating and explaining, in the full spirit of modern architectural inquiry, the entire body of Indian history and progress. To effect this is a Titanic operation, demanding a very familiar comprehension of the varied results of the philological, ethnological, and mythological research of the last century, as well as a personal acquaintance with much of the area of a great country still insufficiently supplied with communications; but, vast as the toil involved may be, it has been gone through with never-flagging freshness, and with results which speak plainly for themselves.

To proceed to particulars: the illustrations—which, with a few exceptions, are of the extreme beauty and accuracy of the earlier editions—have been increased in number from 200 to 400, and there are two good maps in which the principal non-Muhammadan architectural localities are plainly laid down in colours. If we mistake not, these maps are the first of their kind, and will be found of the utmost value. The body of the text is preceded by an Introduction in which the origin, movements, and statistics of the pagan races are clearly and laboriously disentangled from the repelling difficulties in which they have, so far as the general reader is concerned, so long lingered; and at the end of the book about 50 pages are devoted to the disputed points of Indian chronology, which necessarily affect so closely the whole

framework of the author's conclusions. The rest is divided into seven Books, the two first and the last of which (those, namely, relating to the Buddhist, Jaina, and Indo-Saracenic styles) apply more or less generally to the whole country, and derive their titles from the respective creeds which have now, or had formerly, similar universal lodgment; while the remaining four books (those, namely, devoted to the Himâlayan, Draviḍian, Châlukyan, and Northern or Indo-Âryan styles) are limited by the geographical or ethnical boundaries which the titles themselves define.

As the oldest existing works are those of the Buddhist period, the author commences with them, and this section will be found to be a marked advance on the previous editions, both in text and illustrations. It is still impossible to announce the discovery of any remains anterior to the time of Aśoka, or the second half of the third century before Christ, but the work which has been done in filling up the gaps behind that starting-point in the architectural history of India is great and important. First and foremost it is shown that the store of information we have derived from the beautiful and peculiar tope railings has been unexpectedly and lavishly increased by General Cunningham's discoveries at Barhut, in the state of Rewa. The rail found at this spot is said to date 200 B.C., and offers to furnish us with as full information of the worship and life of that remote age as do the richly sculptured similar works, of a later period, at Sanchî, Amravatî, and elsewhere. Next, there are fresh illustrations and particulars of the gloomy and impressive Chaitya caves at Bhâjâ, Beḍsâ, Nâsik, and other places on the western side of India—excavations which are also believed to be prior to the Christian era; and, finally, plans are furnished, with all that can be made out, of the remains of the extensive structural monasteries of the Panjâb, which may be found to be almost as old, and which offer to settle so many points of complexity left undetermined by the examination of the cave examples. The last-mentioned discoveries have attracted more popular attention than such matters usually do, owing to the marked traces they disclose of Grecian influence in their orders and sculpture, and would attract more if most of the objects found were not buried in the Lâhor museum. The foregoing are merely the more prominent features of novelty in the Buddhist section. It is quite impossible here to say more, as every page teems with facts or illustrations which bring this remote period of the history of India much nearer to us than has yet been effected for that of some much later times.

The second Book deals with the Jaina styles, to which we believe the author was the first to direct the attention they deserve, not only on account of their beauty in arrangement and ornament, but also for their present significance as the architectural expressions of a peculiar and wealthy sect whose building tendencies have not been exhausted by the passage of two thousand years. In the earlier editions of his book Mr. Fergusson was unable to point to any Jaina work earlier than the eleventh century, but he now shows that discoveries at Mathurâ may be reasonably expected to throw back the date, perhaps to the first or second century before Christ. If research proceeds at this pace, and is followed up by intermediate supporting facts, we shall shortly be better acquainted than we are at present with the exact relations of Buddhism and Jainism, and we shall stand face to face with a style which can boast alike of a remote antiquity and a present active progression and development. The history of the Jaina styles, if it is ever completed, may place us in possession of one of the most remarkable chapters in the architectural history of the world.

The clusters of temples reared by this sect at Pâlitânâ, Girnâr, Âbu, and Parasnâth are amongst the most striking groups India anywhere affords. and the beauty of individual examples ranges from that of the smallest shrines to that of the massive and lofty towers which still crown the summit of the fortress of Chittor, in Râjpûtâna. All will be found effectively illustrated and treated by Mr. Fergusson, as well as accompanied by an exposition of the history and belief of their founders. There is one effective feature in the Jaina temples—shared in to some extent by those of the Châlukyan style—which reminds one strongly of the Ptolemaic structures of Egypt. We refer to the half-length screens placed in front of or between the pillars of the porticos. Those who some years ago tried so hard to find resemblances between the Egyptian and Indian styles can hardly have failed to notice this, but we do not remember their having done so.

Book III. ranges over the entire extent of the Himâlayas, not omitting the utterances of some hope that the architectural treasures of Tibet will not much longer remain sealed to the subjects of the—in that direction—powerless Empress of India. With respect to Kaśmîr there is small novelty, but the Nepâlese and Kângrâ divisions for the first time take their proper place, and are copiously illustrated.

Of the Book devoted to the Draviḍian style, it is only needful to point to the last chapter, relating to the civil examples, as the remainder of this part of the work deals with ground already well trodden,

though it will by no means be exhausted until a successor to Colonel Mackenzie appear.

The Châlukyan style has received only quite a recent recognition, and a great deal yet remains to be revealed regarding it; but we think it is destined to take a very high place in popular favour. The specimens of it range upwards from the Krishṇâ to the Mahânadî and Taptî. None of the Krishṇâ examples are of much antiquity, but all, without exception, are of considerable originality and very great beauty of detail, and a greater contrast could not be imagined than that between these tasteful and lavishly decorated structures and some of the more or less clumsy and repulsive—though otherwise interesting and important—buildings of Orissa, whose boundary they touch on the north-east. We must confess we have personally a strong admiration for the Châlukyan style, and the Bombay presidency is to be congratulated on possessing so fair a share of its examples, if suitability to European taste is to be any criterion in our judgment of Indian architecture.

The next Book, containing the history of what the author calls the Northern or Indo-Âryan style, is much longer than the foregoing, as it embraces the immense area between the Indus and Brahmaputra west and east, and the Himâlayas and Vindhyas north and south,—not without extending here and there into the ground appropriated principally by other orders. The author explains why he has adopted this title for the style that prevailed among the Hindus in Northern and Central India from the seventh century to the present day; but, although we cannot presume to offer a better name for it, we think the alternative term Indo-Âryan is much wanting in distinctiveness, as it embraces alike the structural Hindu works of the North-West Provinces, Orissa, and Central India, as well as some of those of Dhârwâḍ, and the Brâhmaṇical rock-cut temples of that district and of the western presidency generally. This important section contains much that we cannot pretend to have yet done much more than skimmed, and we would only point to its multitude of illustrations, and its merits as containing, amongst other novelties, the results of Râjendralâla Mitra's researches in the north-east, and of those of the Bombay Archæological Survey in the south-west; while in this instance, as in others, the chapter on the civil architecture is new and attractive.

It only remains to refer to the book devoted to the Muhammadan orders. Although the examples of the works of the Paṭhâns and Mughuls are so wide-spread and striking, they have been less fortunate in illustration than the provincial styles of Bijâpur and Ahmadâbâd, and Mr. Fergusson's account of them—in the continued absence of adequate illustrations in the Bengal Archæological Reports—must long remain our only means of enlightenment. It omits illustrations of none of the more important groups — those, namely, of Ghaznî, Dilhî, Jaunpur, Bengal, Gujarât, Mâlwâ, Kulbarga, and Bijâpur; and, under two or three of these heads there are material additions, both in text and drawings—mostly the entire work of the author himself, as it is not necessary to remind the readers of this journal that Mr. Fergusson's labours are nowhere confined to mere compilation or criticism of the work of others: he is always equally at home in the Buddhist, Jaina, Hindu, and Saracenic styles, and has his own materials and long-digested conclusion in all cases. Chief among the new features of this Book is a complete set of drawings—elevation, plan, and section—of the great Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, near Âgrâ—a work which has hitherto never been properly dealt with.

With respect to our knowledge of the main features and principal examples of the Muhammadan styles little now remains to be performed, but a great deal yet remains to be done in detail. The province of the Panjâb, for instance, which contains one of the old capitals—Lâhor, surrounded by Mughul monuments of the greatest historical interest and beauty,—is entirely unknown to the architectural public, and apparently will long remain so, although even some of its minor cities, such as Multân and Sirhind, contain buildings second to none in interest in their proper grade. The coloured tile-work decorations of Lâhor and Multân have yet to be illustrated, and it may be predicted that they will delight those who admire that vivid and beautiful, though perishable, class of ornament.

When commencing our remarks it was stated that they would be limited to the Indian section; but we cannot close without some reference to the author's chapter on the architecture of the island of Java. This will prove of absorbing interest to those who are unacquainted with the previous editions of the work, or with the Dutch and other books from which the information is drawn. We are so accustomed to consider the Indian races as non-maritime and unenterprising beyond the seas, that, although many years have elapsed since the discovery of the Indian origin of the Javan works, the new facts and illustrations now furnished by Mr. Fergusson cannot fail to be widely acceptable, and to heighten the interest which has always been felt in this romantic chapter in the history of Eastern architecture. Not the least valuable and curious feature of the remains of Java

is that of the disclosure of traces of tree and serpent worship,—two forms of early religious veneration which are apparently destined to afford a wide ground of controversy for some years to come,—a ground which Mr. Fergusson has hitherto made peculiarly his own. Many of the new illustrations in this volume, although inserted for other purposes, would serve as additions to those of the author's great special work on this subject,—of *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

W. S.

Lâhor.

MISCELLANEA.

DONATION OF ORIENTAL MSS. TO THE EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

Mr. John B. Baillie, of Leys, has presented to the University a fine collection of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskṛit manuscripts, formed by his grandfather, Lieutenant-Colonel John Baillie, who wished them made heirlooms of his estate of Leys. His representatives, however, being desirous that they should be placed in some public institution, have handed them over to the University of Edinburgh under certain conditions, one of which is that they are to be kept separate as the "Leys Collection." Among them is a complete copy of the *Mahâbhârata* in the form of a roll 228 feet long, 5½ inches wide, profusely illustrated in colours and gold, representing scenes from the poem. The writing (Devanâgarî character) is very minute, there being twelve lines in every inch. This MS. is perhaps one of the most beautiful of the kind that has reached this country. Another fine MS. is a copy of the *Shâh Nâmeh* of Firdausi, also richly illustrated with illuminations of Oriental scenes. The rest of the collection consists of historical works, firmâns beautifully illuminated, &c., and numbers in all about 125 volumes. —*Scotsman.*

TRANSLATION OF A JAPANESE SONG.

The woods are green in summer time,
And bright with blossoms gay;
The murmur of the happy leaves
Sounds all the golden day.

But here a tree, by lightning struck,
Is black, and bent, and bare;
It lifts its arms like phantom fell,
And dims the sunny air.

A bird, that built its dainty nest
'Mong branches blossomed-o'er,
Still sings upon the withered bough
As blithely as before.

O fond and faithful as the bird
That haunts the leafless tree,
Though darkest clouds of sorrow came,
My sweet love stayed with me!

Dr. GOLDSTÜCKER'S THEORY ABOUT PÂṆINI'S TECHNICAL TERMS.

By Prof. Râmkrishṇa G. Bhâṇḍârkar, M.A.

The following article on Goldstücker's *Pâṇini* was published in two issues of *Native Opinion*. 21st and 28th August 1864. Appearing in a mere newspaper, it probably did not then attract the notice of scholars generally, and is now inaccessible. I am encouraged to reprint it in the *Indian Antiquary* by the suggestion of Prof. F. Kielhorn in a note to his article on the *Mahâbhâshya* (*ante*, vol. V. p. 251). I have given it as it was, save misprints, and a remark of a personal nature omitted from the last paragraph.

Dr. Burnell, in his recent work, *The Aindra School of Sanskṛit Grammarians*, has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's theory about Pâṇini's technical terms, which, as was shown by me twelve years ago, is based on a misapprehension of the sense of certain passages in the *Mahâbhâshya* and Kaiyaṭa, and like him is led to awkward conclusions. He gives some technical terms used by the older grammarians, which, he says, Pâṇini does not define in accordance with the theory. Of these, however, *ekavachana, dvivachana*, and *bahuvachana* are defined in I. 4. 103. *Upasarga, nipâta, dhâtu*, and *pratyaya* Pâṇini defines likewise, but, as observed by me in the following paper, he defines them by enumeration, or by unfolding the denotation of the term instead of the connotation, and in the case of *dhâtu* in the latter way also. All Indian grammarians so understand him, and Patanjali himself does so. *Dhâtu* is defined in I. 3. 1. This *sûtra* is interpreted in several ways. First, that *bhû* and others are *dhâtus, i.e.* the name *dhâtu* is given to *bhû* and others. The effect of this, we are told in the *Mahâbhâshya*,* is that these get the name from the fact of their being put in that list. Secondly, *bhû* and others which are of the nature of *vâ, i.e.* which show *action*, are roots; and thirdly, *vâ* and others which are of the nature of *bhû, i.e.* signify *being*, are roots. What is to be gathered from the last two is that words which show *action* or *being*

* पाठेन धातुसंज्ञेत्येतदुपपन्नं भवति । p. 229a.

are roots. This is a connotative definition. After finishing his explanation in this way, Patanjali says, "Well, then, if we have got a connotative definition now, the enumeration should not be made,"† which means that the purpose of a connotative definition and enumeration is the same, viz. the explanation of a term. In the same manner the word *nipâta* is explained in I. 4. 56. This is an *adhikâra,* wherefore the term is to be repeated in each of the *sûtras* that follow, up to I. 4. 97; and the sense is that all the particles contained in these *sûtras* are *nipâtas. Upasarga* is defined, *i.e.* explained by enumeration, in I. 4. 59. As to *pratyaya* it is defined in III. 1. 1. This also is an *adhikâra,* and by this *adhikâra* we are told a name is given to certain things which are set forth in the following *sûtras,* to which the *adhikâra* extends.‡ *Bhavishyat* and *Vartamâna* are no *sanjnâs,* or technical terms, of Pâṇini,—they are no more so than the words *bhûta, adyatana,* and *paroksha,* which are also used. The same remark applies to *anta, pradhâna,* and *prayatna. Anusvâra,* like *visarga,* is merely the name of a sound, and is not a *sanjnâ,* the object of which in Pâṇini's grammar is abbreviation, or to be able to state much in a short compass.

Then follow terms which, according to the theory, Pâṇini *should not* define, but as a matter of fact he *does.* Dr. Burnell gives reasons why he does, the chief of which is that Pâṇini's new *anubandhas* and the *pratyâhâra sûtras* rendered the definition of these terms necessary. Prof. Goldstücker's theory is that Pâṇini does not define those terms which admit of an etymology and which are "known and settled otherwise." Now these terms have an etymology, were settled by the previous grammarians, were known before Pâṇini, Pâṇini uses them in the same sense, and there is no difference whatever; why, then, should he define them if the theory be true? What difference does his new system of *anubandhas* and the *pratyâhâra sûtras* make? He would be justified in defining them only if he used them in a different sense. But this is not the case. And if his new *anubandhas* make any difference, why should he not define the names of cases, *prathamâ, dvitîyâ,* &c. where also he has got new *anubandhas.* There are also some terms with the definition of which his innovations have nothing to do, but still he defines them notwithstanding they were used by writers who are believed to have preceded him. Pâṇini defines *sanhitâ* as *paraḥ sannikarshaḥ* (I. 4. 109), and these are exactly the words in which Yâska explains the term.§ Yâska uses the terms *abhyâsa* and *abhyasta*‖ also, and in Pâṇini's definition of them there are no *anubandhas* or *pratyâhâras.* The first of these observations will also stand against the reason advanced by Dr. Burnell for defining *anunâsika.* Pâṇini's definition of *âmantrita* he considers to be no definition. I do not see why. It is as good a definition as that of *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi.* The sense of the *sûtra* (II. 3. 48) is, "the first case as used in addressing is called *âmantrita.*" In the definition of *upadhâ* Dr. Burnell thinks that the reason given in the *Mahâbhâshya* for the use of *alaḥ* is to avoid making it apply to the indicatory letters. I do not find this reason in that work. The quotation given in the footnote to support the statement means quite another thing. Its purport is this:—A question is raised whether the "*alaḥ* is to be taken as an adjective to *antya.*" The answer is, "Yes, it deserves to be so taken." What follows is a *vârtika* setting forth an objection against this construction. The objection is, "If *alaḥ* is to be taken as an adjective to *antya,* there should be a prohibition against [the application of the term to] a collection of letters," *i. e.* in this construction, the sense of the *sûtra* is "what precedes the last letter (*lit.* the end in the shape of a letter) is *upadhâ,*" in which case the term would apply to the two letters *śâ* of the root *śâs.* A long discussion follows, with which we have nothing to do at present. I need say nothing more.

† यदि तर्हि लक्षणं क्रियते नेदानीं पाठः कर्तव्यः।

‡ प्रत्ययः। आधिकारेणेयं प्रत्ययसंज्ञा क्रियते।

§ p. 38, l. 2, Roth's ed.

‖ p. 40, l. 2 from bottom; p. 41, l 8; p. 74, l. 2; p. 83, l. 2 from bottom; p. 94, l. 8.

PÂṆINI, HIS PLACE IN SANSKṚIT LITERATURE; an Investigation of some Literary and Chronological Questions which may be settled by a Study of his Works. By Theodor Goldstücker: London, Trübner & Co.

Dr. Goldstücker is undoubtedly one of the most learned, laborious, and accurate European Sanskṛit scholars we have known, and the wide and, in many cases, precise knowledge he has shown of Indian grammatical literature is particularly striking to a Hindu, especially when we call to mind that he has not had the advantage of oral instruction, which is available only in India. Of course a minute knowledge of the complicated and subtle speculations of Indian grammarians can only be acquired after a hard study of at least five years, and from a Paṇḍit-teacher. But much of what they have written is barren and useless, and no European Sanskṛitist, or Indian scholar of the new stamp, would consider it worth his while to study it. The doctor's critical acumen, the skill with which he has brought together stray facts to illustrate and

prove his points, and the success with which he has combated the opinions of several scholars, command our admiration, though we are rather inclined to think he has handled some of his German friends somewhat roughly. His book is, however, not without its weak points, and there are three or four places where it appears to us to be particularly so. It is not our intention at present to write an elaborate review of it, but we will notice one point which bears materially on his theory about Pâṇini, the Indian grammatical legislator.

At page 166, Dr. Goldstücker lays down the four following propositions :—

1. That his (Pâṇini's) Grammar does not treat of those *sanjnás* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.

2. That this term *sanjná* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.

3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.

4. That such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, and *bha were known and settled before Pâṇini's Grammar*, but that nevertheless they are defined by Pâṇini, because they are not etymological terms.

These four statements contain, according to Dr. Goldstücker, the principles which guided Pâṇini in the composition of his work, and are deduced as conclusions from one of his *sûtras*, Patanjali's *Bháshya* on it, and Kaiyaṭa's gloss on the latter. Leaving these points for fuller examination at the end, let us in the first place consider if these principles are worthy of being made the basis of a stupendous grammatical superstructure, and bear an air of truthfulness about them, or if there is any external evidence to support them.

According to the first two statements, Pâṇini does not propose to teach *sanjnás*, and such *sanjnás* only as have an etymology. Does he, then, propose to teach *sanjnás* which are without etymology? The "only" would show that he does propose this. What, then, is meant by *sanjnâs without etymology?* Are such *sanjnâs* as *Panchâlâḥ*, *Varaṇâḥ*, *Angâh*, which are given by the commentators as instances of this *sûtra* and the previous one to which it refers, and which, therefore, are the *sanjnás* Pâṇini, according to them, does not propose to teach,—are these *sanjnás*, we ask, without etymology? If they are, according to Dr. Goldstücker, Pâṇini should teach them. If they are not, no instance can be given of a word existing in the language which is a *sanjná* without etymology. If we bear in mind that two schools of etymology existed in India, viz. *vyutpatti paksha*, according to which all words have an etymology, and *avyutpatti paksha*, according to which some have, and some have not, and that Pâṇini belonged to the latter, as is asserted and believed by all śâstris, such words as *panchâlâḥ* and *angâḥ* are *sanjnás* without etymology. And if this be joined with Dr. Goldstücker's statement it will follow that Pâṇini should teach them. But as a fact he does not, if we believe the commentators. Now with regard to the *vyutpatti paksha*, we see that the rule in question contradicts its doctrine, for according to that *paksha* all words, *sanjnás* included, have etymology, while the rule makes a distinction between words *with* and words *without* etymology. If we suppose, then, that Pâṇini belonged to this *paksha*, and at the same time that he observed the rule given by Dr. Goldstücker, we must either suppose him to have possessed an extremely illogical mind, or not to have proposed such a rule for his guidance. Upon either view of etymology, therefore, we maintain that the rule laid down in statements Nos. 1 and 2 could not have been followed by Pâṇini. We perfectly agree with statement No. 1 if it be separated from No. 2, and not interpreted according to the sense of the word *sanjná* given in the latter.

In the next two statements, this rule is applied to grammatical *sanjnás*. Such as are settled are not to be defined, but an exception is to be made in favour of such as have no etymology, *e.g. ṭi, ghu, bha*, &c. We see no reason why Pâṇini should select for definition, out of settled *sanjnás*, such as have no etymology. For, both those with and those without etymology are settled, *i.e.* have a fixed meaning. The mere circumstance of some *sanjnás* having etymology, which may be considered as the reason why they are not to be defined, is immaterial, as the presence of etymology in the one case is nearly the same thing as its absence in the other. The etymology of a technical term is not sufficient to explain its sense, and in some cases it affords no clue to it whatever. How can the etymology of the terms *bahuvṛîhi, pratyaya*, &c. enable one to understand their grammatical signification? In so far, then, as words with etymology are used in philosophical treatises in a sense different from the etymological, or from that they have in common language, they are in the same predicament as unmeaning words, such as *ṭi, ghu*, &c. We see, therefore, no reason why Pâṇini should have selected the latter for definition, and not the former.

Having laid down this theory about Pâṇini's technical terms, Dr. Goldstücker proceeds to test its accuracy with reference to several *sanjnás* which he knows were settled before Pâṇini's time, such as *pratyaya, prathamá, dvitîyá, tatpurusha*,

&c., and finds that he has not defined them, as they have an etymology. He then mentions other *sanjnás*, such as *karmadháraya, sanyoga, anunásika, hrasva, dírgha, udátta, anudátta*, &c., and since they are defined and possess etymology, he concludes that they must have been first used by Pâṇini himself. We cannot help thinking that there is here an instance of the fallacy of *reasoning in a circle*, or of the *Anyonyáśraya* of Hindu logicians. In order that Dr. Goldstücker's theory may be true, it is necessary that these defined *sanjnás* possessing etymology should be inventions of Pâṇini, and they are inventions of Pâṇini because the theory is true. Or, in plainer terms, the theory is true because these defined *sanjnás* are Pâṇini's inventions, and they are Pâṇini's inventions because the theory is true. These defined *sanjnás* may have been settled *before* Pâṇini's time, in which case the doctor's theory would be false. And in fact we have reason to believe that such *sanjnás* as *hrasva, dírgha, pluta, udátta, anudátta*, &c. were invented before Pâṇini. We are sorry we have not got any treatise on *Śikshá* to refer to just now, but considering that the names for accents and for long and short vowels must have been very early invented by grammarians, as they are the most elementary distinctions, and likely to strike a lingual philosopher before many others, and bearing also in mind that if different terms for these had existed before Pâṇini, they would not have been altogether lost, and we should have known them, we are inclined to believe that the names in question were settled before his time. Dr. Goldstücker himself mentions one such word (द्वन्द्व), and is not inclined to disbelieve that there may be many more. But the supposition he makes, to save his theory, that Pâṇini used them in a sense somewhat different from that in which they were before used, has, in our opinion, no basis.

We have all along used the word *definition* in Dr. Goldstücker's sense. He seems to understand by the term *definition* such a definition as is commonly given in European books, viz. that which unfolds the connotation or comprehension of a term. But the principal object of a definition is to point out or distinguish certain things (*definitum*) from the rest, and this may be done in other ways than by unfolding the connotation. Unfolding the extension or denotation is often an easier process, and may in several cases be resorted to. Even European logicians call this latter a definition, no less than the former. Sanskrit writers do not confine themselves to the former, but frequently use the latter and several other kinds. For instance, in Viśvanâtha Panchânana's *Muktávali* (p. 71 Asiatic Society's edition) the fallacy *anaikántika* is defined as that which is any one of *Sádhárana*, &c., *i.e. anaikântika* is either *Sádhárana, Asádhárana*, or *Anupasanhárin*. The fallacy is thus defined by enumerating its several kinds. We need not stop here to quote other instances. Any one who takes the trouble will find many in any Sanskrit philosophical treatise. What we maintain, then, is that, so far as this view of definition is concerned (and we are convinced that that is the Hindu view), Pâṇini *has* defined the terms *pratyaya, tatpurusha, bahuvríhi*, &c., which Dr. Goldstücker says he has not; but he has defined them by enumerating the several kinds or individuals contained under them. To Hindu writers such a definition is as good as the other, especially when the latter is difficult to give. We think Pâṇini in defining terms by enumeration was not guided by any such rule as the learned doctor lays down, but he simply consulted his own convenience. When he found it difficult to give a connotative definition, he gave a denotative one. How difficult would it have been to give a connotative definition of *bahuvríhi*, for instance, containing as it does such compounds as उत्तरपूर्वा, सपुत्र, दण्डादण्डि, so different from such a one as कमलनयन.

We now proceed to examine the principal evidence upon which Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based. As we said before, he quotes a *sûtra* of Pâṇini, the *bháshya* on it, and Kaiyaṭa's gloss on the latter, and deduces his theory from these. When we read this portion of the book for the first time, we were surprised to find that the doctor had not understood one of the passages correctly. The *sûtra* referred to is तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्। Dr. Goldstücker's translation:—"Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine;" *literally*, "for it has the authority of a *sanjná* or conventional term)."

This translation is generally correct. We would, however, translate it more closely, thus:—"About that no rule ought to be made, *or*, that should not be taught, for [the knowledge derived from] the meaning of conventional terms in common usage is an authority in itself." The word संज्ञा is explained by Patanjali as संज्ञानं, which again Kaiyaṭa interprets by संप्रत्ययः, अवगमः, *i.e.* knowledge obtained (from usage). In a note on that portion of the *Siddhánta Kaumudí* (Cowell's edition), where this *sûtra* is explained, we find the following:— संज्ञानां लोकव्यवहाराणामेवात्र प्रमाणत्वम्, "*sanjnás*—that is, usages—are here an authority or evidence."

The *bháshya* on this *sûtra* is as follows:—किं या

एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञास्तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम्। नेत्याह। संज्ञानं संज्ञा। Dr. Goldstücker's translation:—"When Pâṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression, such technical terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like? No; for *sanjná* is here the same as *sanjnâna*, understanding (*i.e.* a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)."

We do not see whence he gets the first portion up to "settled." If by implication, we do not think it necessary to understand anything. There is nothing even in the *sûtra* which has the sense of the words "which he will not teach, because they are settled." For, what Pâṇini says he will not teach is *that* something which he has alluded to in the last *sûtra* but one, and which we shall explain hereafter. We do not deny that this sense may be inferred from what Pâṇini actually says. We have, however, a particular objection to the expression "are settled" if it is to be made applicable to the terms *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c., and understood to mean "settled before Pâṇini's time." There is nothing in the original corresponding to the words enclosed in brackets in the above extract, nor is the sense deducible from any word occurring in the Sanskṛit passage. There is, no doubt, the word *sanjnânam*, but we do not know upon what authority Dr. Goldstücker renders it by "a name which has a real meaning that may be traced etymologically." Kaiyaṭa explains it by अवगम, संप्रत्यय, as noticed above, which means '*knowing*, *comprehending*,' as is evident from his use of the word अवगति (differing from अवगम only in the form and not in the sense of the termination) in the sentence which follows. It is this:— तत्र यथापो दाराः सिकता वर्षा इत्युक्ते लिङ्गसंख्याविशेषावगतिरुत्पद्यमाना प्रमाणमेवं पञ्चाला वरणाः इत्यादावपि:—"As when one pronounces the words आपः, दाराः, सिकताः, वर्षाः, the अवगति (knowledge or comprehension) of a particular number and gender which is produced is authority, so is it in the case of पञ्चालाः, वरणाः," &c. Our translation of the passage in question is as follows:—"Is it on account of the *authority* of (or evidence afforded by) such artificial *sanjnás* as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c. that *that* (the thing mentioned in a previous *sûtra* alluded to before) should not be taught." "No," says he (Gonardîya —Patanjali). "*Sanjná* is *knowing*, *comprehending*." Upon the whole, Dr. Goldstücker's translation of these two passages is not very objectionable, but they do not afford any basis for his theory, except for that portion of it which is comprehended in the first statement. But the quotation from Kaiyaṭa is altogether misunderstood. It runs thus:—

किं या एता इति। प्रत्यासत्तिन्यायाश्रयेण प्रश्नः। नेत्याहेति। प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्यं बलवत्। नहि टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वं युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रस्याशिष्यत्वे हेतुरुपपद्यते। संबन्धाभावात्। संज्ञानमिति। अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः।

And Dr. Goldstücker's translation of this is as follows:—

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative because the context itself has greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pâṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology. 'Understanding' (as Patanjali paraphrases *sanjná*), means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word [or it means the words which admit of this mental process]."

In the first sentence of this, the word *analogy* is not, we think, a correct translation of प्रत्यासत्ति, though it will do. "Proximity" is the word that is equivalent to it, and it ought to have been used here, for a reason which we shall presently explain. But it is the third sentence that is the most objectionable of all. We have no hesitation in saying that the translation here is totally wrong, and it is upon this misapprehension of the sense of the original that the doctor's peculiar theory is based. We hope our readers will excuse us for the assurance with which we speak; for we feel that no native scholar acquainted with grammatical phraseology would ever think of translating or interpreting the passage thus. As Dr. Goldstücker translates it, he appears to connect the nouns प्रमाणत्वम् and अशिष्यत्वे with the genitive टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां, and renders the former by "being settled." But अशिष्यत्वे ought really to be taken with the genitive युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रस्य; and then the translation would be "for leaving युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र, untaught," instead of "for leaving them (i.e. *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, &c.) untaught," as the Doctor translates it. युक्तवद्भावशास्त्र is rendered "an etymological work," which, if one remembers what the *sûtra* is about, he will at once see is altogether wrong. The word can by no stretch of sense mean that. शास्त्र means here '*a rule*,' as it frequently and primarily does, and not '*a work*.' Various instances may be quoted in support of this, the last *páda* of the verse about Uṇadi, एतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु, being one. संबन्धाभावात् is rendered as "having no etymology," for which, however, there is not the slightest authority. संबन्ध never means *etymology*; it means *connection*. Besides, from the context it is clear that the sentence cannot have the sense Dr. Goldstücker attaches to it. For, the whole subject

here discussed by these several writers is this :—The last but one *sútra* of Pâṇini is लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने, which is thus explained in the *Siddhânta Kaumudî* :—लुपि सति * प्रकृतिवल्लिङ्गवचने स्तः। पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः। कुरवः। अङ्गाः। &c., meaning that when an elision called लुप् takes place, the gender and number (of the noun) are like those of the base; पञ्चालाः &c. are instances. This requires some explanation. In virtue of the *sútra* तस्य निवासः 4, 2, 69, the termination अण् should be added to the noun पञ्चालाः for instance, when we have to form a derivative signifying '*the place of residence or the country* of the Panchâlâs,' a race of Kshatriyas (hence the above example from the *Kaumudî* is worded पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः). Now, this termination is elided in virtue of the *sútra* जनपदे लुप्, 4, 2, 81. If the termination were not dropped, the word expressing 'the country of the Panchâlâs' would be पाञ्चालः. Then the question is, when it is dropped, what should be the gender and number of the noun signifying the *country?* Should it be masculine and singular, as the word जनपद *country* is? If so, the derived word would be पञ्चालः. But "No," says Pâṇini (in the *sútra* लुपि युक्तवत् &c.); "the gender and number should be like those of the original base," which is पञ्चालाः, and, consequently, masculine and plural. Hence the noun signifying the residence or country of the Panchâlâs is पञ्चालाः. "Now," says Pâṇini (in the *sútra* तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्), "what is the use of teaching by a rule the number and gender of these?" though he himself, in conformity with the practice of former writers, has done so. "They are to be learnt from usage, which has itself an authority, just as the gender and number of आपः and दाराः are, and the authority of a grammarian is not required. For पञ्चालाः, अङ्गाः, &c. in the plural are actually the names of certain countries, and, as such, ought to be used in the plural, in deference to the existing usage, and there is no necessity of a grammarian's teaching it." Upon this Patanjali raises the question, "Pâṇini speaks of the authority (of usage in matters) of names. Are they such names as *ṭi, ghu, bha,* &c., which have an authority" (as used by Pâṇini, not necessarily by any other writer)? "No," says he. Kaiyaṭa explains why Patanjali put to himself such a question. "He was led," he says, "to it by the proximity of these artificial grammatical *sanjnâs,* or that he wanted to determine which were the *sanjnâs* meant by Pâṇini; because if he did not do so, a reader might, on reading the *sútra* in question, be led to think first of them (the grammatical names) rather than of any other, on account of their proximity to or connection with the science he is studying. In order, therefore, to avoid all such confusion, he proposes the question, and answers it by saying 'No.'" Why not? "(हि) Because," says Kaiyaṭa, "(टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्,) the authority of the grammatical *sanjnâs, ṭi, ghu, bha,* &c. (न हेतुरुपपद्यते) is no reason (as the authority of *sanjnâs* in common language such as *Panchâlâḥ, Angâḥ,* &c. is) why युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रम् [a *sútra* or rule expounding that when a termination is elided by the use of the term लुप्, the gender and number are like those of the base] (अशिष्यत्वे) should not be taught." And why is it no reason? "(संबन्धाभावात्) Because there is no connection" (*i.e.* no connection between such *sanjnâs* as *ṭi, ghu,* &c. and युक्तवद्भाव). This is the whole sense of the three quotations. युक्तवत्, *i.e.* like the base, is the word used by Pâṇini in the last but one *sútra* (लुपि युक्तवत्), &c.; and Kaiyaṭa first adds the word भाव to it, when the whole means "the being like the base," and then the word शास्त्रम् *a rule,* and thus the expression युक्तवद्भावशास्त्रम् signifies *literally* "the rule about the being like the base," and not an *etymological work,* as Dr. Goldstücker understands.

It will thus be apparent that Dr. Goldstücker's theory is based upon a misapprehension of a passage in Kaiyaṭa; and, now that we have explained its true sense, and have also shown that the theory is not supported by any external evidence, it must, we think, be given up. The first of the doctor's four propositions if separated from the second we agree with, as we have already intimated. Dr. Goldstücker's opinion, that the *sanjnâs ṭi, ghu,* and *bha* were known before Pâṇini's time, may be true, for aught we know, but it does not at all follow from anything in the passages commented on. He was, no doubt, led to it by the expression टिघुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वम्, which he renders by "such terms as *ṭi, ghu, bha,* are settled terms." We would translate it as *the authority of such sanjnâs or terms as ṭi, ghu, bha,* &c., and this authority they derive from their having been used and defined by Pâṇini. The whole grammatical literature based on his work does not admit the authority of any other person except him, his continuator and critic Kâtyâyana, and his *bhâshyakâra.* And even if we take Dr. Goldstücker's translation, the expression "are settled terms" does not necessarily mean "settled" *before Pâṇini's* time, or by any other person than Pâṇini himself.

* युक्त is explained as प्रकृति, because in a word the sense of the base is intimately joined to that of the प्रत्यय or termination (see note 70, p. 549, Cowell's edition of the *Kaumudî*: प्रत्ययार्थेन नित्यसंबद्धार्थकतया युक्तमत्र प्रकृतिः)

Dr. Goldstücker has also misunderstood the sense of the *sûtra* प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्, which is thus explained in the *Kaumudî:* प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंरूपं वचनमप्यशिष्यम् । कुतः । अर्थस्य लोकत एव सिद्धेः। *i.e.* "the saying that the sense of a termination is the principal sense of a word (and that that of the base is attributively joined to it) should not be taught. Why? Because the sense [of a word] is to be gathered from, or is established by, *usage*." We do not know whence Dr. Goldstücker brings in the idea of a compound and its "principal part" in his translation. We do not think it necessary to enter at greater length into the explanation of the *sûtra* in this place.

We must here close our remarks; our space does not admit of a more lengthened notice, at least for the present. We hope our observations will be calmly and patiently attended to by European Sanskritists. . . . In several cases, though not in all native students of Sanskrit have a greater right to be listened to than Europeans. We are also desirous that these few remarks should not give pain to Dr. Goldstücker, who, especially by his articles on our religious difficulties published in the *Westminster Review*, has shown himself to be our decided friend, who sympathizes with our fallen condition, and is ready to help us by his friendly advice in our race towards a brighter future.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE *INDIKA* OF MEGASTHENÊS.

Collected by Dr. E. A. Schwanbeck: Bonn, 1846.

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Introduction.

India to the Ancient Greeks, even till a comparatively late period in their history, was all but a *terra incognita.* It is scarcely so much as mentioned by name in their greatest poets, whether epic, lyric, or dramatic. They did not, in fact, become distinctly aware of its existence till the time of the Persian wars. The first historian who speaks clearly of it is Hekataios of Miletos (B.C. 549-486), and fuller accounts are preserved in Herodotos and in the remains of his contemporary Ktêsias, who having lived for some years in Persia as private physician to king Artaxerxes Mnemon, collected materials during his stay for a treatise on India, the first work on the subject written in the Greek language. His descriptions were, unfortunately, vitiated by a large intermixture of fable, and it was left to the followers of Alexander to give to the Western world for the first time fairly accurate accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The great conqueror, it is well known, carried men of learning with him to chronicle his achievements, and describe the countries to which he might carry his arms, and among his officers there were some who could wield the pen as well as the sword. Hence the expedition produced quite a crop of narratives and memoirs relating to India, such as those of Baeto, Diognetos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, and Kallisthenês. These works are all lost, but their substance is to be found condensed in Strabo, Plinius, and Arrianus. Subsequent to these writers were some others, who made considerable additions to the stock of information regarding India,—as Dêimachos, who resided for a long time in Palibothra, whither he was sent on an embassy by Seleukos to Allitrochadês, the successor of Sandrakottos; as Patroklês, the admiral of Seleukos, who thought that India could be circumnavigated, and who is called by Strabo the least mendacious of all writers concerning India; as Timosthenês, admiral of the fleet of Ptolemaios Philadelphos, and author of a work on harbours; and, lastly, as Megasthenês, whose work on India was the principal source whence succeeding writers drew their accounts of the country. This work, which appears to have been entitled τὰ Ἰνδικὰ, no longer exists, but it has been so often abridged and quoted by the ancient writers that we have a fair knowledge of the nature and arrangement of its contents. Schwanbeck, with great industry and learning, has collected all the fragments that have been anywhere preserved, and has prefixed to the collection an Introduction in Latin, the contents of which he has exhibited under the following heads:—

I. De cognitione Indiæ, qualis ante Megasthenem apud Græcos fuerit.

II. De Megasthene:—

1. De Indico Megasthenis itinere.
2. De Indicis Megasthenis, eorumque argumento.
3. De fide Megasthenis, auctoritate et pretio.

III. De Scriptoribus eis qui post Megasthenem de Indiâ scripserint.

From this Introduction, and from another, written also in Latin, by C. Müller, the editor of the *Geographi Græci Minores*, the following extracts are translated.

Megasthenês was sent, as is well known, by Seleukos Nikator, on an embassy to Sandrakottos (Chandragupta), king of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra. Our first extract (from Müller) throws light on the relations which existed between these two sovereigns, and also on the

disputed point how far Seleukos had carried his arms into India when he attempted its conquest:—

"Justinus (xv. 4) says of Seleukos Nikator, 'He *carried on many wars in the East after the division* of the Makedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Baktrianê, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors, thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery. Sandrokottos had made it free: but when victory was gained he changed the name of freedom to that of bondage, for he himself oppressed with servitude the very people which he had rescued from foreign dominion . . Sandrokottos, having thus gained the crown, held India at the time when Seleukos was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos came to an agreement with him, and, after settling affairs in the East, engaged in the war against Antigonos (302 B.C.).'

"Besides Justinus, Appianus (*Syr.* c. 55) makes mention of the war which Seleukos had with Sandrokottos or Chandragupta king of the Prasii, or, as they are called in the Indian language, Prâchyas*:—'He (Seleukos) crossed the Indus and waged war on Sandrokottos, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.' So also Strabo (xv. p. 724):—'Seleukos Nikator gave to Sandrokottos' (*sc.* a large part of Arianê). Conf. p. 689:—'The Indians afterwards held a large part of Arianê, (which they had received from the Makedonians), 'entering into marriage relations with him, and receiving in return five hundred elephants' (of which Sandrakottos had nine thousand—Plinius, vi. 22-5); and Plutarch, *Alex.* 62:—'For not long after, Androkottos, being king, presented Seleukos with five hundred elephants, and with six hundred thousand men attacked and subdued all India.' Phylarchos (Fragm. 28) in Athenæus, p. 18 D., refers to some other wonderful enough presents as being sent to Seleukos by Sandrokottos.

"Diodorus (lib. xx.), in setting forth the affairs of Seleukos, has not said a single word about the Indian war. But it would be strange that that expedition should be mentioned so incidentally by other historians, if it were true, as many recent writers have contended, that Seleukos in this war reached the middle of India as far as the Ganges and the town Palimbothra,—nay, even advanced as far as the mouths of the Ganges, and therefore left Alexander far behind him. This baseless theory has been well refuted by Lassen (*De Pentap. Ind.* 61), by A. G. Schlegel (*Berliner Calender*, 1829, p. 31; yet see Benfey, *Ersch. u. Grüber. Encycl. v. Indien*, p. 67), and quite recently by Schwanbeck, in a work of great learning and value entitled *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846). In the first place, Schwanbeck (p. 13) mentions the passage of Justinus (I. ii. 10) where it is said that no one had entered India but Semiramis and Alexander; whence it would appear that the expedition of Seleukos was considered so insignificant by Trogus as not even to be on a par with the Indian war of Alexander.† Then he says that Arrianus, if he had known of that remote expedition of Seleukos, would doubtless have spoken differently in his *Indika* (c. 5. 4), where he says that Megasthenês did not travel over much of India, 'but yet more than those who invaded it along with Alexander the son of Philip.' Now in this passage the author could have compared Megasthenês much more suitably and easily with Seleukos.‡ I pass over other proofs of less moment, nor indeed is it expedient to set forth in detail here all the reasons from which it is improbable of itself that the arms of Seleukos ever reached the region of the Ganges. Let us now examine the passage

* The adjective πραξιακός in Ælianus *On the Nature of Animals*, xvii. 39 (Megasthen. Fragm. 13. *init.*) bears a very close resemblance to the Indian word Prâchyas (that is. 'dwellers in the East'). The substantive would be Πράξιοι, and Schwanbeck (*Megasthenis Indica*, p. 82) thinks that this reading should probably be restored in Stephanus of Byzantium, where the MSS. exhibit Πράσιοι, a form intermediate between Πράξιλος and Πρᾶς. But they are called Πράσιοι by Strabo, Arrianus, and Plinius; Πραίσιοι in Plutarch (*Alex.* chap. 62), and frequently in Ælianus; Πραΰσιοι by Nicolaüs of Damascus, and in the *Florilegium* of Stobæus, 37, 38; Βρείσιοι and Βραίσιοι are the MS. readings in Diodorus, xvii. 93; Pharrasii in Curtius, IX. ii. 3; Præsidæ in Justinus, XII. viii. 9. See note on Fragm. 13.

† Moreover, Schwanbeck calls attention (p. 14) to the words of Appianus (i. 1), where when he says, somewhat incurately, that Sandrakottos was king of the Indians around the Indus (τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Ἰνδῶν) he seems to mean that the war was carried on on the boundaries of India. But this is of no importance, for Appianus has τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, '*of the Indians around it*,' as Schwanbeck himself has written it (p. 13).

‡ The following passage of the Indian comedy *Mudrârâkshasa* seems to favour the Indian expedition:—"Meanwhile Kusumapura (*i.e.* Pâtaliputrâ, Palimbothra) the city of Chandragupta and the king of the mountain regions, was invested on every side by the Kirâtas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Persians, Baktrians, and the rest." But "that drama", (Schwanbeck, p. 18), "to follow the authority of Wilson, was written in the tenth century after Christ,—certainly ten centuries after Seleukos. When even the Indian historians have no authority in history, what proof can dramas give written after many centuries? Yavanas, which was also in later times the Indian name for the Greeks, was very anciently the name given to a certain nation which the Indians say dwelt on the north-western boundaries of India; and the same nation (Manu, x. 44) is also numbered with the Kambojas, the Śakas, the Paradas, the Pallavas, and the Kirâtas as being corrupted among the Kshatriyas. (Conf. Lassen, *Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III. p. 245.) These Yavanas are to be understood in this passage also, where they are mentioned along with those tribes with which they are usually classed.

in Plinius which causes many to adopt contrary opinions. Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 21), after finding from Diognetos and Baeto the distances of the places from Portæ Caspiæ to the Hupasis, the end of Alexander's march, thus proceeds:—'The other journeys made for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—One hundred and sixty-eight miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add five miles); from thence to the Ganges one hundred and twelve miles. One hundred and nineteen miles to the Rhodophas (others give three hundred and twenty-five miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipaxa one hundred and sixty-seven. Five hundred (others give two hundred and sixty-five miles), and from thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges six hundred and twenty-five miles (several add thirteen miles), and to the town Palimbothra four hundred and twenty-five. To the mouth of the Ganges six hundred and thirty-eight' (or seven hundred and thirty-eight, to follow Schwanbeck's correction),—that is, six thousand stadia, as Megasthenês puts it.

"The ambiguous expression *reliquâ Seleuco Nicatori peragrata sunt,* translated above as '*the other journeys made for Seleukos Nikator,*' according to Schwanbeck's opinion, contain a dative 'of advantage,' and therefore can bear no other meaning. The reference is to the journeys of Megasthenês, Dêimachos, and Patroklês, whom Seleukos had sent to explore the more remote regions of Asia. Nor is the statement of Plinius in a passage before this more distinct. ('*India*,') *he says, 'was thrown open not only by the arms of Alexander the Great, and the kings who were his successors, of whom Seleucus and Antiochus even travelled to the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas, Patrocles being commander of their fleet, but all the Greek writers who stayed behind with the Indian kings (for instance, Megasthenes and Dionysios, sent by Philadelphos for that purpose) have given accounts of the military force of each nation.*' Schwanbeck thinks that the words *circumvectis etiam. . . . . Seleuco et Antiocho et Patrocle* are properly meant to convey nothing but additional confirmation, and also an explanation how *India was opened up by the arms* of the kings who succeeded Alexander."

"The following statements," continues Müller, "contain all that is related about Megasthenês:—

"'Megasthenês the historian, who lived with Seleukos Nikator',—Clem. Alex. p. 132 *Sylb.* (Fragm. 42); 'Megasthenês, who lived with Sibyrtios ‖ the satrap of Arachosia, and who says that he often visited Sandrakottos, king of the Indians,'—Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* V. vi. 2 (Fragm. 2);—'To Sandrokottos, to whom Megasthenês came on an embassy,'—Strabo, xv. p. 702 (Fragm. 25);—'Megasthenês and Dêimachos were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrokottos at Palimbothra, the other to Allitrochadês his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country,'—Strabo, ii. p. 70 (Fragm. 29 *note*); Megasthenês says that he often visited Sandrokottos, the greatest king (*mahâraja*: v. Bohlen, *Alte Indien*, I. p. 19) of the Indians, and Pôros, still greater than he:'—Arrian, *Ind.* c. 5 (Fragm. 24). Add the passage of Plinius, which Solinus (*Polyhistor.* c. 60) thus renders:—'*Megasthenês remained for some time with the Indian kings, and wrote a history of Indian affairs, that he might hand down to posterity a faithful account of all that he had witnessed. Dionysius, who was sent by Philadelphus to put the truth to the test by personal inspection, wrote also as much.*'

"From these sources, then, we gather that Megasthenês§ was the representative of Seleukos at the court of Sibyrtios‖, satrap of Arachosia, and that he was sent from thence as the king's ambassador to Sandrokottos at Palimbothra, and that not once, but frequently—whether to convey to him the presents of Seleukos, or for some other cause. According to the statement of Arrianus, Megasthenês also visited king Pôros, who was (Diod. xix. 14) already dead in 317 B.C. (Olymp. CXV. 4.) These events should not be referred to the period of Seleukos, but they may very easily be placed in the reign of Alexander, as Bohlen (*Alte Indien*, vol. I. p. 68) appears to have believed they should. when he says Megasthenês was one of the companions of Alexander. But the structure of the sentences does not admit of this conclusion. For Arrianus says, 'It appears to me that Megasthenês did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says that he visited Sandrokottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and Pôros, even greater than he (καὶ Πώρῳ ἔτι τούτου μέζονι).' We should be disposed to say, then, that he made a journey on some occasion or other to Pôros, if the obscurity of the language did not lead us to suspect it a corrupt reading. Lassen (*De Pentap.* p. 44) thinks the mention of Pôros a careless addition of a chance

§ Bohlen (*Alte Indien*, I. p. 68) says that Megasthenês was a Persian. No one gives this account of him but Annius Viterbiensis, that forger, whom Bohlen appears to have followed. But it is evidently a Greek name. Strabo (v. p. 243; comp. Velleius Paterculus, i. 4) mentions a Megasthenês of Chalkis, who is said to have founded Cumæ in Italy along with Hippoklês of Kumê.

‖ Sibyrtios, according to Diodorus (XVIII. iii. 3), had gained the satrapy of Arachosia in the third year of the 114th Olympiad (B.C. 323), and was firmly established in his satrapy by Antipater (Arrianus, *De Success. Alex.* § 36, ed. Didot). He joined Eumenês in 316 (Diod. xix. 14. 6), but being called to account by him he sought safety in flight (*ibid.* XIX. xxiii. 4). After the defeat of Eumenês, Antigonos delivered to him the most troublesome of the Argyraspides (*ibid.* C. xlviii. 3). He must have afterwards joined Seleukos.

transcriber, but I prefer Schwanbeck's opinion, who thinks it should be written *καὶ Πώρου ἔτι τούτῳ μέζονι*, '*and who was even greater than Pôros.*' If this correction is admitted, everything fits well.

"The time when he discharged his embassy or embassies, and how long he stayed in India, cannot be determined, but he was probably sent after the treaty had been struck and friendship had sprung up between the two kings. If, therefore, we make the reign of Sandrokottos extend to the year 288, Megasthenês would have set out for Palimbothra between 302 and 288. Clinton (*F. H.* vol. III. p. 482) thinks he came to the Indian king a little before B.C. 302."

While the date of the visit of Megasthenês to India is thus uncertain, there is less doubt as to what were the parts of the country which he saw; and on this point Schwanbeck thus writes (p. 21):—

"Both from what he himself says, and because he has enumerated more accurately than any of the companions of Alexander, or any other Greek, the rivers of Kâbul and the Panjâb, it is clear that he had passed through these countries. Then, again, we know that he reached Pâṭaliputra by travelling along the royal road. But he does not appear to have seen more of India than those parts of it, and he acknowledges himself that he knew the lower part of the country traversed by the Ganges only by hearsay and report. It is commonly supposed that he also spent some time in the Indian camp, and therefore in some part of the country, but where cannot now be known. This opinion, however, is based on a corrupt reading which the editions of Strabo exhibit. For in all the MSS. of Strabo (p. 709) is found this reading:—*Γενομένους δ'οὖν 'εν τῷ Σανδροκόττου στρατοπέδῳ φησὶν ὁ Μεγασθένης, τετταράκοντα μυριάδων πλήθους ἱδρυμένου, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἰδεῖν ἀνηνεγμένα κλέμματα πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων δραχμῶν ἄξια.* 'Megasthenês says that those who were in the camp of Sandrokottos saw,' &c. From this translation that given by Guarini and Gregorio alone is different. They render thus:—'Megasthenes refert, quum in Sandrocotti castra venisset . . . vidisse,' 'Megasthenês relates that when he had come into the camp of Sandrokottos, he saw,' &c. From this it appears that the translator had found written *γενόμενος*. But since that translation is hardly equal in authority even to a single MS., and since the word *γενομένους* can be changed more readily into the word *γενόμενος* than *γενόμενος* into *γενομένους*, there is no reason at all why we should depart from the reading of all the MSS., which Casaubon disturbed by a baseless conjecture, contending that *γενόμενος* should be substituted,—inasmuch as it is evident from Strabo and Arrianus (V. vi. 2) that Megasthenês had been sent to Sandrokottos,—which is an argument utterly futile. Nevertheless from the time of Casaubon the wrong reading *γενόμενος* which he promulgated has held its ground."

That Megasthenês paid more than one visit to India Schwanbeck is not at all inclined to believe. On this point he says (p. 23)—

"That Megasthenês frequently visited India recent writers, all with one consent, following Robertson, are wont to maintain; nevertheless this opinion is far from being certain. For what Arrianus has said in his *Exped. Alex.* V. vi. 2,—*Πολλάκις δὲ λέγει (Μεγασθένης) ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα*, does not solve the question, for he might have meant by the words that Megasthenês during his embassy had frequent interviews with Chandragupta. Nor, if we look to the context, does any other explanation seem admissible; and in fact no other writer besides has mentioned his making frequent visits, although occasion for making such mention was by no means wanting, and in the *Indika* itself of Megasthenês not the slightest indication of his having made numerous visits is to be found. But perhaps some may say that to this view is opposed the accurate knowledge which he possessed on all Indian matters; but this may equally well be accounted for by believing that he made a protracted stay at Pâṭaliputra as by supposing that he frequently visited India. Robertson's conjecture appears, therefore, uncertain, not to say hardly credible."

Regarding the veracity of Megasthenês, and his value as a writer, Schwanbeck writes (p. 59) to this effect:—

"The ancient writers, whenever they judge of those who have written on Indian matters, are without doubt wont to reckon Megasthenês among those writers who are given to lying and least worthy of credit, and to rank him almost on a par with Ktêsias. Arrianus alone has judged better of him, and delivers his opinion of him in these words:—'Regarding the Indians I shall set down in a special work all that is most credible for narration in the accounts penned by those who accompanied Alexander on his expedition, and by Nearchus, who navigated the great sea which washes the shores of India, and also by Megasthenês and Eratosthenês, who are both approved men (*δοκίμω ἄνδρε*):' Arr. *Exped. Alex.* V. v.

"The foremost amongst those who disparage him is Eratosthenês, and in open agreement with him are Strabo and Pliny. Others, among whom is Diodorus, by omitting certain particulars related by Megasthenês, sufficiently show that they discredit that part of his narrative.¶

¶ Regarding the manner in which Strabo, Arrianus, Diodorus, and Plinius used the *Indika* of Megasthenês,

"Strabo (p. 70) says, 'Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars,—Dêimachos holds the first place in the list, Megasthenês comes next; while Onesikritos and Nearchos, with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words (of truth). Of this we became the more convinced whilst writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Dêimachos and Megasthenês. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spiderlegs, and with fingers bent backward. They renewed Homer's fables concerning the battles of the cranes and pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, and Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all,—meantime, as Eratosthenês has observed, accusing each other of falsehood. Both of these men were sent as ambassadors to Palimbothra,—Megasthenês to Sandrokottos, Dêimachos to Amitrochadês his son,—and such are the notes of their residence abroad, which, I know not why, they thought fit to leave.

"When he adds, 'Patroklês certainly does not resemble them, nor do any other of the authorities consulted by Eratosthenês contain such absurdities,' we may well wonder, seeing that, of all the writers on India, Eratosthenês has chiefly followed Megasthenês. Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* VI. xxi. 3) says: 'India was opened up to our knowledge . . . even by other Greek writers, who, having resided with Indian kings,—as for instance Megasthenês and Dionysius,—made known the strength of the races which peopled the country. It is not, however, worth while to study their accounts with care, so conflicting are they, and incredible.'

"These same writers, however, seeing they have copied into their own pages a great part of his *Indika*, cannot by any means have so entirely distrusted his veracity as one might easily infer they did from these judgments. And what of this, that Eratosthenês himself, who did not quote him sparingly, says in Strabo (p. 689) that "he sets down the breadth of India from the register of the Stathmi, which were received as authentic,'—a passage which can have reference to Megasthenês alone. The fact is they find fault with only two parts of the narrative of Megasthenês,—the one in which he writes of the fabulous races of India, and the other where he gives an account of Heraklês and the Indian Dionysus; although it so happens that on other matters also they regarded the account given by others as true, rather than that of Megasthenês.

"The Âryan Indians were from the remotest period surrounded on all sides by indigenous tribes in a state of barbarism, from whom they differed both in mind and disposition. They were most acutely sensible of this difference, and gave it a very pointed expression. For as barbarians, even by the sanction of the gods themselves, are excluded from the Indian commonwealth, so they seem to have been currently regarded by the Indians as of a nature and disposition lower than their own, and bestial rather than human. A difference existing between minds is not easily perceived, but the Indians were quick to discern how unlike the barbarous tribes were to themselves in bodily figure; and the divergence they exaggerated, making bad worse, and so framed to themselves a mental picture of these tribes beyond measure hideous. When reports in circulation regarding them had given fixity to this conception, the poets seized on it as a basis for further exaggeration, and embellished it with fables. Other races, and these even

Schwanbeck remarks:—"Strabo, and—not unlike to Strabo—Arrianus, who, however, gave a much less carefully considered account of India, abridged the descriptions of Megasthenês, yet in such a way that they wrote at once in an agreeable style and with strict regard to accuracy. But when Strabo designed not merely to instruct but also to delight his readers, he omitted whatever would be out of place in an entertaining narrative or picturesque description, and avoided above all things aught that would look like a dry list of names. Now though this may not be a fault, still it is not to be denied that those particulars which he has omitted would have very greatly helped our knowledge of Ancient India. Nay, Strabo, in his eagerness to be interesting, has gone so far that the topography of India is almost entirely a blank in his pages.

"Diodorus, however, in applying this principle of composition has exceeded all bounds. For as he did not aim at writing learnedly for the instruction of others, but in a light, amusing style, so as to be read with delight by the multitude, he selected for extract such parts as best suited this purpose. He has therefore omitted not only the most accurate narrations of fact, but also the fables which his readers might consider as incredible, and has been best pleased to describe instead that part of Indian life which to the Greeks would appear singular and diverting. . . . Nevertheless his epitome is not without its value; for although we do not learn much that is new from its contents, still it has the advantage over all the others of being the most coherent, while at the same time it enables us to attribute with certainty an occasional passage to Megasthenês, which without its help we could but conjecture proceeded from his pen.

"Since Strabo, Arrianus, and Diodorus have directed their attention to relate nearly the same things, it has resulted that the greatest part of the *Indika* has been completely lost, and that of many passages, singularly enough, three epitomes are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinius.

"At a great distance from these writers, and especially from Diodorus, stands Plinius: whence it happens that he both differs most from that writer, and also best supplements his epitome. Where the narrative of Strabo and Arrianus is at once pleasing and instructive, and Diodorus charms us with a lively sketch, Pliny gives instead, in the baldest language, an ill-digested enumeration of names. With his usual wonderful diligence he has written this part, but more frequently still he writes with too little care and judgment,—a fact of which we have already seen numerous instances. In a careless way, as is usual, he commends authors, so that if you compared his accounts of Taprobane and the kingdom of the Prasii you would think that he had lived at different periods. He frequently commends Megasthenês, but more frequently seems to transcribe him without acknowledgment."—pp. 56-58.

Indian, since they had originated in an intermixture of tribes, or since they did not sufficiently follow Indian manners, and especially the system of caste, so roused the common hatred of the Indians that they were reckoned in the same category with the barbarians, and represented as equally hideous of aspect. Accordingly in the epic poems we see all Brahmanical India surrounded by races not at all real, but so imaginary that sometimes it cannot be discovered how the fable originated.

"Forms still more wonderful you will find by bestowing a look at the gods of the Indians and their retinue, among whom particularly the attendants of Kuvêra and Kârtikêya are described in such a manner (conf. *Mahâbh.* ix. 2558 *et seq*). that hardly anything which it is possible for the human imagination to invent seems omitted. These, however, the Indians now sufficiently distinguish from the fabulous races, since they neither believe that they live within the borders of India, nor have any intercourse with the human race. These, therefore, the Greeks could not confound with the races of India.

"These races, however, might be more readily confounded with other creatures of the Indian imagination, who held a sort of intermediate place between demons and men, and whose number was legion. For the Râkshasas and other Piśâchas are said to have the same characteristics as the fabulous races, and the only difference between them is that, while a single (evil) attribute only is ascribed to each race, many or all of these are assigned to the Râkshasas and the Piśâchas. Altogether so slight is the distinction between the two that any strict lines of demarcation can hardly be drawn between them. For the Râkshasas, though described as very terrible beings, are nevertheless believed to be human, and both to live on the earth and take part in Indian battles, so that an ordinary Indian could hardly define how the nature of a Râkshasa differs from that of a man. There is scarcely any one thing found to characterize the Râkshasas which is not attributed to some race or other. Therefore, although the Greeks might have heard of these by report,—which cannot be proved for certain,—they could scarcely, by reason of that, have erred in describing the manners of the races according to the Indian conception.

"That reports about these tribes should have reached Greece is not to be wondered at. For fables invented with some glow of poetic fervour have a remarkable facility in gaining a wide currency, which is all the greater in proportion to the boldness displayed in their invention. Those fables also in which the Indians have represented the lower animals as talking to each other have been diffused through almost every country in the world, in a way we cannot understand. Other fables found their way to the Greeks before even the name of India was known to them. In this class some fables even in Homer must be reckoned,—a matter which, before the Vedas were better known, admitted only of probable conjecture, but could not be established by unquestionable proofs. We perceive, moreover, that the further the epic poems of the Greeks depart from their original simplicity the more, for that very reason, do those fables creep into them; while a very liberal use of them is made by the poets of a later age. It would be a great mistake to suppose that those fables only in which India is mentioned proceeded from India; for a fable in becoming current carries along with it the name of the locality in which the scene of it is laid. An example will make this clear. The Indians supposed that towards the north, beyond the Himâlaya, dwelt the Uttarakuri, a people who enjoyed a long and happy life, to whom disease and care were unknown, and who revelled in every delight in a land all paradise. This fable made its way to the West, carrying with it the name of the locality to which it related, and so it came to pass that from the time of Hesiod the Greeks supposed that towards the north lived the Hyperboreans, whose very name was fashioned after some likeness to the Indian name. The reason why the Indians placed the seat of this happy people towards the north is manifest; but there was not the slightest reason which can be discovered why the Greeks should have done so. Nay, the locality assigned to the Hyperboreans is not only out of harmony, but in direct conflict, with that conception of the world which the Greeks entertained.

"The first knowledge of the mythical geography of the Indians dates from this period, when the Greeks were the unconscious recipients of Indian fables. Fresh knowledge was imparted by Skylax, who first gave a description of India; and all writers from the time of Skylax, with not a single exception, mention those fabulous races, but in such a way that they are wont to speak of them as Æthiopians; by doing which they have incurred obloquy and the suspicion of dishonesty, especially Ktêsias. This writer, however, is not at all untruthful when he says, in the conclusion of his *Indika* (33), that 'he omits many of these stories, and others still more marvellous, that he may not appear, to such as have not seen these, to be telling what is incredible;' for he could have described many other fabulous races, as for example men with the heads of tigers (*vyâghramuchâs*), others with the necks of snakes

(*vyalagrívás*), others having horses' heads (*turanga-vadanás, aśvamuchás*), others with feet like dogs (*śvâpadás*), others with four feet (*chatushpadás*), others with three eyes (*trinétrás*), and others with six hundred.

"Nor were the companions of Alexander able to disregard these fables,—in fact, scarcely any of them doubted their truth. For, generally speaking, they were communicated to them by the Brâhmans, whose learning and wisdom they held in the utmost veneration. Why, then, should we be surprised that Megasthenês also, following examples so high and numerous, should have handled those fables? His account of them is to be found in Strabo 711; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 2. 14-22; Solinus 52." (Sch. p. 64.)

Schwanbeck then examines the fables related by Megasthenês, and having shown that they were of Indian origin, thus proceeds (p. 74):—

"The relative veracity of Megasthenês, then, cannot be questioned, for he related truthfully both what he actually saw, and what was told him by others. If we therefore seek to know what reliance is to be placed on any particular narrative, this other point must be considered, how far his informants were worthy of credit. But here no ground for suspicion exists; for on those matters which did not come under his own observation he had his information from those Brâhmaṇs who were the rulers of the state, to whom he again and again appeals as his authorities. Accordingly he was able not only to describe how the kingdom of the Prasii was governed, but also to give an estimate of the power of other nations and the strength of their armies. Hence we cannot wonder that Indian ideas are to be found in the books of Megasthenês mixed up with accounts of what he personally observed and with Greek ideas.

"Therefore to him, as to the companions of Alexander, it cannot be objected that he told too much. That he did not tell too little to give an adequate account of Indian affairs to Greek readers we know. For he has described the country, its soil, climate, animals, and plants, its government and religion, the manners of its people and their arts,—in short, the whole of Indian life from the king to the remotest tribe; and he has scanned every object with a mind sound and unprejudiced, without overlooking even trifling and minute circumstances. If we see any part omitted, a little only said about the religion and gods of the Indians, and nothing at all about their literature, we should reflect that we are not reading his veritable book, but only an epitome and some particular fragments that have survived the wreck of time." (p. 75.)

"Of the slight mistakes into which he fell, some are of that kind into which even the most careful observer may be betrayed, as for instance his incorrectly stating that the Vipâśa pours its waters into the Irâvati. Others had their origin in his misapprehension of the meaning of Indian words; to which head must be referred his assertion that among the Indians laws were not written, but everything decided by memory. Besides he alleges that on those Brâhmaṇs who had thrice erred in making up the calendar silence for the rest of their lives was enjoined as a punishment. This passage, which has not yet been cleared up, I would explain by supposing that he had heard the Indian word *máunin*, a name which is applied both to a taciturn person and to any ascetic. Finally, some errors had their source in this, that he looked at Indian matters from a Greek's point of view, from which it resulted that he did not correctly enumerate the castes, and gave a mistaken account of the Indian gods and other matters.

"Notwithstanding, the work of Megasthenês—in so far as it is a part of Greek literature and of Greek and Roman learning—is, as it were, the culmination of the knowledge which the ancients ever acquired of India: for although the geographical science of the Greeks attained afterwards a perfect form, nevertheless the knowledge of India derived from the books of Megasthenês has only approached perfect accuracy the more closely those who have written after him on India have followed his *Indika*. And it is not only on account of his own merit that Megasthenês is a writer of great importance, but also on this other ground, that while other writers have borrowed a great part of what they relate from him, he exercised a powerful influence on the whole sphere of Latin and Greek scientific knowledge.

"Besides this authority which the *Indika* of Megasthenês holds in Greek literature, his remains have another value, since they hold not the last place among the sources whence we derive our knowledge of Indian antiquity. For as there now exists a knowledge of our own of ancient India, still on some points he increases the knowledge which we have acquired from other sources, even though his narrative not seldom requires to be supplemented and corrected. Notwithstanding, it must be conceded that the new information we have learned from him is neither extremely great in amount nor weight. What is of greater importance than all that is new in what he has told us, is—that he has recalled a picture of the condition of India at a definite period,—a service of all the greater value, because Indian literature, always self-consistent, is wont to leave us in the greatest doubt

if we seek to know what happened at any particular time." (pp. 76, 77).

It is yet an unsettled question whether the *Indika* was written in the Attic or the Ionic dialect.*

FRAGMENT I.,

or an Epitome of Megasthenês.

(Diod. II. 35-42.)

(35.) [1]India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemôdos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile. [2]The extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be 28,000 stadia, and from north to south 32,000. [3]Being thus of such vast extent, it seems well-nigh to embrace the whole of the northern tropic zone of the earth, and in fact at the extreme point of India the gnomon of the sundial may frequently be observed to cast no shadow, while the constellation of the Bear is by night invisible, and in the remotest parts even Arcturus disappears from view. Consistently with this, it is also stated that shadows there fall to the southward.

[4]India has many huge mountains which abound in fruit-trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility—more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. [5]The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts,—beasts of the field and fowls of the air,—of all different degrees of strength and size. [6]It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk, as its soil supplies food in unsparing profusion, making these animals far to exceed in strength those that are bred in Libya. It results also that, since they are caught in great numbers by the Indians and trained for war, they are of great moment in turning the scale of victory.

(36.) [7]The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. [8]And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

[9]In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. [10]The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. [11]For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *bosporum*, as also sesamum and millet—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. [12]The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. [13]The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether

* The following authorities are quoted by Schwanbeck (pp. 23, 24) to show that the *Indika* of Megasthenês was divided into four books:—Athen. IV. p. 153—where the 2nd book is mentioned; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 132 Sylb., where the 3rd book is mentioned; Joseph. *contra Apion*, I. 20, and *Antiq. Jud.* X. xi. 1, where the 4th book is mentioned—cf. G. Syncell. tom. I. p. 419, Bonn. The assignment of the fragments to their respective books was a matter of some difficulty, as the order of their connection varies in different authors.

[1] With Epit. 1, conf. Fragm. ii., iii. (in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V p. 86, c. 2).

[1-2] Conf. Fragm. iv. [3] Conf. Fragm. ix.

[5-9] Conf. Fragm. xi.

it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

[14] But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

(37.) [15] India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable, which, having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier, traverse the level country, and not a few of these, after uniting with each other, fall into the river called the Ganges. [16] Now this river, which at its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the largest-sized elephants. [17] Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king: for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. [18] [Thus Alexander the Macedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai,† as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians, he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.] [19] Another river, about the same size as the Ganges, called the Indus, has its sources, like its rival, in the north, and falling into the ocean forms *on its way* the boundary of India; in its passage through the vast stretch of level country it receives not a few tributary streams which are navigable, the most notable of them being the Hupanis, the Hudaspês, and the Akesinês. Besides these rivers there are a great many others of every description, which permeate the country, and supply water for the nurture of garden vegetables and crops of all sorts. [20] Now to account for the rivers being so numerous, and the supply of water so superabundant, the native philosophers and proficients in natural science advance the following reasons:—They say that the countries which surround India—those of the Skythians and Baktrians, and also of the Âryans—are more elevated than India, so that their waters, agreeably to natural law, flow down together from all sides to the plains beneath, where they gradually saturate the soil with moisture, and generate a multitude of rivers.

[21] A peculiarity is found to exist in one of the rivers of India,—that called the Sillas, which flows from a fountain bearing the same name. It differs from all other rivers in this respect,—that nothing cast into it will float, but everything, strange to say, sinks down to the bottom.

(38.) [22] It is said that India, being of enormous size when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; [23] and moreover that India neither received a colony from abroad, nor sent out a colony to any other nation. [24] The legends further inform us that in primitive times the inhabitants subsisted on such fruits as the earth yielded spontaneously, and were clothed with the skins of the beasts found in the country, as was the case with the Greeks; and that, in like manner *as with them*, the arts and other appliances which improve human life were gradually invented, Necessity herself teaching them to an animal at once docile and furnished not only with hands ready to second all his efforts, but also with reason and a keen intelligence.

[25] The men of greatest learning among the

† Conf. Lassen, *Pentapot.* 1o.
[21] Conf. Fragm. xxi. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 88, c. vi. 2-3.
[15-19] Conf. Fragm. xx. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 87, c. iv. 2-13.
[23] Conf. Fragm. xlvi.

[25] *et seqq.* Conf. Fragm. lvii.

[25-32] Conf. Fragm. l. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 89, c. vii.—"He tells us further," &c. to c. viii.—"on the principle of merit."

Indians tell certain legends, of which it may be proper to give a brief summary.‡ They relate that in the most primitive times, when the people of the country were still living in villages, Dionusos made his appearance coming from the regions lying to the west, and at the head of a considerable army. He overran the whole of India, as there was no great city capable of resisting his arms. [26] The heat, however, having become excessive, and the soldiers of Dionusos being afflicted with a pestilence, the leader, who was remarkable for his sagacity, carried his troops away from the plains up to the hills. There the army, recruited by the cool breezes and the waters that flowed fresh from the fountains, recovered from sickness. [27] The place among the mountains where Dionusos restored his troops to health was called Mêros; from which circumstance, no doubt, the Greeks have transmitted to posterity the legend concerning the god, that Dionusos was bred in *his father's thigh*.§ [28] Having after this turned his attention to the artificial propagation of useful plants, he communicated the secret to the Indians, and taught them the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being. [29] He was, besides, the founder of large cities, which he formed by removing the villages to convenient sites, while he also showed the people how to worship the deity, and introduced laws and courts of justice. [30] Having thus achieved altogether many great and noble works, he was regarded as a deity and gained immortal honours. It is related also of him that he led about with his army a great host of women, and employed, in marshalling his troops for battle, drums and cymbals, as the trumpet had not in his days been invented; [31] and that after reigning over the whole of India for two and fifty years he died of old age, while his sons, succeeding to the government, transmitted the sceptre in unbroken succession to their posterity. [32] At last, after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved, and democratic governments were set up in the cities.

(39.) [33] Such, then, are the traditions regarding Dionusos and his descendants current among the Indians who inhabit the hill-country. [34] They further assert that Heraklês‖ also was born among them. [34] They assign to him, like the Greeks, the club and the lion's skin. He far surpassed other men in personal strength and prowess, and cleared sea and land of evil beasts. [35] Marrying many wives he begot many sons, but one daughter only. The sons having reached man's estate, he divided all India into equal portions for his children, whom he made kings in different parts of his dominions. He provided similarly for his only daughter, whom he reared up and made a queen. [36] He was the founder, also, of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra. He built therein many sumptuous

‡ FRAGM. I. B.

Diod. III. 63.

Concerning Dionusos.

Now some, as I have already said, supposing that there were three individuals of this name, who lived in different ages, assign to each appropriate achievements. They say, then, that the most ancient of them was Indos, and that as the country, with its genial temperature, produced spontaneously the vine-tree in great abundance, he was the first who crushed grapes and discovered the use of the properties of wine. In like manner he ascertained what culture was requisite for figs and other fruit trees, and transmitted this knowledge to after-times; and, in a word, it was he who found out how these fruits should be gathered in, whence also he was called Lênaios. This same Dionusos, however, they call also Katapôgôn, since it is a custom among the Indians to nourish their beards with great care to the very end of their life. Dionusos then, at the head of an army, marched to every part of the world, and taught mankind the planting of the vine, and how to crush grapes in the winepress, whence he was called Lênaios. Having in like manner imparted to all a knowledge of his other inventions, he obtained after his departure from among men immortal honour from those who had benefited by his labours. It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write.

§ μηρός.

[32] Conf. Fragm. li.

[34-38] Conf. Fragm. l. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 89-90, c. viii., from "But that Hercules," &c. to "of his daughter."

‖ Apparently Śiva is meant, though his *many* wives and sons are unknown to Hindu mythology.—ED.

palaces, and settled within its walls a numerous population. The city he fortified with trenches of notable dimensions, which were filled with water introduced from the river. [37] Heraklês, accordingly, after his removal from among men, obtained immortal honour; and his descendants, having reigned for many generations and signalized themselves by great achievements, neither made any expedition beyond the confines of India, nor sent out any colony abroad. [38] At last, however, after many years had gone, most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly until the invasion of the country by Alexander. [39] Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess: for those, *they thought*, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, but allow property to be unevenly distributed.

(40.) The whole population of India is divided into seven castes, of which the *first* is formed by the collective body of the Philosophers,¶ which in point of number is inferior to the other classes, but in point of dignity preëminent over all. For the philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. [41] They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead: for they are *believed* to be most dear to the gods, and to be the most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. [42] To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. [43] Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need. The philosopher who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.

[44] The *second* caste consists of the Husbandmen,* who appear to be far more numerous than the others. Being, moreover, exempted from fighting and other public services, they devote the whole of their time to tillage; nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at work on his land do him any harm, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land, thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. [45] The husbandmen themselves, with their wives and children, live in the country, and entirely avoid going into town. [46] They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

[47] The *third* caste consists of the Neatherds and Shepherds,† and in general of all herdsmen who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. As they apply themselves eagerly and assiduously to this pursuit, they free India from the pests with which it abounds,—all sorts of wild beasts, and birds which devour the seeds sown by the husbandmen.‡

(41.) [48] The *fourth* caste consists of the Artizans.§ Of these some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer.

[49] The *fifth* caste is the Military.‖ It is well

[36] Conf. Fragm. xxv.

¶ Φιλόσοφοι, Strabo, Diod. Σοφισταί, Arr.

[40-53] Conf. Fragm. xxxii. in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 91-92, cc. xi. and xii.

* Γεωργοί, Strab. Arr. Diod.

† Βουκόλοι καὶ ποιμένες καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ νομέες, Diod. Ποιμένες καὶ θηρευταί, Strab. Ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, Arr.

‡ Shepherds and hunters were not a caste of Hindûs, but were probably tribes like the Abhîrs or Ahîrs, Dhangars, &c.—Ed.

§ Τεχνῖται.

‖ Πολεμισταί, Strab. Arr.

organized and equipped for war, holds the second place in point of numbers, and gives itself up to idleness and amusement in the times of peace. The entire force—men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all—are maintained at the king's expense.

[50] The *sixth* caste consists of the Overseers. It is their province to inquire into and superintend all that goes on in India, and make report to the king,¶ or, where there is not a king, to the magistrates.

[51] The *seventh* caste consists of the Councillors and Assessors,—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class, looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members; [52] for from their ranks the advisers of the king are taken, and the treasurers of the state, and the arbiters who settle disputes. The generals of the army also, and the chief magistrates, usually belong to this class.

[53] Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own: for instance, a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artizan a philosopher.*

(42.) [54] India possesses a vast number of huge elephants, which far surpass *those found elsewhere* both in strength and size. This animal does not cover the female in a peculiar way, as some affirm, but like horses and other quadrupeds. [55] The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and at furthest eighteen.† Like mares, they generally bring forth but one young one at a time, which the dam suckles for six years. [56] Most elephants live to be as old as an extremely old man, but the most aged live two hundred years.

[57] Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. [58] The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them. [What we have now said regarding India and its antiquities will suffice for our present purpose.]

BOOK I.

FRAGM. II.

Arr. *Exped. Alex.* V. 6. 2-11.

Of the Boundaries of India, its General Character, and its Rivers.‡

According to Eratosthenês, and Megasthenês who lived with Siburtios the satrap of Arachôsia, and who, as he himself tells us, often visited Sandrakottos§ the king of the Indians, India forms the largest of the four parts into which Southern Asia is divided, while the smallest part is that region which is included between the Euphrates and our own sea. The two remaining parts, which are separated from the others by the Euphrates and the Indus, and lie between these rivers, are scarcely of sufficient size to be compared with India, even should they be taken both together. The same writers say that India is bounded on its eastern side, right onwards to the south, by the great ocean; that its northern frontier is formed by the Kaukasos range as far as the junction of that range with Tauros; and that the boundary towards the west and the north-west, as far as the great ocean, is formed by the river Indus. A considerable portion of India consists of a level plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the river,—inferring this from the fact that in other countries plains which are far away from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, so that in old times a country was even called by the name of its river. As an instance, there is the so-called plain of the Hermos—a river in Asia (Minor), which, flowing from the

¶ Ἔφοροι, Diod. Strab. Ἐπίσκοποι, Arr. Is this the class of officers referred to as sheriffs—*mahâmatra*—in the Aśoka inscriptions? Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 267-8.—ED.

* "It appears strange that Megasthenês should have divided the people of India into seven castes . . . Herodotus, however, had divided the people of Egypt into seven castes, namely priests, soldiers, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and steersmen; and Megasthenês may therefore have taken it for granted that there were seven castes in India. It is a curious fact that, from the time of Alexander's expedition to a comparatively recent date, geographers and others have continually drawn analogies between Egypt and India."—Wheeler's *Hist. of India*, vol. III. p. 192, note [54,56]. Conf. Fragm. xxxvi.

† For some remarks on this point see Blochmann's translation of the *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, p. 118.

‡ Conf. Epit. *ad init.*

§ The name of Chandragupta is written by the Greeks Sandrokottos, Sandrakottas, Sandrakottos, Androkottos, and (best) Sandrokuptos. Cf. Schlegel, *Bibl. Ind.* I. 245.—Schwanbeck, p. 12, n. 6.

Mount of Mother Dindumênê, falls into the sea near the Æolian city of Smyrna. There is also the Lydian plain of the Kaüstros, named after that Lydian river; and another, that of the Kaïkos, in Mysia; and one also in Karia,—that of the Maiandros, which extends even to Miletos, which is an Ionian city. [As for Egypt, both the historians Herodotos and Hekataios (or at any rate the author of the work on Egypt if he was other than Hekataios) alike agree in declaring it to be the gift of the Nile, so that that country was perhaps even called after the river; for in early times Aiguptos was the name of the river which now-a-days both the Egyptians and other nations call the Nile, as the words of Homer clearly prove, when he says that Menelaös stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aiguptos. If, then, there is but a single river in each plain, and these rivers, though by no means large, are capable of forming, as they flow to the sea, much new land, by carrying down silt from the uplands, where their sources are, it would be unreasonable to reject the belief in the case of India that a great part of it is a level plain, and that this plain is formed from the silt deposited by the rivers, seeing that the Hermos, and the Kaüstros, and the Kaïkos, and the Maiandros, and all the many rivers of Asia which fall into the Mediterranean, even if united, would not be fit to be compared in volume of water with an ordinary Indian river, and much less with the greatest of them all, the Ganges, with which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the Danube which flows through Europe, can for a moment be compared. Nay, the whole of these if combined all into one are not equal even to the Indos, which is already a large river where it rises from its fountains, and which after receiving as tributaries fifteen rivers all greater than those of Asia, and bearing off from its rival the honour of giving name to the country, falls at last into the sea.*

FRAGM. III.

Arr. *Indica*, II. 1. 7.

Of the Boundaries of India.†

(For this fragment see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 86, chap. II.)

FRAGM. IV.

Strabo, XV. i. 11,—p. 689.

Of the Boundaries and Extent of India.‡

India is bounded on the north by the extremities of Tauros, and from Ariana to the Eastern Sea by the mountains which are variously called by the natives of these regions Parapamisos, and Hemôdos, and Himaos,§ and other names, but by the Macedonians Kaukasos.|| The boundary on the west is the river Indus, but the southern and eastern sides, which are both much greater than the others, run out into the Atlantic Ocean.¶ The shape of the country is thus rhomboïdal, since each of the greater sides exceeds its opposite side by 3000 stadia, which is the length of the promontory common to the south and the east coast, which projects equally in these two directions. [The length of the western side, measured from the Kaukasian mountains to the southern

* *Strabo*, XV. 1. 32, p. 700.—[All the rivers mentioned (the last of which is the Hupanis) unite in one, the Indus.] They say that fifteen considerable rivers, in all, flow into it.

† Conf. Epit. 1, and for notes on the same see vol. V. p. 330.—ED.

‡ Conf. Epit. 1, 2. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* VI. 21. 2) states that India extends from north to south 28,150 thousand paces. This number, though it is not exactly equal to 22,300 stadia, but to 22,800, nevertheless approaches the number given by Megasthenês nearer than any other. From the numbers which both Arrian (*Ind.* iii. 8) and Strabo (pp. 68-69, 690) give, Diodorus differs remarkably, for he says the breadth extends to 28,000, and the length to 32,000 stadia. It would be rash to deny that Megasthenês may also have indicated the larger numbers of Diodorus, for Arrian (*Ind.* iii. 7-8) adds to the number the words "*where shortest*" and "*where narrowest;*" and Strabo (p. 689) has added to the expression of the breadth the words "*at the shortest,*" and, referring to Megasthenês and Dêimachos, says distinctly "*who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is* 20,000 *stadia, and in others* 30,000 (pp. 68-69). There can be no doubt, however, that Megasthenês regarded the smaller, and Dêimachos the larger number as correct; for the larger seemed to Arrian unworthy of mention, and Strabo (p. 690) says decidedly, "*Megasthenês and Dêimachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the southern sea to Caucasus is over 20,000 stadia: Dêimachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia*"! by which he quite excludes Megasthenês from this opinion. And at p. 72, where he mentions the 30,000 stadia of Dêimachos, he does not say a word of Megasthenês. But it must be certain that 16,000 stadia is the only measure Megasthenês gave of the breadth of India. For not only Strabo (p. 689) and Arrian (*Ind.* iii. 7) have not quoted a larger number from Megasthenês, but Hipparchos also (Strabo, p. 69),—where he shows that Patroklês is unworthy of confidence, because he has given smaller dimensions for India than Megasthenês—only mentions the measure of 16,000 stadia; where, for what Hipparchos wanted, the greatest number was the most suitable for his proof.—I think the numbers were augmented because Megasthenês regarded as Indian, Kabul and that part of Ariana which Chandragupta had taken from Seleukos; and on the north the frontier nations Uttarakuras, which he mentions elsewhere. What Megasthenês said about the breadth of India remained fixed throughout the whole geography of the Greeks, so that not even Ptolemy, who says India extends 16,800 stadia, differs much from it. But his measure of length has either been rejected by all, for fear of opposing the ancient opinion that the torrid zone could not be inhabited, or (like Hipparchus) erroneously carried it much too far to the north.—Schwanbeck, pp. 29, 30, n. 24.

§ Schmieder suggests Ἴμαος in Arrian.

|| *i.e.* The Himâlayas.

¶ The world was anciently regarded as an island surrounded by the Atlantic Sea.

sea along the course of the river Indus to its mouths, is said to be 13,000 stadia, so that the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be somewhere about 16,000 stadia. This is the breadth of India where it is both smallest and greatest.] The length from west to east as far as Palibothra can be stated with greater certainty, for the royal road which leads to that city has been measured by *schoeni*, and is in length 10,000 stadia.* The extent of the parts beyond can only be conjectured from the time taken to make voyages from the sea to Palibothra by the Ganges, and may be about 6000 stadia. The entire length, computed at the shortest, will be 16,000 stadia. This is the estimate of Eratosthenês, who says he derived it principally from the authoritative register of the stages on the Royal Road. Herein Megasthenês agrees with him. [Patroklês, however, makes the length less by 1000 stadia.] Conf. Arr. *Ind.* iii. 1-5.

FRAGM. V.

Strabo, II. i. 7,—p. 69.

Of the Size of India.

Again, Hipparchos, in the 2nd volume of his commentary, charges Eratosthenês himself with throwing discredit on Patroklês for differing from Megasthenês about the length of India on its northern side, Megasthenês making it 16,000 stadia, and Patroklês 1000 less.

FRAGM. VI.

Strabo, XV. i. 12,—pp. 689-690.

Of the Size of India.

[From this, one can readily see how the accounts of the other writers vary from one another. Thus Ktêsias says that India is not of less size than the rest of Asia; Onêsikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world; and Nearchos says it takes one four months to traverse the plain only.] Megasthenês and Dêimachos incline to be more moderate in their estimate, for according to them the distance from the Southern Sea to Kaukasos is over 20,000 stadia.—[Dêimachos, however, allows that the distance in some places exceeds 30,000 stadia. Of these notice has been taken in an earlier part of the work.]

FRAGM. VII.

Strabo, II. i. 4,—pp. 68-69.

Of the Size of India.

Hipparchos controverts this view, urging the futility of the proofs on which it rests. Patroklês, he says, is unworthy of trust, opposed as he is by two competent authorities, Dêimachos and Megasthenês, who state that in some places the distance from the southern sea is 20,000 stadia, and in others 30,000. Such, he says, is the account they give, and it agrees with the ancient charts of the country.

FRAGM. VIII.

Arr. *Indica*, III. 7-8.

Of the Size of India.

With Megasthenês the breadth of India is its extent from east to west, though this is called by others its length. His account is that the breadth at shortest is 16,000 stadia, and its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is at the narrowest 22,300 stadia.

FRAGM. IX.

Strabo, II. i. 19,—p. 76.

Of the setting of the Bear, and shadows falling in contrary directions.†

Again, he [Eratosthenês] wished to show the ignorance of Dêimachos, and his want of a practical knowledge of such subjects, evidenced as it was by his thinking that India lay between the autumnal equinox and the winter tropic, and by his contradicting the assertion of Megasthenês that in the southern parts of India the constellation of the Bear disappeared from view, and shadows fell in opposite directions,‡—phenomena which he assures us are never seen in India, thereby exhibiting the sheerest ignorance. He does not agree in this opinion, but

* All the texts read *δισμυρίων* instead of *μυρίων*. In all the MSS. of Strabo also we read *σχοινίοις*, and in Arrian, who extracts the same passage from Megasthenês, everywhere *σχοίνοις*. Though there is nothing to blame in either lection, yet it is easier to change *σχοίνοις* than *σχοινίοις*, for Strabo may have been surprised to find the Greek *schoenus* in use also in India. The *schoenus*, however, which with Eratosthenês is a measure of 40 stadia (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* XII. 30), coincides precisely with the Indian *yôjana* of four *krôśas*. I do not forget that usually double this length is assigned to the *yôjana*, but also that it is shorter than the Hindus reckon it (*Asiat. Res.* vol. V. p. 105), and also by the Chinese pilgrims (*Foe-koue-ki*, 87-88), and by Megasthenês himself, in Strabo (p. 708, Fragm. xxxiv. 3), from which it seems certain that ten stadia are equal to some Indian measure which cannot be a smaller one than the *krôśa*.—Schw. p. 27, n. 23.

† Conf. Epit. 3.

‡ Conf. Diod. II. 35, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VI. 22. 6. The writers of Alexander's time who affirmed similar things were Nearchos and Onesikritos, and Baeto who exceeded all bounds. Conf. Lassen, *Instit. Ling. Prac.* Append. p. 2.—Schwanb. p. 29.

accuses Dêimachos of ignorance for asserting that the Bears do nowhere in India disappear from sight, nor shadows fall in opposite directions, as Megasthenês supposed.

FRAGM. X.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 22. 6.

Of the Setting of the Bear.

Next [to the Prasii] in the interior are the Monedes and the Suari, to whom belongs Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and in summer to the south, for six months alternately.§ The Bears, Baeton says, in that part of the country are only once visible in the course of the year, and not for more than fifteen days. Megasthenês says that this takes place in many parts of India.

Conf. Solin, 52. 13 :—

Beyond Palibothra is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall in winter towards the north, and in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. The North Pole is visible in that part of the country once in the course of the year, and not for longer than fifteen days, as Baeton informs us, who allows that this occurs in many parts of India.

FRAGM. XI.

Strabo, XV. i. 20,—p. 693.

Of the Fertility of India.||

Megasthenês indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. [Eratosthenês writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, which both have rain: for a year, he says, is never found to be without rain at both those seasons, whence ensues a great abundance, since the soil is always productive. Much fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of tall reeds, are sweet both by nature and by coction, since the moisture by which they are nourished is heated by the rays of the sun, whether it has fallen from the clouds or been drawn from the rivers. Eratosthenês uses here a peculiar expression: for what is called by others the ripening of fruits and the juices of plants is called among the Indians *coction*, which is as effective in producing a good flavour as the coction by fire itself. To the heat of the water the same writer ascribes the wonderful flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels are made, as also the fact of there being trees on which wool grows.¶]

Conf. Eratosth. *ap.* Strabo. XV. i. 13,—p. 690 :—

From the vapours arising from such vast rivers, and from the Etêsian winds, as Eratosthenês states, India is watered by the summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During these rains, accordingly, flax* is sown and millet, also sesamum, rice, and *bosmorum*,† and in the winter time wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits unknown to us.

FRAGM. XII.

Strabo, XV. i. 37,—p. 703.

Of some Wild Beasts of India.

According to Megasthenês the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger led by four men having seized a mule by the hinder leg overpowered it and dragged it to him. [2]The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are white except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition: so that they neither attack man nor steal. [3]Stones are dug up which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey. [4]In some parts of the country there are serpents two cubits long which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard, with putrid sores. There are also winged scorpions of an extraordinary size. [5]Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of

§ "The Mandali would seem to be the same people as the Monedes of Pliny, who with the Suari, occupied the inland country to the south of the Palibothri. As this is the exact position of the country of the Mûndas and Suars, I think it quite certain that they must be the same race as the Monedes and Suari of Pliny. In another passage Pliny mentions the Mandei and Malli as occupying the country between the Calingæ and the Ganges. Amongst the Malli there was a mountain named Mallus, which would seem to be the same as the famous mount Maleus of the Monedes and Suari. I think it highly probable that both names may be intended for the celebrated mount Mandar, to the south of Bhâgulpur, which is fabled to have been used by the gods and demons at the churning of the ocean. The Mandei I would identify with the inhabitants of the Mahânadi river, which is the Manada of Ptolemy. The Malli or Malei would therefore be the same people as Ptolemy's Mandalæ, who occupied the right bank of the Ganges to the south of Palibothra, or they may be the people of the Rajmahâl hills who are called Maler . . . . The Suari of Pliny are the Sabarræ of Ptolemy, and both may be identified with the aboriginal Śavaras or Suars, a wild race of woodcutters who live in the jungles without any fixed habitation."—Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 508-9.

|| Conf. Epit. 5, 9.

¶ Conf. Herod. II. 86. "*Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?*—Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 121.—Falconer.

* λίνον, perhaps the λίνον τὸ ἀπὸ δενδρέων of Arrian.

† βοσμορον—Strabo XV. i. 18.

great strength and courage, which will not let go their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: they bite so eagerly that the eyes of some become distorted, and the eyes of others fall out. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by a dog. The bull was seized by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be taken off.

FRAGM. XIII.‡

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVII. 39. Conf. Frag. XII. 2.

Of Indian Apes.

In the country of the Praxii,§ who are an Indian people, Megasthenês says there are apes not inferior in size to the largest dogs. They have tails five cubits long, hair grows on their forehead, and they have luxuriant beards hanging down their breast. Their face is entirely white, and all the rest of the body black. They are tame and attached to man, and not malicious by nature like the apes of other countries.

FRAGM. XIV.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 41. Conf. Fragm. XII. 4.

Of Winged Scorpions and Serpents.

Megasthenês says there are winged scorpions in India of enormous size, which sting Europeans and natives alike. There are also serpents which are likewise winged. These do not go abroad during the day, but by night, when they let fall urine, which if it lights upon any one's skin at once raises putrid sores thereon. Such is the statement of Megasthenês.

FRAGM. XV.

Strabo, XV. i. 56,—pp. 710-711.

Of the Beasts of India, and the Reed.

He (Megasthenês) says there are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers. [2]Most animals, he says, which are tame with us are wild in India, and he speaks of horses which are one-horned and have heads like those of deer; [3]and also of reeds some of which grow straight up to the height of thirty *orguiæ*,|| while others grow along the ground to the length of fifty. They vary in thickness from three to six cubits in diameter.

FRAGM. XV.B.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 20. 21. Conf. Fragm. XV. 2. 1.

Of some Beasts of India.

(20.) In certain districts of India (I speak of those which are most inland) they say there are inaccessible mountains infested by wild beasts, and which are also the haunts of animals like those of our own country except that they are wild; for even sheep, they say, run wild there, as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure, being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsman. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India, but also by the learned men of the country, among whom the Brachmans deserve to be reckoned, whose testimony is to the same effect. It is also said that there exists in India a one-horned animal, called by the natives the *Kartazôn*. It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest, and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless and formed like those of the elephant, and it has a tail like a swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black colour. It is said to be extremely sharp, this horn. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example loud-ringing and dissonant. It allows

‡ FRAGM. XIII. *B.*

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 10.

Of Indian Apes.

Among the Prasii in India there is found, they say, a species of apes of human-like intelligence, and which are to appearance about the size of Hurkanian dogs. Nature has furnished them with forelocks, which one ignorant of the reality would take to be artificial. Their chin, like that of a satyr, turns upward, and their tail is like the potent one of the lion. Their body is white all over except the face and the tip of the tail, which are of a reddish colour. They are very intelligent, and naturally tame. They are bred in the woods, where also they live, subsisting on the fruits which they find growing wild on the hills. They resort in great numbers to the suburbs of Latage, an Indian city, where they eat rice which has been laid down for them by the king's orders. In fact, every day a ready-prepared meal is set out for their use. It is said that when they have satisfied their appetite they retire in an orderly manner to their haunts in the woods, without injuring a single thing that comes in their way.

§ The *Prâchyas* (*i.e.* Easterns) are called by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny Πράσιοι, *Prsaii*; by Plutarch (*Alex.* 62) Πραίσιοι, a name often used by Ælian also; by Nikolaüs Damas. (ap. Stob. *Floril.* 37, 38) Πραΰσιοι; by Diodorus (xvii. 93) Βρήσιοι; by Curtius (IX. 2, 3) *Pharrasii*; by Justin (xii. 8, 9) *Præsides*. Megasthenês attempted to approximate more closely to the Sanskrit *Prâchya*, for here he uses Πραξιακός. And it appears that Πράξιοι should be substituted for Πράσιοι in Stephan. Byzant., since it comes between the words Πράξιλος and Πρασ.—Schwanbeck, p. 82, not. 6.

|| The *orguia* was four cubits, or equal to 6 feet 1 inch.

FRAGM. XVI.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VIII. 14. 1.

Of the Boa-Constrictor.

According to Megasthenês, serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole.

Solinus, 52. 33.

So huge are the serpents that they swallow stags whole, and other animals of equal size.

FRAGM. XVII.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* VIII. 7.

Of the Electric Eel.

I learn from Megasthenês that there is in the Indian Sea a small kind of fish which is never seen when alive, as it always swims in deep water, and only floats on the surface after it is dead. Should any one touch it he becomes faint and swoons,—nay, even dies at last.

FRAGM. XVIII.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 24. 1.

Of Taprobane.¶

Megasthenês says that Taprobane is separated *from the mainland* by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi,* and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India.

Solin. 53. 3.

Taprobane is separated *from India* by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and man claims the other part.

FRAGM. XIX.

Antigon. Caryst. 647.

Of Marine Trees.

Megasthenês, the author of the *Indika*, mentions that trees grow in the Indian Sea.

other animals to approach it, and is good-natured *towards them*, though they say that with its congeners it is rather quarrelsome. The males are reported to have a natural propensity not only to fight among themselves, by butting with their horns, but to display a like animosity against the female, and to be so obstinate in their quarrels that they will not desist till a worsted rival is killed outright. But, again, not only is every member of the body of this animal endued with great strength, but such is the potency of its horn that nothing can withstand it. It loves to feed in secluded pastures, and wanders about alone, but at the rutting season it seeks the society of the female, and is then gentle towards her,—nay, the two even feed in company. The season being over and the female pregnant, the Indian *Kartazôn* again becomes ferocious and seeks solitude. The foals, it is said, are taken when quite young to the king of the Prasii, and are set to fight each other at the great public spectacles. No full-grown specimen is remembered to have ever been caught.

(21.) The traveller who crosses the mountains which skirt that frontier of India which is most inland meets, they say, with ravines which are clothed with very dense jungle, in a district called by the Indians Korouda.† These ravines are said to be the haunts of a peculiar kind of animal shaped like a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's, depending from its rump. If these creatures are left unmolested, they keep within the coppices living on the wild fruits; but should they hear the hunter's halloo and the baying of the hounds they dart up the precipices with incredible speed, for they are habituated to climbing the mountains. They defend themselves by rolling down stones on their assailants, which often kill those they hit. The most difficult to catch are those which roll the stones. Some are said to have been brought, though with difficulty and after long intervals, to the Prasii, but these were either suffering from diseases or were females heavy with young, the former being too weak to escape, and the latter being impeded by the burden of the womb.—Conf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VII. 2. 17.

¶ This island has been known by many names :—

1. Lanka.—The only name it goes by in Sanskṛit, and quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

2. Simundu or Palesimundu.—Probably a Greek form of the Sanskrit *Pâli-Simanta.* This name had gone out of use before the time of Ptolemy the Geographer.

3. Taprobane.—Supposed to represent the Sanskrit Tâmraparṇi ('red-leaved' or 'copper-coloured sand'), a slightly altered form of the Pâli Tambapaññî, which is found in the inscription of Aśoka on the Gîrnâr rock. Vide *ante*, vol. V. p. 272.

4. Salice (perhaps properly Saline), Serendivus, Sirlediba, Serendib, Zeilan, Ceylon. These are all considered to be derivatives from Siñala, the Pâli form of Siñhala, 'the abode of lions.' The affix *dib* represents the Sanskrit *dvîpa*, 'an island.'

* Lassen has tried to account for the name Palaiogonoi thus (*Dissert. de insula Taprob.* p. 9):—"We must suppose that Megasthenês was acquainted with the Indian myth that the first inhabitants of the island were said to have been Râkshasas or giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, whom he might not inaptly call Palaiogonoi." Against this it may be remarked that, by this unusual term and so uncommon, Megasthenês meant to name the nation, not describe it; and next that Megasthenês is not in the habit of translating names, but of rendering them according to sound with some degree of paronomasia; lastly, that, shortly after, we find the name of Taprobane and of its capital Παλαισιμούνδος, quite like to Παλαιόγονοι. Accordingly as Lassen explains Παλαισιμούνδὸς, the name of the capital, by the Sanskrit *Pâli-simânta* ('head of the sacred doctrine'), I would also prefer to explain the name of the Palaiogonoi from the Sanskrit *Pâli-janâs* (*i.e.* 'men of the sacred doctrine').—Schwanbeck, p. 38, n. 35.

† V. L. Κόλουνδα.

Fragm. XX.

Arr. *Ind.* 4. 2-13.

Of the Indus and the Ganges.‡

See translation of this in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 86-87.

Fragm. XXI.

Arr. *Ind.* 6. 2-3.

Of the River Silas.§

For translation see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 88.

Fragm. XXII.

Boissonade, *Anecd. Græc.* I. p. 419.

Of the River Silas.

There is in India a river called the Silas, named after the fountain from which it flows, on which nothing will float that is thrown into it, but everything sinks to the bottom, contrary to the usual law.

Fragm. XXIII.

Strabo, XV. i. 38,—p. 703.

Of the River Silas.

(Megasthenês says) that in the mountainous country is a river, the Silas, on the waters of which nothing will float. Dêmokritos, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, and so does Aristotle.

Fragm. XXIV.

Arr. *Ind.* 5. 2.

Of the Number of Indian Rivers.

For translation see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 87.

Fragm. XX.B.

Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* VI. 21. 9—22. 1.

The Prinas|| and the Cainas (a tributary of the Ganges) are both navigable rivers. The tribes which dwell by the Ganges are the Calingæ,¶ nearest the sea, and higher up the Mandei, also the Malli, among whom is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that region being the Ganges. Some have asserted that this river, like the Nile, rises from unknown sources, and in a similar way waters the country it flows through, while others trace its source to the Skythian mountains. Nineteen rivers are said to flow into it, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates,* Erannoboas, Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. According to other accounts, it bursts at once with thundering roar from its fountain, and tumbling down a steep and rocky channel lodges in a lake as soon as it reaches the level plain, whence it issues forth with a gentle current, being nowhere less than eight miles broad, while its mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty fathoms.†

Solin. 52. 6-7.

In India the largest rivers are the Ganges and the Indus,—the Ganges, as some maintain, rising from uncertain sources, and, like the Nile, overflowing its banks; while others think that it rises in the Skythian mountains. In India there is also the Hupanis, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars set up on its banks testify.‡ The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and the greatest twenty. Its depth where least is fully one hundred feet.

Conf. Fragm. XXV. 1.

Some say that the least breadth is thirty stadia, but others only three; while Megasthenês says that the mean breadth is a hundred stadia, and its least depth twenty orguiæ.

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‡ Conf. Epit. 15-19, and Notes on Arrian, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 331, 332.

§ Strab. 703, Diod. II. 37, and afterwards an anonymous writer whom Ruhnken (*ad Callimach. fragm.* p. 448) has praised, and whose account may be read in Boisson. *Anecd. Græc.* I. 419. The name is written Σίλλας in Diodorus, in Strabo Σιλίας, but best Σίλας, in the epitome of Strabo and in the *Anecd. Græc.* Bähr, 369, has collected the passages from Ktêsias. Lassen has also illustrated this fable (*Zeitschrift.* II. 63) from Indian literature:—"The Indians think that the river Silas is in the north, that it petrifies everything plunged in it, whence everything sinks and nothing swims." (Conf. *Mahâbhâr.* II. 1858.) Śilâ means 'a stone.'—Schw. p. 37, n. 32.

|| V. L. Pumas.

¶ A great and widely diffused tribe settled mainly between the Mahânadî and the Godâvarî. Their capital was Partualis (called by Ptolemy Kalligra), on the Mahânadî, higher up than the site of Katak. The name is preserved in Koringa, a great port at the mouth of the Godâvarî.

* V. LL. Canucam, Vamam.

† "The Bhâgîratî (which we shall here regard as the true Ganges) first comes to light near Gangotrî, in the territory of Garhwâl, in lat. 30° 54′, long. 79° 7″, issuing from under a very low arch, at the base of a great snow-bed, estimated to be 300 feet thick, which lies between the lofty mountains termed St. Patrick, St. George, and the Pyramid, the two higher having elevations above the sea, respectively, of 22,798 and 22,654 feet, and the other, on the opposite side, having an elevation of 21,379. From the brow of this curious wall of snow, and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and hoary icicles depend. They are formed by the freezing of the melted snow-water at the top of the bed; for in the middle of the day the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action falls over this place in cascade, but is frozen at night . . . . At Sûkhî the river may be said to break though the 'Himâlaya Proper,' and the elevation of the waterway is here 7,608 feet. At Devprâg it is joined on the left side by the Alaknanda. . . . . From Devprâg the united stream is now called the Ganges . . . . . Its descent by the Dehra Dûn is rather rapid to Haridwâr . . . . sometimes called Gangâdwâra, or 'the gate of the Ganges,' being situate on its western or right bank at the southern base of the Sivâlik range, here intersected by a ravine or gorge by which the river, finally leaving the mountainous region, commences its course over the plains of Hindustân. The breadth of the river in the rainy season. . is represented to be a full mile."—*Thornton.*

‡ The same as the Huphasis or Satlej.

BOOK II.

FRAGM. XXV.

Strab. XV. i. 35. 36,—p. 702.

Of the city Pataliputra.§

According to Megasthenês the mean breadth (of the Ganges) is 100 stadia, and its least depth 20 fathoms. At the meeting of this river and another is situated Palibothra, a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is girded with a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this city is situated is the most distinguished in all India, and is called the Prasii. The king, in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrakottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenês was sent on an embassy. [This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakai, though each has his own peculiar name, as Orodês, Phraatês, or some other.]

Then follow these words:—

All the country beyond the Hupanis is allowed to be very fertile, but little is accurately known regarding it. Partly from ignorance and the remoteness of its situation, everything about it is exaggerated or represented as marvellous: for instance, there are the stories of the gold-digging ants, of animals and men of peculiar shapes, and possessing wonderful faculties; as the Sêres, who, they say, are so long-lived that they attain an age beyond that of two hundred years.|| They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

According to Megasthenês the largest tigers are found in the country of the Prasii, &c. (Cf. Fragm. XII.)

FRAGM. XXVI.

Arr. *Ind.* 10.

Of Pataliputra and the Manners of the Indians.

It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenês informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

FRAGM. XXVII.

Strab. XV. i. 53-56,—pp. 709-10.

Of the Manners of the Indians.

The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenês says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmæ, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory. They live, nevertheless, happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at

§ Conf. *Epit.* 36.

|| This was not the name of any particular nation, but was vaguely used to designate the inhabitants of the region producing silk, of which *Sêr* is the name in Chinese and in Japanese. The general opinion places this region (Sêrica) in Eastern Mongolia and the north-east of China, but it has also been sought for in Eastern Turkestân, in the Himâlaya towards the sonrces of the Ganges, in Assam, and even in Pegu. The name is first met with in Ktêsias.

sacrifices.¶ Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage.* The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense; but other things they do which one cannot approve: for instance, that they eat always alone, and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.

Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the skin. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly. In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom. They marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen. Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children. The wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste. No one wears a crown at a sacrifice or libation, and they do not stab the victim, but strangle it, so that nothing mutilated, but only what is entire, may be presented to the deity.

A person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artizan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death. The same writer says that none of the Indians employ slaves; [but Onesikritos says that this was peculiar to that part of the country over which Musikanos ruled.]†

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents.‡ The guards and the rest of the soldiery attend outside the gates. A woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and by night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time, with a view to defeat plots against his life.§

The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but also for the purpose of judging causes. He then remains in court for the whole day, without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the hour arrives when he must needs attend to his person,—that is, when he is to be rubbed with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding. Another purpose for which he leaves his palace is to offer sacrifice; a third is to go to the chase, for which he departs in Bacchanalian fashion. Crowds of women surround him, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man and woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women, some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.‖

[These customs are very strange when compared with our own, but the following are still more so;] for Megasthenês states that the

¶ This wine was probably Soma juice.

* Curry and rice, no doubt.

† His kingdom lay in Sindhu, along the banks of the Indus, and his capital was probably near Bakkar.

‡ This was not unknown in native courts of later times. Conf. Idrisi's account of the Balhara king.

§ "The present king of Ava, who evidently belongs to the Indo-Chinese type, although he claims a Kshatriya origin, leads a life of seclusion very similar to that of Sandrokottos. He changes his bedroom every night, as a safeguard against sudden treachery." (Wheeler's *Hist. of India*, vol. III. p. 182, note.)

‖ In the drama of *Sakuntalâ*, Râja Dushyanta is represented as attended in the chase by Yavana women, with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers.

tribes inhabiting the Kaukasos have intercourse with women in public, and eat the bodies of their relatives,¶ and that there are monkeys which roll down stones, &c. (*Fragm. XV. follows, and then Fragm. XXIX.*)

FRAGM. XXIX.*

Strab. XV. i. 57,—p. 711.

Of fabulous tribes.

But deviating into fables he says there are men five spans and even three spans in height, some of whom want the nose, having only two orifices above the mouth through which they breathe. [2] Against the men of three spans, war, as Homer has sung, is waged by the cranes, and also by partridges, which are as large as geese.† These people collect and destroy the eggs of the cranes, for it is in their country the cranes lay their eggs, and thus the eggs and the young cranes are not to be found anywhere else. Frequently a crane escapes having the brazen point of a weapon *in its body*, from wounds received in that country. [3] Equally absurd is the account given of the Enôtokoitai,‡ of the wild men, and of other monsters. [4] The wild men could not be brought to Sandrakottos, for they refused to take food and died. Their heels are in front, and the instep and toes are turned backwards.§ [5] Some were brought *to the court* who had no mouths and were tame. They dwell near the sources of the Ganges, and subsist on the savour of roasted flesh and the perfumes of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths

FRAGM. XXVII. B.

Ælian. *V. L.* iv. 1.

The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities. Conf. Suid. *V.* Ινδοι.

FRAGM. XXVII. C.

Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. *Serm.* 42.

Among the Indians one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself *for trusting a rogue.*

FRAGM. XXVIII.

Athen. iv. p. 153.

Of the Suppers of the Indians.

Megasthenês, in the second book of his *Indika*, says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts.

FRAGM. XXVII. D.

Nicol. Damasc. 44; Stob. *Serm.* 42.

He who causes an artisan to lose his eye or his hand is put to death. If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous.

¶ Herodotus (bk. iii. 38, 99, 101) has noted the existence of both practices among certain Indian tribes.

* Cf. Strab. II. i. 9,—p. 70:—Dêimachos and Megasthenês are especially unworthy of credit. It is they who tell those stories about the men who sleep in their ears, the men without mouths, the men without nostrils, the men with one eye, the men with long legs, and the men with their toes turned backward. They renewed Homer's fable about the battle between the Cranes and the Pygmies, asserting that the latter were three spans in height. They told of the ants that dig for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, and of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all,—the one author meanwhile accusing the other of falsehood, as Eratosthenês has remarked.

† Ktêsias in his *Indika* mentions Pygmies as belonging to India. The Indians themselves considered them as belonging to the race of the Kirâtæ, a barbarous people who inhabited woods and mountains and lived by hunting, and who were so diminutive that their name became a synonym for dwarf. They were thought to fight with vultures and eagles. As they were of Mongolian origin, the Indians represented them with the distinctive features of that race, but with their repulsiveness exaggerated. Hence Megasthenês spoke of the Amuktêres, men without noses, who had merely breathing-holes above the mouth. The Kirâtæ are no doubt identical with the Scyrites (V. L. Syrictes) of Plinius and the Kirrhadai of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi.*

‡ The Enôtokoitai are called in Sanskrit *Karṇaprâvaramâs,* and are frequently referred to in the great epic poems—*e.g. Mahâbh.* II. 1170, 1875. The opinion was universally prevalent among the Indians that barbarous tribes had large ears: thus not only are the *Karṇaprâvaramâs* mentioned, but also *Karṇikâs, Lambakarṇâs, Mahâkarṇâs* (*i.e.* long or large eared), *Ushṭrakarṇâs* (*i.e.* camel-eared), *Oshṭhakarṇâs* (*i.e.* having the ears close to the lips), *Pâṇikarṇâs* (*i.e.* having hands for ears). Schwanb. 66. "It is easy," says Wheeler (*Hist. Ind.* vol. III. p. 179), "for any one conversant with India to point out the origin of many of the so-called fables. The ants are not as big as foxes, but they are very extraordinary excavators. The stories of men pulling up trees, and using them as clubs, are common enough in the *Mahâbhârata*, especially in the legends of the exploits of Bhîma. Men do not have ears hanging down to their feet, but both men and women will occasionally elongate their ears after a very extraordinary fashion by thrusting articles through the lobe. . . . If there was one story more than another which excited the wrath of Strabo, it was that of a people whose ears hung down to their feet. Yet the story is still current in Hindustân. Bâbu Johari Dâs says:—'An old woman once told me that her husband, a sepoy in the British army, had seen a people who slept on one ear, and covered themselves with the other.' (*Domestic Manners and Customs of the Hindus*, Banâras, 1860.)" The story may be referred to the Himâlayas. Fitch, who travelled in India about 1585, says that a people in Bhutân had ears a span long."

§ These wild men are mentioned both by Ktêsias and Baeto. They were called Antipodes on account of the peculiar structure of their foot, and were reckoned among Æthiopian races, though they are often referred to in the Indian epics under the name *Paśchâdangulajas*, of which the ὀπισθοδάκτυλοι of Megasthenês is an exact translation. *Vide* Schwanb. 68.

orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed with things of evil smell, and [6] hence it is with difficulty they keep their hold on life, especially in a camp. Referring to the other monstrosities, the philosophers told him of the Okupedes, a people who in running could leave the horse behind:‖ [7] of the Enotokoitai, who had ears reaching down to their feet, so that they could sleep in them, and were so strong that they could pull up trees and break a bowstring. [8] Of others the Monommatoi, who have the ears of a dog, their one eye set in the middle of their forehead, the hair standing erect, and their breasts shaggy; ¶ of the Amuktêres, also a people without nostrils, who devour everything, eat raw meat, and are short-lived, and die before old age supervenes.* The upper part of the mouth protrudes far over the lower lip. [9] With regard to the Hyperboreans, who live a thousand years, they give the same account as Simonidês, Pindaros, and other mythological writers.† [10] The story told by Timagenês, that showers fall of drops of copper, which are swept together, is a fable. [11] Megasthenês states—what is more open to belief, since the same is the case in Iberia‡—that the rivers carry down gold dust, and that a part of this is paid by way of tribute to the king.

‖ 'Okupedes' is a transliteration into Greek, with a slight change, of the Sanskrit *Êkapadas*, ('having one foot'), the name of a tribe of the Kirâtæ noted for swiftness of foot, the quality indicated by the Greek term. The Monopodes are mentioned by Ktêsias, who confounded them with the Skiapodes, the men who covered themselves with the shadow of their foot.

¶ What Megasthenês here mentions as the characteristics of a single tribe are by the Indians attributed to several. The one-eyed men they are wont to call *êkâkshâs* or *ekanlo-chanâs*—the men with hair standing erect, *urdhvakeśa*. Indian *Cyclôpes* even are mentioned under the name of *Lalâṭâkshas*, *i.e.* having one eye in the forehead: *vide* Schwanb. 70.

* "That the *Astomi* are mentioned in the Indian books we cannot show so well as in the case of the Amuktêres, whom Megasthenês describes as *παμφάγους, ὠμοφάγους, ὀλιγοχρονιόυς*. Nevertheless the very words of the description are a proof that he followed the narratives of the Indians, for the words *Παμφάγος*, &c. by which he has described the Amuktêres, are very rarely used in Greek, and are translations of Indian words." Schwanb. 69.

† Pindar, who locates the Hyperboreans somewhere about the mouths of the Ister, thus sings of them:—

"But who with venturous course through wave or waste;
To Hyperborean haunts and wilds untraced
E'er found his wondrous way?
There Perseus pressed amain,
And 'midst the feast entered their strange abode,
Where hecatombs of asses slain
To soothe the radiant god
Astounded he beheld. Their rude solemnities,
Their barbarous shouts, Apollo's heart delight:
Laughing the rampant brute he sees
Insult the solemn rite.
Still their sights, their customs strange,
Scare not the 'Muse,' while all around
The dancing virgins range,
And melting lyres and piercing pipes resound.
With braids of golden bays entwined
Their soft resplendent locks they bind,
And feast in bliss the genial hour:
Nor foul disease, nor wasting age,
Visit the sacred race; nor wars they wage,
Nor toil for wealth or power."

(10th Pythian ode, ll. 46 to 69, A. Moore's metrical version.)

Megasthenês had the penetration to perceive that the Greek fable of the Hyperboreans had an Indian source in the fables regarding the *Uttarakurus*. This word means literally the 'Kuru of the North.' "The historic origin," says P. V. de Saint-Martin, "of the Sanskrit appellation *Uttarakuru* is unknown, but its acceptation never varies. In all the documents of Upavedic literature, in the great poems, in the Purânas,—wherever, in short, the word is found,—it pertains to the domain of poetic and mythological geography. Uttarakuru is situated in the uttermost regions of the north at the foot of the mountains which surround Mount Mêru, far beyond the habitable world. It is the abode of demigods and holy Rishis whose lives extend to several thousands of years. All access to it is forbidden to mortals. Like the Hyperborean region of Western mythologists, this too enjoys the happy privilege of an eternal spring, equally exempt from excess of cold and excess of heat, and there the sorrows of the soul and the pains of the body are alike unknown. . . . It is clear enough that this land of the blest is not of our world.

"In their intercourse with the Indians after the expedition of Alexander, the Greeks became acquainted with these fictions of Brâhmanic poetry, as well as with a good many other stories which made them look upon India as a land of prodigies. Megasthenês, like Ktêsias before him, had collected a great number of such stories, and either from his memoirs or from contemporary narratives, such as that of Deimachos, the fable of the Uttarakurus had spread to the West, since, from what Pliny tells us (vi. 17, p. 316) one Amômêtus had composed a treatise regarding them analogous to that of Hecatæus regarding the Hyperboreans. It is certainly from this treatise of Amômêtus that Pliny borrows the two lines which he devotes to his Attacoræ, 'that a girdle of mountains warmed with the sun sheltered them from the blasts of noxious winds, and that they enjoyed, like the Hyperboreans, an eternal spring.' 'Gens hominum Attacorum, apricis ab omni noxio afflatu seclusa collibus, eadem, qua Hyperborei degunt, temperie.' (Plin. *loc. cit.* Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6, 64.) Wagner transfers this description to the Sêres in general, (of whom the *Attacoræ* of Pliny form part), and some modern critics (Mannert, vol. IV. p. 250, 1875; *Forbiger Handb. der alten Geogr.* vol. II. p. 472, 1844) have believed they could see in it a reference to the great wall of China.) We see from a host of examples besides this, that the poetic fables and popular legends of India had taken, in passing into the Greek narratives, an appearance of reality, and a sort of historical consistency." (*Etude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, pp. 413-414.) The same author (p. 412) says, "Among the peoples of Sêrica, Ptolemy reckons the *Ottorocorrhæ*, a name which in Pliny is written Attacoræ, and which Ammianus Marcellinus, who copies Ptolemy, distorts into Opurocarra. There is no difficulty in recognizing under this name the Uttarakuru of Sanskrit books."

Schwanbeck (p. 70) quotes Lassen, who writes somewhat to the same effect:—"Uttarakuru is a part of Sêrica, and as the first accounts of India came to the West from the Sêres, perhaps a part of the description of the peaceful happy life of the Sêres is to be explained from the Indian stories of the Uttarakuru. The story of the long life of the Sêres may be similarly explained, especially when Megasthenês reckons the life attained by the Hyperboreans at 1000 years. The *Mahâbhârata* (VI. 264) says that the Uttarakurus live 1000 or 10,000 years. We conclude from this that Megasthenês also wrote of the Uttarakurus, and that he not improperly rendered their name by that of the Hyperboreans."—*Zeitschr.* II. 67.

‡ Not Spain, but the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian, now called Georgia.

Fragm. XXX.

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VII. ii. 14-22.

Of fabulous races.

According to Megasthenês, on a mountain called Nulo § there live men whose feet are turned backward, and who have eight toes on each foot; [2] while on many of the mountains there lives a race of men having heads like those of dogs, who are clothed with the skins of wild beasts, whose speech is barking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling.|| [[2b] Ktêsias asserts on his own authority that the number of these men was upwards of 120,000, and that there is a race in India whose females bear offspring but once in the course of their life, and that their children become at once grey-haired.]

. . . .

[3] Megasthenês speaks of a race of men among the Nomadic Indians who instead of nostrils have merely orifices, whose legs are contorted like snakes, and who are called Scyritæ. He speaks also of a race living on the very confines of India on the east, near the source of the Ganges, the Astomi, who have no mouth; who cover their body, which is all over hairy, with the soft down found upon the leaves of trees; and who live merely by breathing, and the perfume inhaled by the nostrils. They eat nothing, and they drink nothing. They require merely a variety of odours of roots and of flowers and of wild apples. The apples they carry with them when they go on a distant journey, that they may always have something to smell. Too strong an odour would readily kill them.

[4] Beyond the Astomi, in the remotest part of the mountains, the Trispithami and the Pygmies are said to have their abode. They are each three spans in height—that is, not more than seven-and-twenty inches. Their climate is salubrious and they enjoy a perpetual spring, under shelter of a barrier of mountains which rise on the north. They are the same whom Homer mentions as being harassed by the attacks of the cranes. [5] The story about them is—that mounted on the backs of rams and goats, and equipped with arrows, they march down in spring-time all in a body to the sea, and destroy the eggs and the young of these birds. It takes them always three months to finish this yearly campaign, and were it not undertaken they could not defend themselves against the vast flocks of subsequent years. Their huts are made of clay and feathers and egg-shells. [Aristotle says that they live in caves, but otherwise he gives the same account of them as others.]. . . .

[[5b] From Ktêsias we learn that there is a people belonging to this race, which is called Pandorê and settled in the valleys, who live two hundred years, having in youth hoary hair, which in old age turns black. On the other hand, others do not live beyond the age of forty,—nearly related to the Macrobii, whose women bear offspring but once. Agatharchidês says the same of them, adding that they subsist on locusts, and are swift of foot.] [6] Clitarchus and Megasthenês call them Mandi,¶ and reckon the number of their villages at three hundred. The females bear children at the age of seven, and are old women at forty.*

Fragm. XXXI.

Plutarch, *de facie in orbe lunæ.* (Opp. ed. Reisk, tom. ix. p. 701.)

Of the race of men without mouths.†

For how could one find growing there that Indian root which Megasthenês says a race of men who neither eat nor drink, and in fact have not even mouths, set on fire and burn like incense, in order to sustain their existence with its odorous fumes, unless it received moisture from the moon?

Fragm. XXX.B.

Solin. 52. 26-30.

Near a mountain which is called Nulo there live men whose feet are turned backwards and have eight toes on each foot. Megasthenês writes that on different mountains in India there are tribes of men with dog-shaped heads, armed with claws, clothed with skins, who speak not in the accents of human language, but only bark, and have fierce grinning jaws. [In Ktêsias we read that in some parts the females bear offspring but once, and that the children are white-haired from their birth, &c.] . . . .

Those who live near the source of the Ganges, requiring nothing in the shape of food, subsist on the odour of wild apples, and when they go on a long journey they carry these with them for safety of their life, which they can support by inhaling their perfume. Should they inhale very foul air, death is inevitable.

§ V. L. Nullo.

|| Called by Ktêsias Κυνοκέφαλοι, and in Sanskrit *Śunamuchâs* or *Śvâmuchâs*.

¶ Possibly we should read Pândai, unless perhaps Megasthenês referred to the inhabitants of Mount Mandara.

* Conf. Fragm. L. 21, LI.

† Conf. Fragm. XXIX. 5, XXX. 3.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from p. 94.*)

I propose henceforth to transcribe the original texts of my inscriptions into Roman characters. The system of transliteration to be followed is this:—

Sanskrit.	Canarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a
आ	ಆ	â
इ	ಇ	i
ई	ಈ	î
उ	ಉ	u
ऊ	ಊ	û
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî
ऌ	—	ḷi
—	ಎ	e
ए	ಏ	ê
ऐ	ಐ	ai
—	ಒ	o
ओ	ಓ	ô
औ	ಔ	au
ः, *Visarga.*	ಃ	ḥ
ᳵ, *Jihvâmûlîya*, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्.	—	h
ᳶ, *Upadhmânîya*, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्.	—	h̤
ं, *Anusvâra.*	ಂ	ṁ
ँ, *Anunâsikâ.*	—	m̐
क	ಕ	ka
ख	ಖ	kha
ग	ಗ	ga
घ	ಘ	gha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa
च	ಚ	cha
छ	ಛ	chha
ज	ಜ	ja
झ	ಝ	jha
ञ	ಞ	ña
ट	ಟ	ṭa
ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ड	ಡ	ḍa
ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ण	ಣ	ṇa
त	ತ	ta
थ	ಥ	tha
द	ದ	da
ध	ಧ	dha
न	ನ	na
प	ಪ	pa
फ	ಫ	pha
ब	ಬ	ba
भ	ಭ	bha
म	ಮ	ma
य	ಯ	ya
र	ರ	ra
—	ಱ	r̤a
ल	ಲ	la
ळ	ಳ	ḷa
—	ೞ	l̤a
व	ವ	va
श	ಶ	śa
ष	ಷ	sha
स	ಸ	sa
ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen will be used to separate bases in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line.

A double hyphen will be used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the rules of *Saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it will be understood that a final consonant and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it will be understood of the orthography of the original,—1, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *Virâma* attached to it;—and 2, that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form.

On the subject of the *Virâma*, I have to remark that it is expressed in two ways in the Old Canarese alphabet, as it stood when fully developed from the Cave-alphabet:—1, less commonly, by a slight modification of one of the forms of the

vowel *e* or *ê* as written above a preceding consonant. Compare, for instance, in the facsimile plate of No. I. of this series*, the form of the vowel *ê* in *kâḷê kâḷê*, l.20, and in *sarvvân=êtân*, and *pârtthivêndrân*, l. 21, with the sign for the *Virâma* attached to the final *n* twice in *êtân* and *pârtthivêndrân*, l. 21; and compare, in the facsimile plate of No. II.†, the form of *e* in *saluttam-ire*, l. 12, with the sign for the *Virâma* attached to the final *ḷ* in *Gayeyol*, l. 35. The modern Canarese sign for the *Virâma* is derived directly from this modification of the vowel *e* or *ê*.—And 2, more commonly, by either of the two later signs used for the vowel *u* as written with a preceding consonant.‡ Usually the form of *u* made use of in this way is that which is written entirely on the line, as in the modern characters; as instances, see the *Virâma* attached to the final *ḷ* in *nele-vîdinol*, l. 25, and to the final *l* in *paduval* and *balagal*, l. 40, of No. IX.§, and to the final *t* of *śrîmat* in l. 6 of No. XXXIII. below. It is but rarely that the second and older form of *u*,—which is sometimes entirely subscript, and sometimes partly so, commencing below the line and running up to the top of it,—is used for the *Virâma*. Instances of it will be found in ll. 9 and 12 of the following inscription, No. XXXII. And as used to represent the vowel, it will be found in the facsimile plate of No. I., in *kuḷa-tiḷakam* and *Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ*, l. 4, and *Vishnu-niḷayam* and *Muni-gaṇa-niḷe(ḷa)yam*, l. 27, and in the facsimile plate of No. II., in *Sântaḷige-sâsiramumaṁ Maṇḍaḷi-sâsiramuṁ Padineṁṭ-Agrahâramumaṁ dushṭa-nigraha*, ll. 22-4. As a peculiarity in the use of the vowel-sign *u* for the *Virâma*, I may mention that I do not find it used with a final *m*. Having regard to the number of forms in which *u* occurs as a termination in modern Canarese, while in the older dialect the same forms were shorter by one syllable and ended in a consonant, this use of the vowel *u* to represent the *Virâma* must have played an important part in the development of the language. In Old Canarese, the scansion of metrical passages shows that, with very few exceptions, it was only an orthographical sign. In prose passages, where no such test can be applied, I have hitherto treated it as an orthographical sign, or as a vowel, according to the age and general style of the particular inscription. But, in some few cases, the metrical test shows that, even when used as an orthographical sign, it was liable to be vocalized, if required to make up the metre;—*e.g.* in ll. 6-7 of No. II. of my Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscriptions, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxxiii., vol. XII., p. 11, we are obliged, for the sake of the metre, to pronounce, as written, *Śrî-Vêdavyâsa-Kutsar=Jamadagni-Vasishṭhar*, &c., and in l. 16 of the same, *Â digu-daṁti-daṁta-sakaḷ-ôrviyan*, &c., and in l. 27 of No. IV. of the same set *Sanu-mârgaṁ buṁg-iral*, &c. In order to have constantly in view the importance of this vowel-sign *u* as used for the *Virâma*, I shall represent it in my transliterations by the italicized *u*, and, *vice versâ*, by the ordinary 'u' in italicized quotations. In metrical passages, it may then be vocalized or not according to the exigencies of the metre; while, in prose passages, it will be treated as an orthographical sign, or as a vowel, according to the opinion formed by the reader of the linguistic stage of the inscription.

One sign remains to be noticed, the *Avagraha*, which indicates the elision of an initial *a*. It is of very rare occurrence in inscriptions, and the only instance that I can call to mind is the Gadag inscription published by me at Vol. II., p. 299. Wherever it occurs, it will be most convenient to represent it by its own Dêvanâgarî sign, ऽ, as in that transcription.

No. XXXII.

This is an inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language from Kaṭṭagêri¶ in the Bâdâmi *Tâlukâ* of the Kalâdgi District. It is on the front or north face of one of a row of stones forming the entrance to the steps at the north end of the small tank under the wall of the fort. The emblems at the top of the stone, which is fixed upright in the ground, are:—In the centre, a cow and calf; above them, the sun, with a *liṅga* above it; and on the left of the centre, a curved sword, with the moon above it. They are only roughly cut, in outline. On the right of the centre there are no emblems. The inscription covers 1′ 6½″ high by 1′ 4″ broad. The average size of the letters is ¾″. The characters are well-formed types of the period to which they belong, and call for no remark, except that the *subscript* form of the vowel *u* is used to represent the *Virâma* in lines 9 and 12.

The inscription is dated in the twenty-first year of the Western Châlukya Vikramâ-

* Vol. IV., p. 179.

† Vol. IV., p. 208, and Vol. V., p. 356.

‡ The third and oldest sign, a crook attached to the consonant and turned downwards, occurs in some of the oldest Old Canarese inscriptions, but it is strictly a character of the Cave-alphabet class. I have never found it used to represent the *Virâma*.

§ Vol. V., p. 15.

¶ The orthography of the name is very doubtful; but, as far as I could ascertain, this is the correct form. *Kêri*, 'street', and *kere* or *keri* (old form, *keṟe*), 'tank', are common terminations in the names of Canarese villages, and, owing to carelessness in writing, are very liable to be confused one with the other.

ditya-Tribhuvanamalla, *i. e.* in the Saka year 1018 (A.D. 1096-7), the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*. It records how a certain guild or corporation, called "The Five-hundred"*, set apart the proceeds of an impost that belonged to them, for the purpose of maintaining a tank.

The system of tanks at Kaṭṭagêri was formerly a large one. First, there is the small tank, on the west of the fort and close under the walls, which has recently been reconstructed as a Famine Relief Work. Secondly, there is a larger tank, on a slightly higher level,—which, if repaired, would, when full, include the preceding in itself,—formed by an embankment running to the south from just below the south-east corner of the fort. And thirdly, about a quarter of a mile away to the south-east of the preceding, and on a lower level, there are the remains of a large embankment, now breached and quite useless, which, when in repair, evidently formed a tank of very considerable area. This must be the "larger big tank" referred to in the inscription.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-varsha-
[2] da 21neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsarada Chai-
[3] tra su(śu)ddha 5 Âdityavârad=andu śrîmad-A-
[4] y-nûrvvaruṁ tava(ma)ge naḍeva suṁkamaṁ
[5] piriya pêr-ggeṟeg=â-chandr-ârkka-târaṁ
[6] baraṁ biṭṭaru ◎ Krama†diṁd=int=idan=eyde
[7] kâva purushaṁg=âyuṁ jaya-śrîyu-
[8] m=akke yidaṁ kâyade kâyva pâpige Ku-
[9] rukshêtraṁgaḷoḷu Bâṇarâsiyoḷ=er-kkô-
[10] ṭi munîṁdraraṁ kavileyaṁ Vêd-âḍya(ḍhya)raṁ ko-
[11] ndud=oṁ(oṁ)d=ayashaṁ(śaṁ) sarggum=id=eṁdu sâṟi-
[12] dapud=î śaiḷ-âksharaṁ dhâtriyoḷu ||
[13] Ślôka || Sva-dattâṁ(ttâṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttâṁ) vâ | yô ha-
[14] rêti(ta) vasundharâ(râṁ) | sa(sha)shṭir-vvarisha‡-saha-
[15] śrâ(srâ)ṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê krimi(miḥ) [||]

Translation.

Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, which was the twenty-first of the years of the glorious Châlukya Vikrama, the honourable Five-hundred made over the impost, that was payable to them, to the larger big tank, for as long as the moon and sun and stars might last.

This writing on stone proclaims in the world,—"May there be long life and victory and wealth to the man who well preserves this (*grant*) in continuation; (*but*) to the wicked man, who fails to preserve it, (*may there attach*) the disgrace of slaying two crores§ of saints, or of tawny-coloured cows, or of (*Brâhmaṇs*) well versed in the Vêdas, at Kurukshêtra or Bâṇarâsi."! || He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

There is another inscription requiring notice at Kaṭṭagêri,—on part of a stone-tablet near the shrine of the god Hanumanta in the fort. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language, and a transcription of it is given in the Elliot MS. Collection, vol. I., p. 659. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* and officiating priest; on its right, a cow and a calf, with the sun directly above them and towards the edge of the stone;

* Corporate bodies are frequently mentioned in inscriptions, but there is seldom anything to explain the allusion. The present is probably the "Five-hundred of Ayyâhoḷe" of other inscriptions; and the earliest mention I have of this corporation is in an Old Canarese inscription, in characters of about the commencement of the eighth century A.D., on the front wall of an old Hindu temple, now called "the temple of Lâḍ Khân", at Aihoḷe itself.

† The *Prâsa*, or alliteration of the second consonant of every line in each stanza of Canarese poetry, is violated here.

‡ *Sc.*, *shashṭi-varsha-*.

§ The original has distinctly *er-kkôṭi*. But perhaps it should be corrected into *or-kkôṭi*, 'one crore'; as *or* is one of the substitutes for *ondu* in composition, whereas I cannot find an instance in which *er* is substituted for *eraḍu*.

|| The forms 'Vârâṇasi', 'Vâraṇâsi', and 'Bâṇarâsi', as here,—further multiplied by *v* and *b* being interchanged, and by *ś* being sometimes written for *s*,—all occur in inscriptions. The present form, 'Bâṇarâsi', is the nearest to the European corrupted form 'Benares'.

STONE-TABLET INSCRIPTION AT KAṬṬAGÊRI ŚAKA 1018.

FROM IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET.

SCALE 1/8

and on its left, a figure of B a s a v a, with the moon above it. The fragment contains 19 lines, more or less imperfect, of about 25 letters. The rest of the stone is lost, and the fragment that exists has recently broken in two, since the time when Sir W. Elliot's copyist visited it. After the usual introductory verse in praise of the god Ś a m b h u, the inscription begins by referring itself to the time of the C h â ḷ u k y a king (V i k r a m â d i t y a-) T r i b h u v a n a m a l l a d ê v a, when he was ruling at the capital of K a l y â ṇ a. It then mentions his subordinate¶, the *Mahâpradhâna* or Prime Minister N â r a ṇ a y y a, the *Daṇḍanâyaka*, who was governing the district of B â g a ḍ a g e.* Among the titles given to N â r a ṇ a y y a, *i. e.* N â r â y a ṇ a, are 'the supreme chief of Great Chieftains, who has attained the five *mahâśabdas*†', 'he who does not speak again when he has spoken (*once*)‡', 'the choice elephant of A ṇ ṇ a§', and 'the head of (*the family of*) B h â ṇ a s u.'‖ It then proceeds, in line 15, to introduce and describe the grantee; but the part of the stone containing his name, and the date, and the details of the grant, is lost.

No. XXXIII.

This is another Western C h â l u k y a inscription, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet standing in front of a partially ruined temple near the centre of the embankment of the tank at B â d â m i. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a figure of J i n ê n d r a, seated on a pedestal with a trough to receive and carry off the water poured over the image in the performance of *abhishêka* or 'ablution'; on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and on its left, towards the top of the stone, the moon. The tablet measures about 5′ 8½″ high by 1′ 10½″ broad, and the inscription covers about 3′ 5½″ of the total height. The average size of the letters is ¾″. The characters are neatly formed types of the period to which they belong, and call for no remark, except that the use of the old ḻ is an affectation of archaism in an inscription of this date. The tablet is of sandstone, and the surface is very much abraded. Not many letters are absolutely illegible; but in many instances only very faint, though distinctly perceptible, traces of letters remain, and the whole of the writing has become very shallow. This prevented my taking a paper cast of this inscription, and, from the same cause, the photograph of this inscription given at Pl. 15 of Mr. Hope's Collection represents it very imperfectly; when the stone was photographed, only such letters as were quite clear were filled in with chalk, and many of them were filled in and developed wrongly. The temple in front of which the tablet stands is evidently originally a J a i n building, and must be the temple of the god Y ô g ê ś v a r a, referred to in the inscription, to which the grant was made. It has been subsequently adapted, and is now used, as a temple of E l l a m m a.¶ It is of no size or architectural pretensions.

The inscription records how, in the second year of the reign of J a g a d ê k a m a l l a, the S i d d h â r t h i *saṁvatsara*, two of his subordinate *Daṇḍanâyakas*, M a h â d ê v a and P â l a d ê v a, at the request of a certain noble named R â m a d ê v a, allotted to the temple a yearly grant of ten *gadyâṇas* out of the proceeds of the tax or impost called *Siddhâya*. There are two J a g a d ê k a m a l l a s in the C h â l u k y a genealogy,—J a y a s i ṁ h a II., whose date, by Sir W. Elliot, is Ś a k a 940? to 962?,—and the eldest son and successor of S ô m ê ś v a r a d ê v a III., whose title only, and not his proper name, is given in the inscriptions, and whose date, by the same authority, is Ś a k a 1060 to 1072. There being thus an interval of exactly one hundred and twenty years, or two cycles, between the commencement of the reign of each J a g a d ê k a m a l l a, the name of the *saṁvatsara* and the year of the reign still leave the date of

¶ *Tat-pâda-padm-ôpajîvi.*

* See vol. V., p. 175. The Bâgadage or Bâgaḍige Seventy district is mentioned, as far as my present knowledge goes, only in the Sindavaṁśa inscriptions of the Kalâdgi District and its immediate neighbourhood. Bâgadage must be the modern Bâgawâḍi, famous as the birthplace of Basava,—the chief town of the *Tâlukâ* of the same name in the Kalâdgi District.

† *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabda-mahâsâmant-âdhipati.* See the undoubtedly correct explanation of this title now given by Mr. Growse, at vol. V., p. 354.

‡ *Nuḍidu matt = ennaṁ.* *Conf.* the *nuḍid-ante-gaṇḍaṁ*—'he who sees as he speaks', *i.e.*, 'who is true to his word', or 'who enforces his commands'—of other inscriptions.

§ *Aṇṇana gandha-vâraṇaṁ.* In l. 11 of the Kâdarôḷi inscription, vol. I., p. 141, this same title is applied to another *Mahâpradhâna* and *Daṇḍanâyaka*, Sômêśvarabhaṭṭa, the subordinate of Bhuvanaikamalladêva.

‖ *Bhâṇasu-verggaḍe.* From other inscriptions that I have collected, this seems to be a Sindavaṁśa title. *Bâṇasa*, *en passant*, is given by Sanderson as a *Tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskṛit *mahânasa*, and as meaning 'cooking'; also *bâṇasiga*, 'a cook.'

¶ This is the Canarese name of Rêṇukâ, the wife of Jamadagni, and the mother of Paraśurâma. Her principal shrine is the well-known temple on the hills at Ugargoḷ, near Saundatti, in the Parasgaḍ *Tâlukâ* of the Belgaum District.

the inscription doubtful. But I find from the Elliot MS. Collection that the title 'glorious and valorous universal emperor'* is never assumed by Jayasimha II., and, on the other hand, is almost always included among the titles of the successor of Sômêśvaradêva III. Accordingly, this inscription is of the time of the second Jagadêkamalla, and the date of it is Śaka 1061 (A.D. 1139-40), which was the Siddhârthi *saṁvatsara*.

While on this subject I may mention that I am somewhat inclined to think that Jagadêkamalla is the title, not of a *son* of Sômêśvaradêva III., but of a *brother* of his—probably a younger brother—named Jayakarṇa. Jayakarṇa is not mentioned by Sir W. Elliot, but his name occurs in one of my Raṭṭa inscriptions†, in which he is stated to be a son of Vikramâditya, and also in a fragment of a Western Châlukya inscription recently discovered at Karaḍi in the Hungund *Tâlukâ* of the Kalâdgi District. The Karaḍi fragment was found in a Jain Basti which has been converted into a *liṅga* temple of the god Râmaliṅga. It is a very old building, with a roof of sloping slabs, now almost buried under the centre of the village, the level of which has been gradually rising for centuries past from the accumulation of dust, ruins, &c. The upper part of the tablet is lost. The fragment has 23 lines, of which several at the top are imperfect where the stone was broken, of about 27 letters each. The characters and language are Old Canarese. The inscription is very much abraded. The date is lost, with the missing upper portion of the stone. But the inscription refers itself to the time of some *Mahâsâmanta* or Great Chieftain who was the minister of (the Châlukya) king Jayakarṇadêva, and records grants made by the *Gavuṇḍa*, or village-headman, Châvuṇḍa, and others, to the temple of the god Kêśava. In this inscription, Jayakarṇa's name is misspelt 'Jayakharṇa.'

Transcription.

[1] Nama(maḥ) Śrî-Vâsudêvâya bhôginô yôga-mûrtta-
[2] yê | Har-êśvarâya satyâya nityâya
[3] param-âtmanê || Svasti samasta-bhuvan-âśraya
[4] śrî-pṛithvî-vallabha mahârâj-âdhirâja paramêśvara
[5] parama-bhaṭṭâraka [Satyâ]śraya-kuḷa-ti-
[6] ḷaka Châḷuky-âbharaṇa [śrî]mat-pratâpa-chakra-
[7] vartti . Jayadêkamalladêva[ra] vijaya-râjyam=u-
[8] ttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-[chaṁ]dr-ârkka-târaṁ
[9] baraṁ saluttam-ire [||] [Ta]t-pâda-pa[dm-ô]pajîvi [|]
[10] Śrî-vallabhan=amaḷaṁ bhû[dê]v-âṁghri-sarôja-bhṛiṁ-
[11] gan=Aṁgaja-kalpaṁ kôvida-śuka-sahakâraṁ dê-
[12] vaṁ Śrî-Kâḷidâsa-daṇḍâdhî[śa]ṁ || Samadhigata-paṁ-
[13] [cha]-mahâśabda-mahâsâ[ma]ṁt-â[dhi]pati mahâ-
[14] prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanâyaka samast-âdhikâri mane-
[15] vêrggaḍe Kâḷim-a[ra]sa . . . . ‡ ne(?)gaḷda (?) Kâḷidâ-
[16] sa-chamûnâthan=âda . . . . § [illegible]-ja-
[17] n-aika-niḷayaṁ Śrî-nâ . . . . ¶ dhîśaṁ || Matt=antu Kâ-
[18] ḷim-arasaṁg=uttama . . . .* Mahadêva-chamû-
[19] p-ôttaman=udagra-mahimaṁ matt-êbha-baḷaṁ vinîtan=âtata-sau(śau)-
[20] ryya || Iṁt=enisida Mahâdêva-daṇḍanâyakanuṁ Pâ-
[21] ladêva-daṇḍanâyakanuṁ Châḷukya-Jagadêkamalla-
[22] varishada eraḍe(ḍa)neya Siddhârtthi-saṁvatsarada Kârtti-
[23] ka su(śu)ddha trayôdasi(śi) Sômavârad=aṁdu śrîmad-yô-

* *Śrîmat-pratâpa-chakravarti*; ll. 6-7 of the present inscription.

† No. VIII., at Konnûr in the Gôkâk *Tâlukâ* of the Belgaum District; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxix., vol. X., p. 287, *transcr.* ll. 8 and 64.

‡ One or two letters are quite illegible here.

§ Eight or nine letters are quite illegible here.

¶ Six or seven letters are quite illegible here.

* Five or six letters, representing eight short-syllable-instants, are quite illegible here. Probably the original stood *uttama-su-putram=ogedaṁ*.

[24] gi-jana-hṛiday-ânaṁdan=enipa Paramânaṁdadêvaru mâ-
[25] ḍisida Yôgêśvara-dêvargge Bâḍâviya Siddhâyadoḷa-
[26] ge hatᵘ(ttu) gaḍyâṇa ponnu barisa-varisakke kuḍuha-
[27] d=eṁd=â-chaṁdr-àrkka-sthâyiy=âge(gi) Peggaḍe-Râmadêv-arasa-
[28] na binnapadiṁ biṭṭaru ‖ [Krama†]diṁd=iṁt=ida[n-eyde kâva pu-
[29] rushaṁg=âyuṁ [jaya]-śrîyu[m=akke] yidaṁ
[30] kâyade [kâyva pâpige Kurukshêtraṁ]gaḷoḷu
[31] Vâra[ṇâśiyoḷ=er-kkôti munîṁdraraṁ kavile]yaṁ Vê-
[32] [d-âḍhyaraṁ koṁdud=eṁd=ayaśam sârggu]m=id=eṁ-
[33] [du sâṛidapud=î śaiḷ-âksharaṁ dhâtriyoḷu ‖]

Translation.

Reverence to Śrî-Vâsudêva‡, who is full of enjoyment, who is the very incarnation of the practice of religious abstraction of the thoughts, who is the lord Hara, who is true, who is eternal, and who is the supreme spirit!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious and valorous universal emperor Jagadêkamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

He, who subsisted, (*as if he were a bee*), on the lotuses which were his feet§, (*was*) the honourable‖ Śrî-Kâḷidâsa¶, the Commander of the forces,—who was the favourite of the goddess of fortune; who was spotless; who was a very bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Brâhmaṇs; who was almost like Aṅgaja*; and who was a very mango-tree to the parrots which were learned people. The famous Kâḷidâsa, the leader of the forces,—the supreme chief of Great Chieftains, who has attained the five *Mahâśabdas*; the most fierce *Daṇḍanâyaka*; the general superintendent; the head of the family††; the noble‡‡ Kâḷima; . . . . ; the sole abiding-place of good people; . . . . of the goddess of fortune; the supreme lord of . . . And to the noble Kâḷima (*was born an excellent son*)§, Mahadêva, the best of the leaders of armies;—possessed of eminent greatness; as strong as an elephant in rut: of refined behaviour; of great bravery.

On Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Kârttika of the Siddhârthi *saṁvatsara*, which was the second of the years of the Châḷukya Jagadêkamalla, — the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Mahâdêva, who has been thus described, and the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Pâladêva, at the request of the noble‖ Râmadêva, the head man¶, allotted to (*the temple of*) the god Yôgêśvara, which Paramânandadêva, the delight of the hearts of those who practise religious abstraction of the thoughts, had caused to be built, ten *gadyâṇas** of gold out of the (*impost called*) *Siddhâya*† of Bâdâvi, for as long as the moon and sun might last, saying that they were to be paid‡ year by year.

This writing on stone proclaims in the world,—"May there be long life and victory and wealth to the man who well preserves this (*grant*) in continuation; (*but*) to the wicked man, who fails to preserve it, (*may there attach*) the disgrace of slaying two crores§§ of saints, or of tawny-coloured cows, or of (*Brâhmaṇs*) well

† See note to l. 6 of the transcription of No. XXXII.

‡ Vishṇu, Hara, incarnate as Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudêva and Dêvakî.

§ *Tat-pâda-padm-ôpajîvi.* This is the usual figurative expression to denote the relations of a feudatory or subordinate with the paramount sovereign.

‖ *Dêva.*

¶ Mentioned also in the Raibâg inscription of Jayadêkamalla,—dated in the same year as this,—referred to by me at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxix., vol. X., pp. 183-4, and transcribed in the Elliot MS. Collection, vol. I., p. 739. In that inscription, also, he is called both 'Kâḷidâsa' and 'Kâlima.'

* Kâmadêva.

†† *Pêrgaḍe, peggaḍe,* or in composition, as here, *vêrgaḍe,* or *veggaḍe.* The modern form is *Heggaḍe,* which Sanderson gives as meaning 'the headman of a village';—*kuruba-heggaḍe,* 'a head or chief among shepherds.'

‡‡ *Arasa,* lit. 'king', is used in such cases as this in the sense of 'a nobleman.'

§ See note to l. 18 of the text.

‖ *Arasa.*

¶ *Peggaḍe.*

* *Gadyâṇa;* Sanderson says 'a weight used in weighing silver.'

† From its use in other inscriptions, this seems to be the technical name of a particular tax. But, the word *may* be broken up into *siddha* + *âya,* 'the established hereditary due.'

‡ *Kuḍuhadu* would be rendered more closely by the French *on donnera.*

§§ See note § to the translation of No. XXXII.

versed in the Vêdas, at Kurukshêtra or Vâraṇâsi."

Among the numerous other inscriptions at Bâdâmi, there is only one more of the *later* kings of the Western Châlukya dynasty. It is on a fragment of a black stone tablet, leaning against the east wall in the yard of Sharif Khân's house, just below the enbankment of the tank, at the south-east corner of the town. It is in the Old Canarese characters and language, in well-formed letters of from the tenth to the twelfth century. There are remains, more or less imperfect, of 27 lines, of about 39 letters each; the rest of the stone is lost. It begins with the Vaishṇava invocation *Jayaty=dvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr*, &c., and is undoubtedly a Châlukya inscription; but, after this, hardly a connected passage is now legible anywhere, and I could not trace the name of the king, the date, &c. The emblems at the top of the stone are somewhat unusual :—In the centre three standing gods,—Brahma, Vishṇu, and Śiva; on their right, a seated Gaṇapati; and on their left, a cow and calf.

SUBSTANCE OF TWO ŚÂSANAS IN SIR WALTER ELLIOT'S COLLECTION OF SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE REV. R. CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D., TINNEVELLY.

The originals are on copper plates, preserved in the Temple at Tiruppûvaṇam, in the zamindâri of Śivagangei, district of Madura.

The language is generally Tamiḻ; but the introductory portion of No. 1 is Sanskrit, in old Grantha characters.

No. I.*

"*Svasti Śrî!* The first thing that made its appearance was Water. Upon the water Hari slept, reclining on Śêsha. From Hari's navel, Brahmâ, the Creator of the world, spontaneously appeared. From him Atri was born. From Atri's eyes the Moon appeared. The Moon's son was Budha. From him arose Purûravâs, and from Purûravâs the Pâṇḍya lords. Râja Gambhîra Dêva, in order to settle the boundaries of the district called by his name [*see below*], after ascertaining from Sundaréśvara [*Śiva of Madura*] the proper juncture of time for doing so, in his 25th year, in the month of Mârgaḻi [*December—January*], in the dark fortnight, on Saturday, in the *yoga* called Svâti, ordered an elephant to be let loose [*whatever path the elephant took to be regarded as the divinely appointed boundary*]:"

The above in Sanskrit verse; what follows is in Tamiḻ :—

"In the 13th year, 4364th day, of the lord of the earth, Śrî Kôchchaḍei [royal ascetic—*Râjarshi?*] Varmâ, emperor of the three worlds, Śrî Kulaśêkhara Dêva, (who sits on on a royal throne surrounded by, &c. praised by, &c., possessed of such and such good qualities, promoter of such and such pious actions,) he [*that is, apparently, Râja Gambhîra Dêva*] seated on the altar-couch, in the sacred sleeping-chamber of the temple at Mâḍakuḷam, East Madura, in the flourishing Choḷa country, out of the 1200 shares into which the village [*or district*] called Râja Gambhîra chatur-vedi mangalam, in the district of Râja Gambhîra-vaḷa-Nâḍu, were divided, including ten villages, each of which is fully described, grants 1080 of those shares to 1080 Bhaṭṭas, and 120 shares to the temple, for the subsistence of the temple Brâhmaṇs; and for the confirmation of the same, at the request of Śrî Śâstrî Bhaṭṭâraka, issues this *śâsana*, duly attested by many witnesses."

Reference is made in several places in this *śâsana* to the measurement of land by "the measuring-rod of Vîra Pâṇḍiyan." This Vîra Pâṇḍya must have preceded Kulaśêkhara Dêva, and probably there was a considerable interval of time between the two. A Vîra Pâṇḍi, doubtless a later prince of that name, succeeded to the throne of Madura in A.D. 1437. This is the only Vîra Pâṇḍi whose date is known as yet with certainty. The "Vîra Pâṇḍu" mentioned in the Singhalese annals (*Mahâvanso*) was not a predecessor of Kulaśêkhara, but a rival and successor. His date was probably about A.D. 1175 (see my *Drâvidian Comparative Grammar*, p. 538). The Kulaśêkhara of this inscription is not styled Pâṇḍya Dêva, but simply

* On five plates measuring $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, engraved on both sides, but without ring or seal.—ED.

TIRUPPÛVAṆAM ŚÂSANA No. I.

1 a.

1 b.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

WORIODS PHOTO-LITHO PECKHAM.

TIRUPPÛVAṆAM ŚÂSANA No. I. (3RD. AND 4TH. SIDES).

11 a.

11 b.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

III a.

III b.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

TIRUPPÛVAṆAM ŚÂSANA. No. I

IV a.

IV b.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

V a.

V b.

W. Griggs. Photo-lith. London.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 143.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

Dêva; and it is worthy of notice that the Singhalese annals represent the Kulaśêkhara who was driven away by the Singhalese army, and in whose stead Vîra Pâṇḍi was placed on the throne, as a person who did not belong to the Pâṇḍya race. He was, apparently, a Chôḷa prince, and it may be remarked that, in accordance with this, Madura, though the Pâṇḍya capital, is described in this inscription as belonging to the Chôḷa country. If the Kulaśêkhara of this inscription were the same person, his date would be about A.D. 1170.

The Râja Gambhîra Dêva of this inscription is not represented as a Pâṇḍya. He was evidently a feudatory of Kulaśêkhara Dêva, and as the district called by his name is included within the ancient limits of the Râmnâd zamindâri, Śivagangei not then being independent, he may have been the *Sêtupati*, or guardian of Râma's bridge, of that time,—that is, the Râmnâd zamindâr, who has always been regarded as a sort of royal personage in his own domains.

No. II.†

The second inscription is merely an appendix to the first, preserved, like it, in the temple at Tiruppûvaṇam. It grants to the same Bhaṭṭas three other villages in the same district in addition to the ten already granted.

Commencement.—"*Svasti Śrî!* Kônônmei-Koṇḍân, emperor of the three worlds, to the sacred assembly of Râja Gambhîra chatur-vêdi mangalam, in the district of Râja Gambhîra-vaḷa-Nâḍu," &c.

Kônônmei-Koṇḍân seems rather a title than a name. I have found it used as a title in many inscriptions, prefixed to the king's name. Here no name follows, but it may be concluded that Râja Gambhîra Dêva was the person intended. The term means "possessor of royal dignity," from the old Tamiḻ *kô*, king, *nônmei*, power, dignity, and *koṇḍân*, he who takes or possesses.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON ANCIENT NÂGARÎ NUMERALS.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

In his note on the ancient Nâgarî numerals‡ Dr. Bühler expresses his conviction that "the old idea of Prinsep, according to which the figures were to be representatives of the initial letters of the cardinal numerals, has to be given up." I feel confident that few scholars of the present day will be disposed to controvert the opinion of my learned friend. It is evident at first sight that the figures for one, two, three are nothing else but modifications of one, two, three strokes, and have nothing whatever to do with the initial letters of *eka, dvi, tri*.

The figure of the fourth numeral reveals its own origin by its oldest form. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji, in his most interesting paper on the ancient Nâgarî numerals, makes no mention of the fact that the figure of 4 occurs in one of the Aśoka inscriptions; yet the fact is so important, for many reasons, that I think it worth while to draw attention to it.

Thanks to General Cunningham, we know a part of the Khalsi inscription.§ There we read, ll. 4 *seq.*:—

A(m)tiyoge nâma Yona(lâja pa)laṁ châ tena A(ṁ)tiyona (r. *Aṁtiyogena*) *chatâli* 4 *lâjâne Tulamaye nâma Aṁtikina* (r. *Aṁtikone*) *nâma Mâkâ nâma Alikyasadale nâma.*

The figure for four¶ in this inscription is a simple cross. The device of indicating the number four by a cross is so natural, and ingenious at the same time, that any comment may be held to be superfluous. Nor will it be necessary to show that all the later forms of 4 in Nâgarî are the direct offshoots of the ancient sign, such as we find it in the Aśoka edict.

The figure for five is, as may be inferred from the Valabhî writing, and still more clearly from the ancient Kâvi sign, nothing else but four with the addition of one stroke or curved line. The form of 4 in Kâvi is ვ, that of 5 is ვ̃.

Bühler thinks that the figures were invented by Brâhmaṇs, not by Buddhists. I agree with him in the main, but cannot forbear remarking that the words in which he has couched his opinion are liable to misapprehension. How do we know that the Hindus invented their *ankas* after the rise of Buddhism? Why should the figures have been unknown before the rise of Buddhism, which, after all, is an Indian invention itself, and no exotic plant?

H. KERN.

Leiden, March 11.

VÂKPATIRÂJA.

At page 52 of *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. the following occurs as a note to an inscription of

† On a single plate, of the same size as those of No. I., engraved on both sides.—ED.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 48.

§ *Archæol. Survey of India, Report*, vol. I. plate XLI.

¶ The originally neuter *chatâli*, Mâgadhi for *chatvâri*, instead of the masc., is a counterpart of the common Prâkrit *tinni*; cf. Hemachandra (ed. Pischel), III. 121 and 122.

Vâkpati Râja, the grandfather of the celebrated Bhoja Râja of Dhârâ, translated by my friend Mr. N. J. Kîrtane:—

"This Vâkpati inscription may assist in settling the date of Bhavabhûti if the assertion of Kalhaṇa in the *Rájatarangiṇí* be true:—

"कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्री भवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितौ (*sic*) ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिबृंहिताम्."

Allow me to correct an obvious error. This Vâkpati Râja king of Dhârâ has nothing to do with Vâkpatirâja the poet of Kanoj and the *protegé* of Yaśovarman, who lived at least four centuries before the time of Vâkpati Râja the king. Like many other statements of Kalhaṇa made in the *Rájatarangiṇí*, that most useful work, the lines quoted are indeed valuable. They show that Vâkpati the poet and Bhavabhûti were contemporaries, and were both patronized by king Yaśovarman. This is corroborated by a certain passage (already published by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar) in a Prâkṛit poem of Vâkpati's, entitled the *Gauḍavadha*, or 'the killing of the Gauḍa king,' lately discovered by Dr. Bühler, and now undergoing preparation for the press by me.

Shankar P. Paṇḍit.

Mudebihál, 23*rd March* 1877.

NURHAGS AND DUKHMÂS.

Sir,—In Mr. James Fergusson's invaluable work on *Rude Stone Monuments* he describes as follows (pp. 427 *et seqq.*) a class of remains found in the island of Sardinia, and nowhere else, called Nurhags:—

"A Nurhag is easily recognized and easily described. It is always a round tower, with sides sloping at an angle of about ten degrees to the horizon, its dimensions varying from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal to the width of the base. Sometimes they are one, frequently two, and even three stories in height, the centre being always occupied by circular chambers, constructed by projecting stones forming a dome with the section of a pointed arch. The chamber generally occupies one-third of the diameter, the thickness of the walls forming the remaining two-thirds. There is invariably a ramp or staircase leading to the platform at the top of the tower."

Mr. Fergusson then proceeds to give numerous illustrations and details, among which, as bearing upon my argument, I shall only notice the fact that there are remains of at least three thousand of these buildings in the island.

Next he proceeds to discuss, with less than his usual decision (the external evidence being *nil*), the purpose for which these buildings were erected. "Generally," he says, "it is assumed that they were fire-temples, from their name,—*nur* in the Semitic languages signifying 'fire',—but more from their construction," which he admits to favour this view, but adds, "Why so numerous? We can count upon our fingers all the fire-temples that exist, or ever were known to exist, in fire-worshipping Persia; and if a dozen satisfied her spiritual wants, what necessity was there for three thousand, or probably twice that number, in the small and sparsely inhabited island of Sardinia." (p. 432.) Finally he appears rather to favour the view that they were tombs, and is certain that if so, "they were those of a people who, like the Pârsîs of the present day, exposed their dead to be devoured by the birds of the air," and "that such towers would answer in every respect perfectly to the Towers of Silence of the modern Persians; and the little side-chambers in the towers would suit perfectly as receptacles of the denuded bones when the time arrived for collecting them."

The necessity of sparing your space has obliged me to give only the heads of Mr. Fergusson's argument, and that in a maimed and disjointed fashion. What I have now to point out is that there is no inconsistency between the Fire-temple and Tower of Silence theories. The Nurhags may have been *both at once*.

A modern Tower of Silence is always a round tower with sides nearly perpendicular to the horizon, its dimensions varying from thirty to sixty feet in diameter, and its height being generally equal (including the parapet) to about three-fifths of the base. (These dimensions are rough estimates, and open to correction.) They are always one story in height, the centre occupied by a circular chamber, and the top by a parapeted platform. There is invariably a stone external staircase leading to the platform. And there is invariably, close by, a small solid Fire-temple. The following rough dimensions are those of one attached to a tower near Kalyâṇa in the Ṭhâṇâ collectorate:—On a foundation of trap-rock there is a plinth of coursed rubble one foot high and 13 feet 6 inches square, and on this another two feet high and 13 feet square. Three stone steps ascend the double plinth to the Fire-temple, which is of brick and mortar, nine feet square outside and seven inside, set back to within eighteen inches of the rear (or western) edge of the plinth. The walls are 5 feet 6 inches high, and surmounted by a roof apparently of about half that height, and the same thickness, forming (if the term be admissible) a curvilinear pyramid. In the west side is a niche for the sacred lamp; in the

east a door 43 inches high in opening, and 26 wide, surmounted by a small cornice (the only ornament about the building), and flanked by two small bull's-eye ventilators.

It is obvious that if such a building were combined with the Tower, instead of erected beside it, the resemblance to the Nurhag would be very close,—quite as close as that of a modern Hindu temple to one of the tenth century A.D. It may be added that as the Towers of Silence are abandoned, and new ones built, every thirty or forty years, a population practising this method of sepulture would not take many centuries to erect three thousand of them. I hope some writer better acquainted than myself with fire-worship in Irân and India will correct any errors which I may have fallen into, and supplement my deficiencies, but that in any case I may prove to have advanced one step towards the solution of this curious problem.

BOOK NOTICES.

The ARCHÆOLOGY and MONUMENTAL REMAINS of DEHLI. By Carr Stephen, late Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Dehli. 1 vol. (with photographs). Ludhiana Mission Press, 1876.

Dehli has long claimed a monograph which shall do justice to its historical preëminence, commercial importance, and architectural magnificence. The materials for such a work exist in abundance, and the present time too would have been one peculiarly fitting for such a publication. It has, however, been left to a private individual to do for the city, with some degree of completeness, what was obviously so long required to be done.

The materials for the reconstruction of Hindu Dehli, both in monuments, coins, and manuscripts, are exceedingly scanty. Unless the Archæological Survey or some wealthy antiquarian undertakes excavations at the supposed site of Indraprastha, and at the more modern city of which the massive walls still encircle the Kutb Minâr, we must be content to remain profoundly ignorant of the events of the 2700 years of conjectured existence which preceded the capture of the city by the Muhammadan contemporaries of our king Richard I. All that is known of Hindu Dehli will be found collected by General Cunningham in the first volume of his *Archæological Reports*.

Of later times there is no lack of record. The Kutb Minâr marks with unfading freshness and dignity the exultant feeling of the first Muslim conquerors; and all around are the mosques, palaces, and tombs of every succeeding generation. Nor is the record confined, even in the remotest times, to these large and solid works. In the ditch of Kila Rai Pithora still exists the grave of the man who led the assault in 1191, and who was killed at the head of the storming party.

The notices of the city in Muhammadan authors are necessarily very numerous, and are sufficiently exact to be of great use to European investigators; they are now familiar to the English reader through the labours of Elliot and Dowson. But the city was also frequently visited, and occasionally described, by Europeans during the last three hundred years. It may have been visited even earlier by them, as Rubruquis, who wrote in the thirteenth century, mentions that Europeans were then in the service of the great Tâtâr Khâns of Central Asia, as they were in the following century,—the notorious Sir John de Mandeville having been thus employed during part of his chequered career. It is quite justifiable to conjecture that some of these adventurers found their way to northern India and Dehli, as they afterwards did to the western coast in the galleys of the Turks (see Webbe's *Travels* in Arber's *Reprints*).

The Englishman Newberry must have passed through Dehli about 1585-86 when he parted company with Fitch, at Agra, to proceed to Persia viâ Lâhor. Eighteen years afterwards (1603), and five after the establishment of the English East India Company, John Mildenhall passed the opposite way, from Lâhor to Agra. Salbank, who was in the neighbourhood in 1609, mentions the place, but does not seem to have been there. In 1611 Finch visited Dehli, and has left a lengthy account of it, which has been useful to living antiquaries. Tom Coryat came shortly afterwards. and is apparently responsible for some of the absurdities which appeared in the contemporaneous descriptions of Sir Thomas Roe, Terry, Sir Thomas Herbert, and others. John Albert de Mandelslo, a gentleman in the service of the Duke of Holstein, travelled from Agra to Lâhor in 1638, but does not refer to Dehli, though he describes Agra at some length. As Dehli was then the capital of Shâh Jehân, Mandelslo cannot have avoided it. This deficiency, however, if it really exists, is supplied by Tavernier, who was in India at various times between 1638 and 1669, and has left, from personal observation, a long account of Dehli, which he calls 'Gehanabad.' His contemporary Bernier, as physician to the emperor Aurangzib, was likewise some time in the city, and has left the vivid and minutely detailed description

which is so well known. About the same time (1631) De Laët's description of the city appeared. In 1717 the Emperor Farukhsîr received at Dehli a deputation from the East India Company, and the descriptions left by Tieffenthaler, Franklin, and others, towards the end of the eighteenth century, close the accounts we have of the city while its Moghul rulers possessed any remnant of authority.

The present century has necessarily been prolific in general descriptions of the old and modern cities; but, excepting those of Heber (1824), Jacquemont (1831-32), Sleeman (1844), Mrs. Colin Mackenzie (1847), Bayard Taylor (1853), and Norman Macleod (1868), most of them are already forgotten, and none of them are of much service to the archæologist. Antiquaries, however, were not backward in so important a field. In 1801 Colebrooke attacked the inscriptions on the Dehli pillars, and thereafter, in the Asiatic Society's *Journal* and elsewhere, the archæology of the city continued to receive due treatment by such investigators as Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, Campbell, Tremlett, and Sayyad Ahmad. In 1847 the local interest in the subject had become so general that the Dehli Archæological Society was formed, and this body published a journal which, so long as it lasted, was a mine of special information. The year 1855 produced the results of Mr. J. Fergusson's examination of the Muhammadan monuments. This was principally directed to architectural objects, but was important as the first attractive introduction of the subject to the home public. In 1862-63 General Cunningham, then Archæological Surveyor to Government, went over the ground, and issued a report which, besides containing much that was new, collected the results of all the previous piecemeal inquiries. This publication was wanting in illustrations and plans, and did not treat any but the more important questions in detail, but it has been the basis and guide of later investigators. It was supplemented in 1874 by Mr. Beglar, of the Archæological Survey; but as he principally confined himself to the further elucidation of a few fundamental points, such as the sites of the successive cities and the origin of the Kutb Minâr and Masjid, there still remained a great deal to be done, both in exploration of the Hindu remains, and in the detailed examination of those of the Muhammadans.

At this stage the work was taken up by Mr. Carr Stephen, who has confined his labours closely to the historical and architectural branches of the antiquities of Dehli. His work is destitute of proper maps and plans (the only maps being two indifferent copies of the old sketches of General Cunningham, and the only plan a bad copy of one by Mr. Fergusson of the palace of Shâh Jehân); there are no illustrations besides the photographs; there is no bibliography; and the index is very imperfect; but what the author *has* undertaken he has done thoroughly well. We have tested his measurements and descriptions, and found them invariably correct. His authorities are generally quoted, and his dates well supported; and, most creditable of all, he has firmly avoided the tall writing to which Dehli, of all other cities in India, invites the unwary. Mr. Carr Stephen, too, has refrained from the incongruous parallels which are so much the fashion, and which led not long ago to the neglected and mutilated Shalamar garden at Lâhor being styled the "Versailles of the Panjâb"! Imagine a Versailles without a palace, without a picture gallery, without fountains, and without parterres! Dehli has been without much unfitness described as the Rome of Asia, but parallels should cease there. It is but bare justice to say of Mr. Carr Stephen's book that the traveller, unless he be provided with General Cunningham's *Reports*, cannot properly appreciate the city without it. The book, so far as it goes, is a decided acquisition, and the appreciative reader will regret that it does not contain six hundred pages, instead of less than half that number.

It is refreshing, in the first place, to find a Government officer resident at Dehli taking the trouble to perform the tiresome work which has been done in this case, as neither the European community nor occasional visitors impress one as caring much for this architectural paradise. Most persons deem two days sufficient for "doing" the forty-five square miles of ruins. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Panjâb Government can only afford an annual budget allotment of two or three thousand rupees for the repair of the monuments of the old capital, while as many lâkhs are being lavishly spent on Gothic structures of very questionable correctness and taste at Lâhor. It must not be understood from this remark, however, that we are ungrateful for what Government *has* done. On the contrary, it has laid the public under much obligation by fitting up or building very comfortable *banglâs* at the Kutb, Tughlakâbâd, and Humâyun's tomb; free access is allowed to the Lâl Kilâ; and fees are nowhere demanded. Government probably spends quite as much money on the preservation of old Dehli as the public demands.

The specialities of Mr. Carr Stephen's work are the numerous and new translations of Muhammadan inscriptions; some judicious criticisms of former attempts to fix the sites of the Paṭhân cities;

descriptions of little known and, in some instances, unidentified buildings, such as the tombs of the Sayyad and Lodi kings; a rather full account of the royal and other cemeteries at the village of Mahrauli; and the production of a readable description of the principal Moghul public buildings of the modern city. Generally speaking, the author has, while collecting and condensing all that has been written by others, supplied the deficiencies in detail left by General Cunningham and his assistants. In this way the work done in the shape of dry but useful specifications and measurements is immense, and a marked feature of the book,—quite two hundred distinct sites and monuments being thus placed beyond the hazard of the entire effacement which sooner or later accompanies the advantages of British rule.

With respect to Lâlkoṭ (the first of the forts of old Dehli), Mr. Carr Stephen differs from General Cunningham, as others have done, and apparently with justice. Our author disbelieves altogether in its existence as a fortress. It is questionable, however, whether his agreement with General Cunningham in regard to the southern boundary of Dehli Shershâhi (the last Paṭhân capital) can be accepted as final until he disposes of the insurmountable stumbling-block of the so-called Lâl Darwâzâ, nearly opposite Dinpanah. This gateway (which should not be confounded with the other Lâl Darwâzâ of Dehli Shershâhi, which is more properly called the Kâbuli Darwâzâ, and stands opposite Firuz Shâh's Kotila) is situated more than a mile within General Cunningham's southern boundary, and it impresses one on inspection either as a grand-port of the southern wall, or the remains of some inner rampart. Although the southern boundary wall of Sher Shâh's capital may be fixed below Humâyun's tomb, on the authority of Finch and others, no traces of it have been found there; and, until something tangible is discovered, one is warranted in considering the Lâl Darwâzâ near Dinpanah as marking the real southern boundary of the walled city, and the streets and the buildings so plainly marked outside it as extramural suburbs. The author agrees with General Cunningham with respect to the site of Siri (the city of 'Alau'd-dîn Khilji, the conqueror of the Dakhan and the second king of the third Paṭhân dynasty), and disposes for ever of the attempts made to fix it near the Ḳutb.

In the cases of most of these city sites Mr. Carr Stephen has omitted to perform one useful task, —that, namely, of describing the ground as it now lies under cultivation or mounds of ruins. He has preferred the more attractive duty of treating of the appearance and remains of the solid public buildings scattered over their areas. This reminds us of the extreme want there is of a large scale archæological map of old Dehli. That of Lieutenant Burgess, plotted from a survey in 1849-50, is the only one existing that we are aware of. It is good so far as it goes, but the boundaries of some of the cities are unreliable, and it not only omits to mark important standing buildings, but is also on too small a scale to allow of the location of streets and of minor ruins being delineated.

We have already referred to some of the deficiencies of the book. To these must be added the want of any mention of the canals; the gardens (including the famous Shalamar); the palaces of nobles in the modern city; and of such buildings as the Jaina temple and Badli-kâ-Sarai. Generally, too, the modern city is not described in sufficient detail. All the important Moghul buildings are specified, but there is little or no account of the streets as they now lie compared with those of former times, and there is nothing about the baths, wells, sarais, sewers, and other domestic works, which, taking Lâhor as an instance, are so curious in Muhammadan cities.*

The canals were well worthy of a page or two. The walled gardens have of late years so rapidly decreased in number that, unless they are described and measured at once, all trace of them will be lost. When last in Dehli, in 1873, we had difficulty in finding Shalamar at all, and when we got there we found the famous Imperial Garden had almost disappeared. All that remained was an angle of the enclosure wall, surmounted by a common plaster-domed pavilion, and two paltry *baradâris*, one of which a local agriculturist dignified by the name of Shîsh Mahâl. The remains of some of the minor gardens are much more splendid, several having imposing gateways of fine material. Not far from Shalamar is Badli-kâ-Sarai, rendered famous by the engagement of June 1857. It is a small rectangular enclosure, with massive high battlemented walls of brick. It reeked with smoke and filth.

Had space allowed, we should have liked to enter into some discussion of the very numerous points in the archæology of Dehli yet remaining unsettled. Every page of such a work as that under notice reminds one of how much remains to be done, but any attempt of the kind would be impossible here.

* To this list of deficiencies we add a few blemishes which have escaped detection in the proofs. The Hauz'Alai can scarcely have had a "stone *and* masonry wall" (p. 83). The foundations, not the walls, of the Kalân Masjid must be "six feet deep" (p. 149). The "stump" of Firuz Shâh's cupola, which is referred to (p. 63) as being on the fifth story of the Kutb Minâr, must mean the finial or *kalas*. If octagonal pavilions "manned" the walls of the garden of Jehânâra Begam (p. 256), they are to be envied. At p. 192 there is "a cylinder with 16 sides."

Mr. Fergusson is well able to defend himself when he requires it, but we cannot refrain from noticing with dissent Mr. Carr Stephen's remark that Mr. Fergusson has committed himself to statements, about the doings of British officials at Dehli, which cannot be accepted. We consider Mr. Fergusson has been astonishingly moderate in his denouncement of European Vandalism. The ignorant destroyer has done his worst there, to the eternal disgrace of the British reputation for taste. Without going further a-field, the first thing one sees on entering Dehli by railway is a mutilation of the walls of the Fort,—the walls which prompted the warm admiration of Heber,—in order that one or two honey-combed guns may have a clear sweep across the bridge. In respect to these barbarities the mouths of state officials are shut, and it becomes indispensable that independent writers like Mr. Fergusson should speak the truth, while there is an enlightened government, both here and at home, able and willing to put down these acts of ruthless destruction.

KASHMIR AND KASHGAR: a Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy of Kashgar in 1873-74. By H. W. BELLEW, C.S.I., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Staff Corps (*sic in orig.*), author of *Journal of a Mission to Kandahar* in 1857-58, &c., &c. London: Trübner & Co.

THE NORTHERN BARRIER OF INDIA: a popular account of the Jummoo and Kashmir Territories. By FREDERICK DREW, Assoc. of the Royal School of Mines, Assistant Master of Eton College, formerly of the Maharaja of Kashmir's service. London: Edward Stanford.

The two works noted above deal with the same region, but are of very different pretensions and character. Dr. Bellew is an almost official writer, who has already related the adventures of two important Missions, has distinguished himself in the philology of Khurâsân and Mekrân, and been highly honoured by the Government he serves. It would be natural to expect from his powers, experience, and opportunities a work which should be a *vade-mecum* to future travellers and inquirers. The hope would be grievously disappointed by the volume before us. It contains no map (a *sine quá non* of a good book of travels), though the author might surely have made use of the researches of his comrades, Captains Trotter and Biddulph and Colonel Gordon. It has no illustrations, though the Mission included draughtsmen and photographers; and it has no index. The book may, for the purpose of review, be divided into two parts,—the itinerary of the Mission, and the author's ethnological opinions and historical researches. The former may be briefly dismissed, as the most part of it furnishes but little information not already before the public, and Dr. Bellew himself appears to think that the interchange of the regulation civilities between Raja, Resident, and Envoy at Śrînagar are quite as worthy of note as any other event of their travels. The other portion, however, requires some notice.

It is, in the first place, very hard upon the 19th century that its now declining days should be insulted with a *rechauffé* of the wildest dreams of Tod and Wilford; with nonsense about the "pure Caucasian, the representative of the original Saka, Sui, or Sacæ who were pushed up from the plains by kindred tribes of the Yuchi, Getæ, Jatta, or Goth"! who, according to our author, "in the west transplanted to the soil of their adoption, as in Gothland, Jutland, England, Saxony, &c. [Saxony from Saka!] the names of their colonizing tribes; and in the south," to cut a long story short, christened Banâras Kâśî, after Kâshghâr, Herat after Yârkand, and Kaṭak in Orissa after an elder sister in Turkestân! At least so Dr. Bellew ventures to conclude "from the similarity of the names, and the historical record of the emigration," a document about which he is provoking enough to give us no further information. His researches, however, into the history of the country in times rather more within the ken of modern man are apparently reliable, and would be useful if they were comfortably sorted out into an appendix. But they are, throughout the work, intermixed with the itinerary, as never were victuals in a pie; so that the bewildered reader emerges from the flockings and fightings of the children of Chinghiz Khân into the festive hall of the Mahârâja of Kaśmîr, or the crowded camp of the Mission, whence, at the sight of some wayside monument, the doctor drags him off again into the civil troubles of the "Khitay" and "Mughol." It would perhaps be too much to ask for systematic orthography in such a work, —at any rate it would be fruitless, and it is something that Dr. Bellew no longer calls the race of the Prophet "Saggids."

In wading through this confused medley of travel, history, and speculation we have been much assisted by Mr. Drew's work. It is, and pretends to be, no more than a useful manual of the dominions of the house of Jamû; but it has been very carefully and systematically compiled, has a good map and index, and a number of illustrations, some of which are beautiful, especially the pretty centre-piece on the cover (re-appearing in black and white on p. xii.), and all clear. Some of the modest outlines of mountain scenery could, one would think, almost be used as maps; and the whole work is of a sort most valuable to the traveller and student.

W. F. S.

THREE NEW EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

THE subjoined three edicts form part of the splendid discoveries which General Cunningham has been making in Northern and Central India during the last years, and will shortly be published in facsimiles in the first volume of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. General Cunningham sent me last autumn plate XIV. of his work which contains them. With the help of a photograph also furnished by him I soon succeeded in deciphering the very simple Sahasrâm edict. But the more important Rûpnâth inscription I was unable to make out completely until I received two rubbings, which General Cunningham was good enough to take at my request. On my communicating my final results he very generously gave me permission to publish the text with my translations, and thus enabled me to make these most important inscriptions at once generally accessible.

The great historical value of the new edicts lies herein :—

1*stly*—That they absolutely fix the length of time which elapsed between Buddha's *nirvâṇa* and Aśoka ;

2*ndly*—That they prove the accuracy of the chronology of the southern Buddhists, *as far as India is concerned ;*

3*rdly*—That their data, together with the information of the Greek historians, prove Buddha's *nirvâṇa* to have taken place between the years 483-82 and 472-71 B.C. ; and

4*thly*—That they indicate the direction in which future efforts to find the exact date of Buddha's *nirvâṇa* ought to be made.

These assertions may appear bold and overconfident, as the inscriptions neither give the name of the king who caused them to be incised, nor show any of the common epithets of Buddha. But nevertheless I feel confident that a careful consideration of the contents of the edicts will cause their correctness to be admitted.

In the Sahasrâm inscription a person who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' states that he was for a long time an *upâsaka*, or worshipper, without exerting himself much for his faith ; that afterwards, in consequence of strenuous exertion *during a year and more*, he made the inhabitants of Jambudvîpa, *i.e.* India, abjure the gods in whom they believed formerly. He then quotes a passage in favour of 'exertion' from a 'sermon,' and adds that this sermon was delivered by the *Vivutha*, 'the Departed,' two hundred and fifty-six (years) before, and that its substance has been incised on rocks and stone pillars. In the Rûpnâth edict 'the Beloved of the gods' enlarges the first two statements by adding that the time of his being an *upâsaka* included *more than thirty-two years and a half ;* and that during the period of exertion, lasting *upwards of a year*, he was a member of the *saṁgha*, or of the community of ascetics. This last point is also preserved in the fragment of the Bairâṭ inscription. In the date the Rûpnâth edict shows, besides, an important addition. It says, '256 (years) from the departure of the *Sata*, the T e a c h e r.'

Now it is quite clear that the individual who calls himself 'the Beloved of the gods' must be a *king*. For, the fact that this epithet occurs before the names of the three kings P i y a d a s i-A ś o k a, D a ś a r a t h a, and T i s h y a, and that in the Jaugada separate edicts it is used by itself to denote the first ruler, proves that it was an ancient royal title corresponding nearly to the modern 'by the grace of God,' and the Roman A u g u s t u s, and was used in the third century before Christ. Secondly, the boast that the writer caused a change of religion throughout India,—the result not of his *greatness*, but of his *zeal*,—and that he caused the matter of the sermon to be incised on rocks and pillars, can only proceed from a great ruler, who held the whole or a great part of India in subjection. Both the title of the writer, and the alphabet which the edicts show, make it very probable that this king belongs to the third century before Christ, and to the M a u r y a dynasty. For it has hitherto not been proved that the title was used by later kings, or that the so-called Aśoka or Lât characters were adopted by any one but the Mauryas, their subjects and contemporaries.

The next point to be determined is the faith to which the writer belonged. The statements that he destroyed the belief in the gods until then considered to be true, and that he was first an *upâsaka* or *sâvaka*, and later a member of the *saṁgha*, show that he must have been either a Bauddha or a Jaina. Both these sects

apply the former two terms to their lay brethren, and the latter to the brotherhood of their ascetics. If thus the choice lies between the Jainas and Bauddhas, it cannot be doubtful that the latter are meant. For though the Jainas existed in the third century before Christ, and even occur in Piyadasi-Aśoka's inscriptions under their ancient name Nigaṇṭha, *i.e.* Nirgrantha,* no proof has hitherto been found for their own assertion that they were patronized by one of the Maurya kings;† on the contrary, there is every reason for adhering to the generally received opinion that both Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha, and the other later Maurya princes, were Buddhists or patrons of Buddhism.

If the 'Beloved of the gods' was a Buddhist, it follows that the *sermon* which he quotes must be a Buddhist sermon, and the Vivutha of the Sahasrâm edict, or Vyuṭha of the Rûpnâth edict, must be the Buddha himself. The word is not one of the common names of Śâkyamuni-Gotama, but its etymological import is such as to make it a fitting epithet for him. I take *vivutha* for a representative of Sanskrit *vivṛitta*, and of Pali *vivutta* or *vivaṭṭo*. As not one of these or of the formerly published inscriptions of Piyadasi shows double letters, but always substitutes single ones,‡ *vivutha* is in reality equivalent to *vivuttha*, and this form differs from the Pali *vivutta* only by the aspiration of the second *t*. This difference, however, does not matter much. For, firstly, there are other instances of irregular aspirates in the language of the edicts. Thus we have *kichhi*, 'something,' for Sanskrit *kiṁchit* and Pali *kiṁchi*.§ Secondly, the letter *r* causes in Pali sometimes the aspiration of a preceding *ta*, *e.g.* in *tattha* = *tatra*,‖ and it is therefore not astonishing that the vowel *ṛi* should have exercised the same influence in a cognate dialect.

But irrespective of these phonetic considerations the identity of *vivutha* with Sanskrit *vivṛitta* becomes almost certain from the immediately following sentence of the Sahasrâm edict, *duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ*,—literally 'two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty-six have *elapsed*.' The sense of this passage, which is further confirmed by the phrase of the Khandagiri inscription (line 5)¶ *tatho vivuthe vase*, 'then after a year had elapsed,' makes it impossible to take *vivuthâ* for anything else than *vivṛittâni* or rather *vivṛitte* (nom. dual neuter). As these two examples, as well as the etymology, show, *vivutha*, if applied to a person, means originally 'the *Departed*,' or '*he who has passed away*.'* Such a name fits Śâkyamuni very well, as he is considered to be the first who passed away *beyond the circle of births*. The Rûpnâth form *vyuṭha* arose, in my opinion, from the substitution of *u* for *vu*, and the consequent change of the *i* of the prefix *vi* to *y* in accordance with the laws of Sanskrit phonetics. Its lingual *ṭh* has been caused by the lost *ṛi*, which in Pali too, as the form *vaṭṭo* shows, has the same effect.†

From the identification of the *Vivutha*, the preacher of the sermon, with Śâkyamuni, it follows further that the era in which the inscriptions are dated is that of the *Nirvâṇa*. For, the *ti*, *i.e. iti*, which stands at the end of the sentence *duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ ti*, shows that it is governed by the preceding sentence, *iyaṁ sâvane vivuthena*. Anybody who is acquainted with the use of the Sanskrit *iti* will see the truth of this remark, and will translate *idaṁ śrâvaṇaṁ vivṛittena* (*kṛitam*) *dve shaṭpanchâśadadhikaśate vivṛitte iti*, by "this sermon was preached by the *Departed* two hundred and fifty-six years ago." The date of the Rûpnâth inscription confirms the above explanation. It says, 256 *satavivâsâ ta* (*i. e. ti*), lit. "256 from the departure of the *Sata*, *thus*." Here the word *sata* requires special notice. It may stand for Sanskrit *śata*, 100, or, as the inscription does not note double consonants for *saptan*, 'seven,' *śaktâ*, 'able,' *śapta*, 'cursed;' or, as the inscription frequently leaves out the *anusvâra*‡, for *santa*, *i.e. sat*, pres. part. of *as*, 'good,' *śânta*, 'quiescent,' *śrânta*, 'tired;' or, finally, because the inscriptions do not always aspirate *t* followed by *r* or preceded by *s*,§ for *śasta*, 'praised,' *śastra*, 'a weapon,' *śâstra*,

* See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 468., 2nd ed., and Delhi separate edict, l. 5.

† According to their accounts, Samprati or Sampadi, the son of Kuṇâla and grandson of Aśoka, covered the earth with Jaina *chaityas*. See, *e.g.*, Hemachandra, *Pariśishṭaparva*, Sargas X., XI.

‡ Compare, *e. g.*, 'diyaḍhiyaṁ' with Pali *diyaḍḍho*, *tata* with Pali *tattha*, *aṭhe* with Pali *aṭṭho*, etc.

§ Compare also the irregular aspirates in Pali words, like *kuntha*, *phalita*, &c. enumerated by E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 40.

‖ Compare Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 50.

¶ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 1090.

* Another *possibility* to explain *vivutha* as a corruption of *vivṛita*, and to take this as a synonym of *nirvṛita*, Pali *nibbuto*, I reject on account of the two cases where it is construed with the word *vaso*, 'a year.'

† Compare also E. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 49, and the form *kaṭe* for *kritaḥ*.

‡ Compare, *e.g.*, *pakate* = *prakrântaḥ*, *atâ* = *ântât*, &c.

§ Compare *tata*, Sah. l. 8 = *tatra* and Pali *atta* = *asta*: Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 53.

'institutes of science,' and *śâstṛi*, '*a teacher*.' I select from these numerous possibilities the last explanation, because in Pali *satthu*|| = Sanskrit *śâstṛi* is a common designation of Śâkyamuni. The translation of the date is therefore, "256 (*years*) since the departure of the *Teacher* (have elapsed)." The final *ta*, which I believe to represent *ti*, indicates here probably that the inscription is finished.

The result which has now been gained is that the inscriptions proceeded from a Maurya king, or from a contemporary of the Mauryas, who was a Buddhist lay-brother during thirty-two years and a half, and a member of the *saṁgha* for upwards of a year, *i. e.* who was a Buddhist for more than thirty-three and a half, and *that in the thirty-fourth year of his adherence to the Buddhist faith* 256 *years after the Nirvâṇa* had elapsed, or in other words *the 257th year after the Nirvâṇa corresponded to the second half of the 34th year after his conversion.* Now we know of no Indian princes who made any great efforts for Buddhism in the third century after the *Nirvâṇa* besides Aśoka and Daśaratha, his grandson. But the latter cannot be the author of the inscriptions, as he reigned only seven years. There remains, therefore, nobody but Aśoka, whose reign lasted more than thirty-seven years. This inference is fully confirmed by the *Mahâvaṁśa*, which, provided a certain line of interpretation is adopted, gives the years of Aśoka's reign after his conversion as upwards of 34, and places his death in 257 Buddhæ.

The chronological dates regarding Aśoka which occur in the Ceylonese chronicle are as follows:—

1. Interval between Bindusâra's death and Aśoka's *abhisheka*. . . . . . . (*upwards of*) 4 years.¶
2. Interval between Aśoka's *abhisheka* and his *conversion* to Buddhism. . . . . (*upwards of*) 3 years.*
3. Conversion of Tishya, the *Uparâja* . . . . in the 4th year of Aśoka's reign.†
4. Ordination of Mahendra and Sanghamitrâ. . . . . . . in the 6th year.‡
5. Death of the Sthaviras Tishya and Sumanas. . . . . in the 8th year.
6. The third Buddhist convocation . . . . in the 17th year.§
7. Planting of the Bodhi-tree in Ceylon. . . . . in the 18th year.
8. Death of queen Asandhimitrâ. . . . . . . 12th year after the last event.
9. Aśoka's marriage with her attendant. . . . . . 4th year after the last event.
10. Destruction of the Bodhi-tree. . . . . 3rd year after the last event.
11. Death of Aśoka. . . . . . . 4th year after the last event.
12. Total of Aśoka's reign . . . . 37 years.||

There are two points connected with these dates which require consideration, viz. if the years of Aśoka mentioned under Nos. 3-7 are to be counted from the death of Bindusâra or from Aśoka's *abhisheka*, and, secondly, how the dates under 8-11 can be reconciled with the statement No. 12, that Aśoka ruled 37 years.

As regards the first question, the common custom of the Hindus to reckon the years of their kings from the date of their *abhisheka*, and not from their actual accession to the throne, is a strong argument for taking all the years mentioned under Nos. 3-7, as well as the total under No. 12, to refer to the period after Aśoka's *abhisheka*. This argument is further strengthened by the consideration that if the 4th year, in which Aśoka's brother Tishya entered the *saṁgha*, and the 6th year, in which his (Aśoka's) son Mahendra and his daughter Sanghamitrâ were ordained, had to be counted from Bindusâra's death, both these events would fall *before Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism*. For his conversion cannot have taken place earlier than the 8th year after Bindusâra's death. Now Indian princes were, and are, no doubt, great latitudinarians in religious matters, and it would not be extraordinary to find that the brother of a Brahmanical king had turned Buddhist with his sanction. But it seems extremely improbable that a Brahman should persuade, or even give permission to, a son and a daughter to become ascetics of another sect than his own. For this reason also I can come to no other conclusion

|| *Vide* Childers' *Pali Dict.* s. v.
¶ *Mahâvaṁśa*, V. 17-20,—Turnour, pp. 21-22.
* *Mahâv.* V. 35,—Turnour, p. 23. In this passage and the preceding one the author says that *three* and *four* years respectively had elapsed when the second event took place; the latter fell, therefore, in the 4th and 5th years. Mr. Turnour translates *chatuhi vassehi* (V. 20) wrongly by 'in the fourth year.'
† *Mahâv.* V. 163-172,—Turnour, p. 34.
‡ *Mahâv.* V. 215,—Turnour, p. 37.
§ *Mahâv.* V. 286,—Turnour, p. 42.
|| For the last dates see *Mahâv.* XX. 1-6,—Turnour, p. 122

but that the dates of Tishya's and of Mahendra's and Sanghamitrâ's ordinations fall in the 4th and 6th years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, *i.e.* in the 1st and 3rd years after his conversion. If that is conceded in the case of these two events, it follows that all the other dates have to be taken in the same manner. The second question—as to how the dates given under 8-11 are to be reconciled with the statement under 12, that Aśoka reigned 37 years—has attracted the attention of Professor Lassen, who is of opinion that the *Mahâvaṁśa* contradicts itself. He maintains that as the death of Asandhimitrâ fell in the 12th year after the 18th year of Aśoka's accession, the marriage of Aśoka in the 4th year after that event, the destruction of the Bodhi-tree in the 3rd year after the marriage, and the death of Aśoka in the 3rd year after the destruction of the Bodhi-tree, the total of Aśoka's years ought to be 41, instead of 37.¶ The *Mahâvaṁśa* certainly does express itself very loosely, but still its statements may be reconciled with each other. For it does not assert that the last four events took place at intervals of 12, 4, 3, and 4 years, but at intervals of

11 years + x months or days.
3 years + x " "
2 years + x " "
3 years + x " "

Nor does it say that the Bodhi-tree was sent to Ceylon 18 years after Aśoka's *abhisheka*, but in the 18th year, *i.e.* after 17 years and x months or days had elapsed. If we now assume that the number of the months or days in excess of the full years elapsed on the occurrence of each of the last five events does amount to more than one entire year and to less than two entire years, and if we concede that, as Turnour and others have already conjectured, the total of Aśoka's reign, 37 years, refers only to the number of *completed* years, and leaves out odd months and days, then the two statements will agree perfectly. In order to make my meaning plainer, I will, merely for argument's sake, put down definite figures for the unknown number of months or days, and the agreement of the two statements will appear at once:—

	Yrs.	m.
(7) The Bodhi-tree planted in Ceylon in the 18th year after *abhisheka*...	17	7
(8) Asandhimitrâ died in the 12th year after that ...	11	7
(9) Aśoka married her attendant in the 4th year after that ...	3	3
(10) The Bodhi-tree was destroyed in the 3rd year after that...	2	4
(11) Aśoka died in the 4th year after that ...	3	1
The total of Aśoka's reign was then...	37	10

and that is just what the *Mahâvaṁśa* says, provided its total 37 is taken to refer to completed years only.

The figures assigned for the months are, as I have stated, entirely fictitious, and, as far as the statements of the *Mahâvaṁśa* are concerned, the surplus over 37 years may be just as well ten days as ten months. But it seems obvious to me that the above interpretation of the passage is more accurate, and more in accordance with the literal meaning of the text than that proposed by the *Ṭîkâ*, which declares it necessary to avoid counting the last year of each period twice.*

If we now turn to consider the adjustment of Buddha's years and of Aśoka's, we shall again find an element of uncertainty in the statement of the *Mahâvaṁśa*. But it will also appear that, under certain suppositions which the text by no means disallows, the statements of the *Mahâvaṁśa* and of those of the new inscriptions completely agree. The *Mahâvaṁśa* says, V. 21, that 218 years after the *Nirvâṇa had passed* when Aśoka's *abhisheka* took place. This obviously means, according to our manner of expressing ourselves, that the *abhisheka* was performed in 219 A.B. The text leaves it doubtful if the 218th year had only just closed, or if a number of months had elapsed since its completion. On this point, regarding which, I repeat it, no certainty can be gained from the *Mahâvaṁśa*, as well as on the other point, which according to the preceding discussion is equally uncertain, the amount of the excess over the total of 37 years, depends the determination of the year of the *Nirvâṇa* in which Aśoka died. If at the time of the *abhisheka* 218 years of the *Nirvâṇa* plus a few months, say two or three only, had elapsed, and if the excess of months over the total

¶ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I. p. 283, 2nd ed. He has overlooked the fact that the *Ṭîkâ* of the *Mahâvaṁśa*—Turnour, Introd. p. xlvii.—warns against this 'laughable mistake.'

* Turnour, *Mahâv.*, Introd. p. xlvii.

of 37 years of Aśoka's reign amounts likewise to a few months, say two or three only, then the death of Aśoka will fall in the year 256 of the *Nirvâṇa* For 218 years and 2 months + 37 years and 2 months makes 255 years and 4 months. Under this supposition Aśoka died in the first half of the year 256 of the *Nirvâṇa*.

But if many months, say 10 or 11, of the 219th year of the *Nirvâṇa* had passed at the time of the *abhisheka*, and if many months, say ten or eleven, have to be added to the total of the years of Aśoka's reign, then his death falls in the year 257 after the *Nirvâṇa*. For 218 years and 11 months + 37 *years and* 11 *months* makes 256 years and 10 months. It is also apparent that in order to bring about an agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa* this second interpretation has to be adopted. For only in case Aśoka died towards the end of 257 A.B. will it be possible to allow that he may have caused an inscription to be incised *when* 256 *years after the departure of the Teacher had passed*.

Now only one more point, the probable date of Aśoka's conversion, remains to be considered in order to complete the agreement between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa*. The equation of the former is 33 years 6 months and x days =256 A.B. + x months or days. The *Mahâvaṁśa* says, V. 34, "The father (of Aśoka), being of the Brahmanical faith, used to feed (daily) sixty thousand Brahmans. He himself did so *for three years*." Now this may mean either that the interval between Aśoka's *abhisheka* and his conversion was filled by three years exactly, or that some months and days have to be added. The equation in the new inscriptions makes it necessary to add at least eight months, because the middle of the thirty-fourth after the conversion could not fall under any other supposition in the 257th year after the *Nirvâṇa*. But if this addition is made the dates of the inscription and of the *Mahâvaṁśa* agree perfectly. For then we obtain—

Aśoka's *abhisheka* 218 years after the *Nirvâṇa* and say 11 months, *i.e.* at the end of 219 A.B.

Aśoka's conversion 3 years after the *abhisheka* and say 8 months, *i.e.* in the middle of 223 A.B.

Date of the inscriptions 33 years and 6 months and odd days after conversion, *i.e.* in the beginning of 257 A.B.

Death of Aśoka 37 years and say 10 months after *abhisheka*, *i.e.* in the end of 257 A.B.

The agreement which has thus been shown to exist between the inscriptions and the *Mahâvaṁśa* is, in spite of the uncertainty introduced by the neglect of the odd months in the latter work, sufficiently close to prove that the *Mahâvaṁśa's* statements regarding the history of India and of the beginnings of Buddhism are more than fanciful inventions of the monastic mind. They must be regarded as genuine historical dates, derived from contemporary evidence.

The necessary consequence of this discovery is that all attempts to adjust the Ceylonese chronology to that of the Greeks by means of a reduction or of a lengthening of the distance between the *Nirvâṇa* and Aśoka have to be given up. Henceforth it must be accepted as a fact that the *abhisheka* of Aśoka took place in 219 A.B., and that he was alive in the beginning of 257 A.B. If the identification of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta with the Sandrokyptos of the Greeks, and Aśoka's own relations to Antiochus, the Antiyoka or Antiyoga of the rock inscriptions, prove that the Ceylonese date of the *Nirvâṇa* 543 B.C. has been placed 60 to 70 years too early, the fault must lie either in the period after Aśoka, or in the adjustment of the dates of the Indian history and of the Ceylonese kings. It is possible that either some kings have been erroneously inserted AFTER *Devânâmpriya Tishya*, the contemporary of Aśoka, or that the reigns of Tishya, as well as of his predecessor and successors, have been intentionally expanded. The latter alternative seems to me most likely, because, as Mr. Turnour† and other Orientalists have shown, the dates of Pâṇḍukâbhaya, of Mutaśiva and of his four sons, are extremely suspicious. It seems impossible that these kings, who represent three generations, should have reigned 200 years. This suspicion becomes stronger through other circumstances, especially through the fact that Vijaya's landing is made to fall on the day of the *Nirvâṇa*. I am not prepared to risk any definite statement as to the manner in which the reigns of the Ceylonese kings ought to be reduced, or on the exact amount of the reduction, as I think it very likely that Dr. P. Goldschmidt's collection of Ceylonese inscriptions will completely clear

† *Mahâv.* Introd. p. xli.

up the question. For all practical purposes the date for the *Nirvâṇa*, 477-78 A.D., fixed by Professor M. Müller, by General Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside termini for the beginning of Chandragupta's reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 310 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 163 A.B., must now be considered to be genuine, the *Nirvâṇa* must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the *Nirvâṇa* should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other.

Certainty regarding the date of the *Nirvâṇa*, as already stated, will probably be obtained from the Ceylonese inscriptions. But there is a chance that the same goal may be reached by a different road. If a perfectly trustworthy account of the interval between Aśoka's death and the beginning of the Vikrama or of the Śaka eras could be obtained either from Indian inscriptions or from books, then the question would also be solved. I must add that an account of this kind exists, though I should be sorry to call it trustworthy on the evidence hitherto adduced. The Śvetâmbara Jainas place Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa* in 470‡ before the era of Vikramâditya 56-7 B.C., and the beginning of the Mauryas in 216 after Mahâvîra, or in 311 B.C. This date agrees well enough with the statements of the Greeks, and I should be prepared to adopt it if the manner in which the Śvetâmbaras arrived at it agreed with the Buddhist chronology, and the age of the *gâthâ* in which it occurs were better authenticated. But the Jaina account of the dynasties in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. differs from those of the Bauddhas and of the Brahmâns. The *gâthâ* says that Mahâvîra died on the night in which king Pâlaka of Ujjain was installed on the throne; that Pâlaka ruled 60 years; that, next, the Nandas held India for 155 years, and that the latter were succeeded by the Mauryas. Thus the Śiśunâgas are left out altogether—a point which makes the dates suspicious. Under these circumstances I give the Jaina account merely as a curiosity, and in order to warn against its being used, without further inquiry, as a means to find the exact date of Chandragupta's accession and of the *Nirvâṇa*.

The additions to the history of the last years of Aśoka which the new inscriptions furnish are of great interest. We now hear for the first time that Aśoka's zeal for the Buddhist faith produced towards the end of his reign something very like bigotry. His boast that he caused the people of Jambudvîpa to abjure their ancient gods, which probably must be taken to mean only that he did his best to bring about such a result, stands in strange contrast to his earlier toleration.§ The change finds its explanation partly in the increasing age of the monarch, and the domestic difficulties which, both according to Buddhistic and Jaina accounts, he had with the queen whom he married after Asandhimitrâ's death, and partly by his turning ascetic. This fact is likewise new and of great interest, as Aśoka, in spite of his asceticism, apparently continued to govern the country. It indicates that the Buddhists allowed, just like the Jainas in exceptional cases, an intermediate stage between the *Śrâvakas* or lay brethren and the *Bhikshus* or monks. The Gujarât chroniclers assert that the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla, to whom they even give the title *saṁghâdhipati*, 'lord of the Saṁgha,' took at various periods of his reign vows of continence, of temperance, of abstention from animal food, and of *apratigraha*, *i.e.* to renounce the confiscation of the heirless property of Vâṇiâs. I am not aware that other instances of royal Bauddha ascetics occur who continued to administer the affairs of their kingdoms.

There is yet another question for which the new inscriptions are of the utmost importance,—the history of the ancient Nâgarî numerals. Hitherto the oldest inscriptions showing them were the Mathurâ inscriptions of Kanishka, the Śâtavâhana inscriptions on the Nânâghât, and the inscriptions of the Andhrabhrityas. It is satisfactory to find now that these numeral signs are contemporaneous with the

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 362, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 147. Kern in his *Jaartelling*, p. 28, gives 466 before Vikrama as the date of Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*, on the authority of Professor Weber's extracts from the *Śatrunjayamâhâtmya*. That work is a wretched forgery by some *yati* of the 13th or 14th century, as the chapter on Kumârapâla of Aṇahilapâṭaka, 1144-74 A.D., and the numerous *Gujaraticisms*, show. The Śvetâmbaras *mean* the era of Vikramâditya of 56-7 B.C. when they say 470 before Vikrama. The Digambaras place Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa* in 605 before Vikrama, and refer to the so-called Śaka era.

§ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 275, 2nd ed.

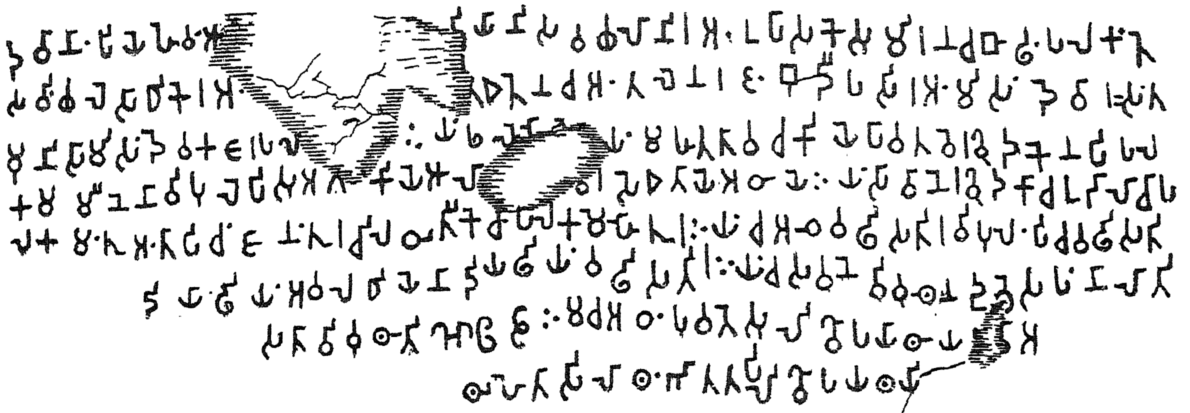
oldest known form of the Indian alphabet. But the form of the sign for 200 is still more important, as it furnishes the clearest proof for the correctness of Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî's discovery of the syllabic origin of the Nâgarî numerals. The sign for 200 employed in the Sahasrâm edict is , and, if the right-hand side-stroke denoting the second hundred is left out of consideration, closely resembles the sign for 100 in the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions and the fifth Gupta sign.|| But in the Rûpnâth edict the common sign for the syllable *su* appears in its stead, showing, however, an unusual elongation of the left-hand vertical stroke. It is obvious that the elongation of the vertical stroke serves¶ here the same purpose as the side-stroke in the Sahasrâm figure, *i. e.* to denote that 200, not 100, must be read. But the fact that the common sign for the syllable *su* is employed, instead of the differentiated form used in the Sahasrâm edict, proves that the engraver knew it to be a syllable, and pronounced it as such.

I take this opportunity to give an attempt at an explanation of the very curious fact that in the syllabic notation of numerals 200 is expressed by the syllable *su or śu* plus one stroke, and 300 by *su or śu* plus two strokes, which latter are attached, according to the fancy of the writer, either at the right-hand side both high up and low down, or even placed at the top. This manner of notation is not easily explicable on the supposition that the side-strokes represent *ankas* or figures. For in that case we ought to find two side-strokes for 200, and three for 300. I propose, therefore, to take them as marks intended to show that in the case of 200 the syllable *su* had to be pronounced long, *sû*, and in the case of 300 *pluta, i.e. sû-u*. This explanation holds good for the Andhrabhṛitya and Vâkaṭaka signs for 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 also, which may be read *dhu, dhû*, and *dhû-u*, respectively. It is confirmed by the fact that in the case of 400 the sign for the syllable expressing 4, *khka* or *ki* according to Bhagvânlâl, is attached to *su*. The Hindu grammarians allow syllables of three *mâtrâs* only, and it was therefore impossible to employ an additional stroke in order to denote 400.

The sign in the two edicts for 50 also deserves attention. Rûpnâth shows the form used in the Kshatrapa and Valabhî inscriptions, while Sahasrâm gives that of the Eastern plates and of the MSS.

Inscription on a Rock at Sahasrâm.

From General Cunningham's facsimile, revised according to photograph.



*Transcript and Restoration of the Sahasrâm Edict.**

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ â[hâ sâtilekâni aḍhit]iyâni savachhalâni, | aṁ upâsake sumi, | na cha bâḍhaṁ palakaṁte.—1—

Saviṁchhale sâdhike | , aṁ [sumi / hakâ] bâḍhaṁ palakaṁ]t[e].

|| *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 45, col. 1 and col. 5.

¶ In the case of 300 the Jainas also place the second stroke above the syllable, and write .

* Materials used: Plate XIV. of General Cunningham's *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. I. and a photograph supplied by General Cunningham.

L. 1. The facsimile and photograph show that seven or eight syllables have been lost. The restoration of the first six is absolutely certain on account of the identical readings of *R.* and *B.* [*aḍhit*]*iyâni* is less certain. I take it for a representative of *aḍhitisâni*, caused by the change of *s* to *h* and its subsequent loss, just as in Panjâbî *tîh*, thirty, and *ikattî*, thirty-one.

Etena cha aṁtalena | jaṁbudîpasi aṁmisaṁ, devâ[hu]saṁ, ta—2—
munisâ | misaṁ deva kaṭâ. | Pala[kamasi hi] iyaṁ phale [n]o [cha i]yaṁ mahatatâ-vachakiye pâvatave. | Khudakena hi pala—3—
kamamînenâ vipule suag[e] [sa]kiye âlâ[dha yita]v[e]. | Se etâye aṭhâye iyaṁ sâvâne | : khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pa—4—
lakamaṁtu, aṁtâ pi chaṁ jânaṁtu | ; chilaṭhitîke cha palakame hotu |. Iyaṁ cha athe vaḍhisati |, vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati,—5—
diyâḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati | Iyaṁ cha savane vivuthena ; duve sapaṁnâlâti- —6—
satâ vivuthâ ti (sû ñ phra) 256. Ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhâpayâ thâya ; [yata] vâ a- —7—
thi hete silâṭhaṁbhâ tata pi likhâpaya thayi.—8—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (*It is*) [*more than thirty-two*] years [*and a half*] that I am a worshipper (*of Buddha*), and I have not exerted myself strenuously. (*It is*) a year and more [*that I have exerted myself strenuously*]. During this interval those gods that were (*held to be*) true gods in Jambudvîpa have been made (*to be regarded as*) men† and false. For through strenuous exertion comes this reward, and it ought not to be said to be an effect of (*my*) greatness. For even a small man who exerts himself can gain for himself great rewards in heaven. Just for this purpose a sermon has been preached : "Both small ones and great ones should exert themselves, and in the end they should also obtain (*true*) knowledge. And this spiritual good will increase ; it will even increase exceedingly ; it will increase one (*size*) and a half, at least one (*size*) and a half." And this sermon (*is*) by the *Departed*. Two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have passed since ; and I have caused this matter to be incised on the hills ; or where those stone pillars are, there too I have caused it to be incised.

Transcript of the Rûpnâth Edict.‡

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ âhâ : sâtirakekâni aḍhitisâni va[sâ], ya sumi pâkâ sa[va]ki, no cha bâḍhi pakate. Sâtileke chu chhavachhare ya sumi haka saṁgha-papite—1—
bâḍhi cha pakate. Yi imâya kâlâya jambudipasi amisâ devà-husu te dâni masâ kaṭâ. Pakamasi hi esa phale, no cha esâ mahatatâpâ-potave. Khudakenâ hi ka—2—
pi parumamineṇâ sakiye pipule pi svage ârodhave. Etiya aṭhâya cha sâvane kaṭe ; khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pakamaṁtu ti, atâ pi cha jânaṁtu. Iyaṁ pakâre cha—3—
kiti? chiraṭhitike siyâ. Iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti, vipula cha vaḍhisiti, apaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati. Iya cha aṭhe pavatisu lekhâpeta vàlata hadha cha ; athi—4—
silâṭhubhe silâṭhaṁbhasi lâkhâpeta vayata. Etinâ cha vayajanenâ yâvatakatu paka ahâle. savara-vivase tavâyati. Vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe. (sû ñ phra) 256 sa--5—
ta-vivâ sâ ta—6—

Translation.

The Beloved of the gods speaketh thus : (*It is*) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (*of the law*), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (*of ascetics*), and that I have exerted myself strenuously. Those gods who during this time were considered to be true (*gods*) in Jambudvîpa,

L. 2. Read *saṁvachhale*, R. Six or seven letters have been lost. *R.* and *B.* have two sentences, corresponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. *S.* can have had one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given above. Read *amisaṁ*, according to *R.* Read *devâ-husaṁ* as *R.* has *devâ-husu* and a verb is required. The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left-hand part of the [glyph]. This emendation I owe to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji. Read *te* for *ta*, according to *R.*

L. 3. Read *deva*. The *pala* before the lacuna is probable from the photograph. The restoration is certain on account of the corresponding passage in *R.*, which here, as everywhere, substitutes the root *pakam* for *palakam*. The second and third lacunas have been filled in according to *R.*

L. 4. Restorations according to *R.* and *B.*—Read *sâvane*.

L. 5. Read *cha jânaṁtu*.

L. 6. Read *sâvane* ; the facsimile has *dute*, but according to the photograph *dure*, which the sense requires, is at least probable, if not certain.

L. 7. Restoration suggested by the fact that two syllables have been lost, and a relative pronoun is desirable, though not absolutely necessary. The date had been read by General Cunningham before I received the inscription.

† This phrase probably alludes to the Buddhist belief that the *devas* also have shorter or longer terms of existence, after which they die and are born again in other stages of existence according to their *karma*.

‡ Materials used: two rubbings forwarded by General Cunningham.

L. 1. Read *sâtilekâni*, the letter [glyph] looks blurred and is a mistake for [glyph]. For *pâkâ* read *hakâ*. There is a faint mark between *sa* and *ki* which may be *va*,—*sâvaki* is required as synonym for *upâsake* ; *saṁgha ushite* is a possible reading, as the letters appear to be half effaced. The reading given above is supported by *B.*

L. 2. Under the *vâ* of *devâ-husa* there is a vertical stroke, resembling an *u* [glyph]. Probably it is intended to indicate the absorption of the initial *a* of *ahusu*, and is the oldest form of the *Avagraha* S. Read *esa* for *esâ*. A letter may have stood between *khudakenâ hi* and *ka*. But I rather think the marks in the impression are accidental scratches.

L. 3. Read *pakamaminenâ* ; *vipule* ; *ârâdhave* ; the long *â* in *pakâre* is not quite certain.

L. 5. Read *lekhâpeta ṭhâyi ti* ; *tapayati* [glyph] for [glyph] ; but possibly the reading on the stone may be *tapâyati*, as the lower part of *vâ* does not quite form a circle. Possibly *vyaṭhenâ*. The two last figures of the date had been read by General Cunningham before I received the inscription.

L. 6. Probably *ti* for *ta* to be read.

PHOTO-ZINCOGRAPH OF GENERAL CUNNINGHAM'S IMPRESSION OF THE RÙPNÂTH EDICT.

have now been abjured. For through exertion (*comes*) this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small (*man*) who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached: "Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain (*true*) knowledge, and this manner (*of acting*) should be, what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one (*size*) and a half." And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills; (*where*) a stone pillar is, (*there*) it has been written on a stone pillar. And as often as (*man brings*) to this writing ripe thought, (*so often*) will he rejoice, (*learning to*) subdue his senses.§ *This* sermon has been preached by the *Departed*. 256 (*years have elapsed*) since the departure of the *Teacher*.

Transcript of the Bairât Edict.||

Devânaṁ piye âhâ sâti[lekâni] . . . .
i.e. sa . . . .—1—
vasâ-naṁ ya haka upâsake n[o] cha bâḍhaṁ.
. . . .—2—
aṁ mamayâ saṁghe papayite [bâ]ḍha[ṁ] cha.
. . . .—3—
jaṁbudipasi amisâ-naṁ deva-hi . . . vi . . . . .
[pala]kamasi esa[pha]le—4—
(n)o hi ese mahatane vachakaye . . . .
. . . . . . [pala]rumamimenâ ya . . . .
pa—5—
vipule pi śvaṁge [sa]kye âlâdheta(v)e . . . .
. . . . [khuda]kâ cha uḍâlâ cha
palakamatu ti—6—
aṁte pi janaṁtu ti chilathiti[ke] . . . .
[vi]pulaṁ pi vaḍhisati—7—
diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati (ñ phra) 56 . . . .
. . . .—8—

Index of Words occurring in the three Edicts.¶

Aṁ, S. 1, 2; B. 3 = Sansk. *yat:* compare Dhauli VI. 3, 5; sep. ed. I. 2, &c.

Aṭhaṁ, S. 7; *aṭhâya*, S. 5, R. 4, *aṭhe;* S. 5, R = Sansk. *artha*, Pali *attho:* compare Dhauli IV. 7, V. 7, &c. and pillar edicts.

Aṭhi, R. 4 = Sansk. *asti:* compare Dhauli IX. 1, &c.

[*Aḍhit*]*iyâni*, S. 1, a vicarious form for the following = **aḍhitihâni;* compare Panjâbî *tîh*, thirty, and *ikattî*, thirty-one, *bîh*, twenty, and *panjî*, twenty-five, &c.

Aḍhitisâni, S. 1 = Sansk. *ardhadvi-triṁśâni*, Gujarâtî *aḍhitîs:* compare also *aḍha-*(*kosikyâni*), Delhi sep. ed. 2. Regarding Sansk. *ardha* = *sârdha* see *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *ardha*. *Aḍhi* or closely allied forms occur in all the modern Prakrits.

Atâ, R. 3 = *aṁtâ* = Sansk. *aṁtât*.

Athi, S. 7 = Sansk. *asti* with the meaning of the plural *santi:* compare Childers' *Pali Dict.* s.v. *atthi*, and Delhi sep. ed. 11, *ata athi silâthaṁbhâni*.

Aṁtalena, S. 2. = Sansk. *antareṇa:* compare Dhauli, *e.g.* IV. 1, and pillar edicts.

Aṁtâ, S. 5 = Sansk. *antât*.

Aṁte, B. 7 = Sansk. *ante*.

Apaladhiyenâ, R. 4 = Sansk. *aparârdhyena*.

Amisâ, R. 2 = Sansk. *amishât*.

Amisâ-naṁ, B. 4 = *amishât* + *nanu*.

Aṁmisaṁ, S. 3, mistake or vicarious form for *amisaṁ* = Sansk. *amisham:* compare, regarding nasalization, Kuhn, *Beiträge Pali Gram.* p. 33, and Dhauli II. 3. *Aṁni* = *âni* = *yâni*, &c.

Avaladhiyenâ, S. 6 = Sansk. *avarârdhyena*.

Ahâle, R. 5 = Pali *âhâro:* see Childers' *Dict.* s. v. For the change in the quantity of the initial *â* compare Kuhn, *loc. cit.* pp. 29-30, Dhauli IX. 1, *abâdhesu* = *âbâdhesu*, &c.

Ahusaṁ, *ahusu:* see *husaṁ*, *husu*.

Âroḍhave, R. 3, mistake for *ârâdhave* = Sansk. *ârâddhavyaḥ:* compare Girnâr VI. 12. -*Tave*, *i.e.* *tavve* = Sansk. *tavyaḥ*, occurs in the pillar edicts.

Âlâ(*dhayita*)*v*(*e*), *âlâdhetave*, S. 4, B. 6: see the preceding, and compare Dhauli IX. 7, &c.

Âhâ, S. 1, K. 1, B. 1 = Sansk. *âha*.

Ima, S. 7 = *imaṁ* = Sansk. *imam*.

Imâya, R. 2 = Sansk. *asmai:* compare Girnâr III. 3.

§ The original has a double meaning. The other meaning is, "And as often as (*a man seasons his*) boiled rice with this condiment he will be satisfied, falling into a state of *saṁvara*, *i.e.* that state of intense satisfaction and repletion in which he closes his eyes from pleasure, and suspends the activity of the senses generally.

|| Materials used: Cunningham, *Corp. Inscr.* vol. I. plate XIV., and a cloth copy made by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî.

L. 1. Cloth copy; *devânâṁ*. The remnants of three letters towards the end of the line are also from the latter.

L. 2. *Corp. Inscr.: paka.* Cloth copy shows lower part of *n*(*o*). *Corp. Inscr.: bâḍhi.* Cloth copy has remnants of these letters towards the end of the line.

L. 3. *Corp. Inscr.: payaye ate* and *bâdhi.* In the cloth copy the top of *dha* is wanting.

L. 4. Cloth copy: *amisâ-na deve pi* and omits *vi*. I conjecture *amisâ-naṁ deva-hi*[*su te dâ*]*ni*. Portions of the letters *laka* appear on the cloth copy; *Corp. Inscr.: masi.*

L. 5. *Corp. Inscr.* begins the line *ha hi*, the cloth copy shows *o* clearly. *Corp. Inscr.: mapâtane.* I think *mahatana* should be read, as the word forms a compound with *vachakaye*. Read [*pala*]*kamaminenâ*. The cloth copy omits *ya* . . . . . *pa*, which are not easily explained.

L. 6. Cloth copy: *vipule hiṁ śvage takye; Corp. Inscr.: vipule pi śvaṁge kiye.* The above reading is conjectural, but supported by the analogy of *S.* and *R.* Possibly *sakiye* may be the right form. Towards the end *Corp. Inscr.* reads [*khuda*]*kâ che*, which is incorrect.

L. 7. Cloth copy omits *aṁ*(*te*), shows half a *ta* instead of *ti* in *chilathiti*(*ke*), and omits *pu* in (*vi*)*pulaṁ*.

L. 8. Cloth copy: *diyaḍhiya. vaḍhasati*, and omits the numeral signs. I must confess that I doubt the correctness of the latter, on account of their position.

¶ The references to the published edicts refer to Mr. Burgess's Girnâr facsimiles, and to the plates of General Cunningham's *Corp. Inscript. Ind.* vol. I., which he has kindly forwarded to me.

Iya, R. 4 = *iyaṁ*.

Iyaṁ, S. 3, 5, 6; R. 3 = Sansk. *ayam* and *idam*: compare Khâlsî XII. 13, *iyam mule*; Delhi III. 17, *iyaṁ kayáne*, &c.

Událá, S. 3, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *udáráḥ*, Pali *uḷárá*.

Upásake, S. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *upâsakaḥ*, Pali *upâsako*.

Etáye, S. 4 = Sansk. *etasmai*: compare Girnâr III. 3, &c.

Etiná, R. 5 = Sansk. *etena*.

Etiya, R. 3 = *etáye*.

Etena, S. 2 = Sansk. *etena*.

Esa, R. 2, B. 4 = Sansk. *esha*, Pali *esa*: compare Dhauli sep. ed. I. 2, &c.

Esá, R. 2, probably a mistake for *esa* or *ese*.

Ese, B. 5 = Sansk. *esha*, Pali *eso*, Mâgadhi *eśe*.

Kaṭá, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *kṛitáḥ*, Pali *kaṭá*: compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.

Kaṭe, R. 3, 5 = Sansk. *kṛitam* (neuter): compare Dhauli V. 1, &c.

-Katu, in *yávata-katu*, R. 5 = Sansk. *kṛitvaḥ* and Pali *khattuṁ*.

Kapi, R. 2, 3 = Sansk., Pali, *kiṁapi*,—possibly a mistake for *kipi*.

Káláya, R. 2 = *káláya* with sense of *kâle*.

Kiti, R. 4 = Sansk. *kimiti*, Pali *kiṁti*; rock edicts usually *kiṁti*, but Khâlsî N. face XIII. 12 *kiti*.

Khudaká, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *kshudrakáḥ*, Pali *khuddaká*.

Khudakena, S. 3, *-kená*, R. 2 = Sansk. *kshudrakeṇa*.

Cha, S. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7; R. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; B. 3, 6 = Sansk. and Pali *cha*.

Chaṁ, S. 5, mistake for *cha*.

Chá, B. 6, mistake for *cha*.

Chiraṭhitike, R. 4 = Sansk. *chirasthitikaḥ*, Pali *chiraṭṭhitiko*.

Chilaṭhitike, S. 5; see the preceding: compare Dhauli V. 8, VI. 6.

Chilathiti(ke), B. 7; see the preceding.

Chu, R. 1 = Sansk. *tu*: compare Dhauli VI. 7, sep. ed. I. 10.

Chhavachhare, R. 1 = Sansk. *saṁvatsaraḥ*, possibly a mistake for *sava°*; but compare *káchhati* = **kassati* = Sansk. *karishyati*, in the pillar edicts.

Janaṁtu, B. 7; probably a mistake for *jánaṁtu*.

Jambudipasi, R. 2, B. 4 = Sansk. *jambudvîpe*, Pali *jambudîpe*.

Jaṁbudîpasi, S. 2; see the preceding.

Jánaṁtu, S. 5, R. 4 = Sansk., Pali, *jánantu*.

-Ṭhiti, S. 5, R. 4 (in *chila-ṭhitike*) = Sansk. *sthiti*, Pali *ṭhiti*.

Ta, S. 2, mistake or vicarious form for *te*, which see.

Ta, R. 6, for *ti* = Sansk. *iti*.

Tata, S. 8 = Sansk. *tatra*, Pali *tattha*: compare Delhi sep. ed. 3, &c.

Tapáyati, R. 5; probably a mistake for *tapayati* = Sansk. *tarpayati*, Pali *tappeti*.

Ti, S. 7, R. 3, B. 6, 7 = Sansk. *iti*, Pali *ti*.

Te, R. 2 = Sansk., Pali, *te* (nom. pl. m. of *tad*).

Thayi, S. 8, probably for *athâyiṁ* = Sansk. *asthám* (1st per. sing. aor. act. of *sthá*).

Tháya, S. 8, a variant of the preceding.

Dáni, R. 2 = Sansk. *idánîm*, Pali *dáni*.

Diyaḍhiyaṁ, S. 6, R. 4, B. 8 = Sansk. *dvyardham*, Pali *diyaḍḍhaṁ*: compare *diyáḍha*, Khâlsî XIII. 35.

Diyáḍhiyaṁ, S. 6; a vicarious form for the preceding.

Duve = Sansk. *dve*, Pali *duve*.

Deva, S. 3, B. 4, probably mistake for *devá*.

Devá, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *deváḥ*.

Devánaṁ, B. 1 = Sansk. *devánám*, Pali *devánaṁ*.

Devánáṁ, S. 1, R. 1, a mistake or variant for the preceding.

Na, S. 1 = Sansk., Pali, *na*.

Naṁ, B. 2 (in *vasá-naṁ*), B. 4 (in *amisá-naṁ*) = Sansk. *nanu*, Śaur., Mâg., *ṇaṁ*, Hemach. IV. 283, 302, ed. Pischel.

No, S. 1, 3, R. 1, 2, B. 2, 5 = Sansk., Pali, *no*: compare Dhauli V. 3, &c.

Paka, R. 5 = Sansk. *pakvaḥ*, Pali *pakko*.

Pakate, R. 1, 2 = Sansk. *prakrántaḥ*, Pali *pakkanto*, but with the meaning of *parákránta*.

Pakamaṁtu, R. 3 = Sansk. *prakrámantu*, Pali *pakkamantu*.

Pakamasi, R. 2 = Sansk. *prakrame*.

Pakáre, R. 3 = Sansk. *prakáraḥ*, Pali *pakáro*, but possibly a mistake for *pakame*.

Papaye or *papayite*, B. 3 = Sansk. *prápitaḥ*.

-Papite, R. 1 (in *saṁgha-pa*) = Sansk. *práptaḥ*.

Parumaminená, R. 3, mistake for *pakamaminená* = Sansk. *prakramamáṇena*.

Palakaṁte, S. 1, 2 = Sansk. *parákrántaḥ*, Pali *parakkanto*.

Palakamatu, B. 6, a variant of the following.

Palakamaṁtu, S. 5 = Sansk. *parákrámantu*, Pali *parakkámantu*: compare also Dhauli VI. 6, &c.

Palakamaminená, S. 3, 4 = Sansk. *parákramamáṇena*: for the termination *-mína* compare *saṁpaṭapádayamíne*, Dhauli sep. ed. I. 15.

Palakamasi, S. 3, B. 4 = Sansk. *parákrame*.

Palakame, S. 5 = Sansk. *parákramaḥ*: compare Dhauli VI. 7.

Palarumaminená, B. 4, 5, a mistake for *palakamaminená*.

Pavatisu, R. 4, a *varia lectio* for the following.

Pavatesu, S. 7 = Sansk. *parvateshu*, Pali *pabbatesu*.

Páká, R. 1, a mistake for *haká*.

Pápotave, R. 2 (in *mahatatápá°*) = Sansk. *práptavyam*, but formed from a new root, *pápo*: compare Pali *pappoti*, and *pápová*, Delhi VI. 3.

Pávatave, S. 3=Sansk. *pravaktavyam*: for the lengthening of the first syllable compare Pali *pávachanam*.

Pi, S. 5, 8, R. 3, B. 6=Sansk. *api*, Pali *pi*.

Pipule, R. 3, a mistake for *vipule*.

Piye, S. 1, R. 1, B. 1=Sansk. *priyaḥ*, Pali *piyo*.

Phale, S. 3, R. 2, B. 4 =Sansk. *phalam*, or possibly = *phalaḥ*, a rare form for *phalaṁ*: *vide* the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *Phaláni* occurs Khâlsî II. 6.

Báḍhaṁ, S. 1, B. 2, 3 =Sansk. *báḍham*: compare rock edicts VII., end.

Báḍhi, R. 1, 2, B. 2, 3 (?), a vicarious form for the preceding. For *am* = *e* = *i*, compare also Delhi V. 8, *súkali*.

Mamayá, B. 3 = Sansk. *mayá*: compare Dhauli VI. 1, Delhi sep. ed. 3.

Masá, R. 2 = *misá* = Sansk. *mishát*.

Mahatatá, S. 3, R. 2 = Sansk. *mahattá*, Pali *mahantatá*.

Mahatane, B. 5 = Sansk. *mahattvam*, Prâk. *mahattaṇaṁ*: compare Var. IV. 22.

Misam, S. 3 = Sansk. *misham*. For the meaning of *mishaṁ kri* see *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *misha*.

Munisá, S. 3 = Sansk. *manushyáḥ*: compare Dhauli II. 3, &c.

Ya, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *yat*, Pali *yaṁ*.

Yávatakatu, R. 5 = Sansk. *yávatkritvaḥ*.

Yi, R. 2 = Sansk., Pali, *ye* (nom. pl. m. of *yad*).

Lákhápeta, R. 5, a mistake for *lekhápeta*.

Likhápaya, *-yá*, S. 7, 8 = Sansk. *lekhitvá*; *-aya* = *ya*; compare Pali *likhápeti*, and for the construction of *ṭhá* with the absolutive, Childers' *Dict.* s. v. *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭháti*.

Lekhápeta, R. 4 = Sansk. *lekhitaḥ*: compare Dhauli II. 3, *lopabeta* and *lopapita* = Sansk. *ropitáni*.

Vaḍhi, R. 4 = *vriddhim* (acc. sing.), Pali *vaḍḍhiṁ*.

Vachakaye, B. 5, *-kiye*, S. 3 (in *mahatatáva°*) = Sansk. *váchaka* enlarged by the affix *íya* (?).

Vaḍhisati, S. 5, 6, R. 4, B. 7, 8 = Pali *vaḍḍhissati*: compare pillar edicts, *e.g.* Delhi I. 6, &c.

Vaḍhisiti, R. 4, a vicarious form for the preceding.

Vayajanená, R. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *vyanjanena*: see Childers' *Dict.* s. v. See also rock edicts III., end. As to *i* represented by *a*, see Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 24, and compare Khâlsî XIII. 38, *vayásanaṁ* = *vyasanaṁ*.

Vayata, R. 5,—probably a mistake for *ṭháyi ta* = *asthâyi* (*sthitaḥ*) *iti*.

Va(sá), R. 1 = Sansk. *varsháṇi*.

Vasá-naṁ, B. 2 = Sansk. *varsháṇi nanu*: compare above, *naṁ*.

Vá, S. 7 = Sansk., Pali, *vá*.

Válata, R. 4, possibly a mistake for *pálata*, but = Sansk. *paratra*: compare pillar edict *pálataṁ* = *páratrikam*.

Vipula, R. 4 = Sansk., Pali, *vipulam*.

Vipulaṁ, S. 5, B. 8 = Sansk. *vipulam*.

Vipule, S. 4, B. 6 = Sansk. *vipulaḥ*: compare also *pipule*, and rock edicts VII.

Vivase, R. 5 (in *savaravi°*) = Pali *vivaso*, Sansk. *vivaśaḥ*.

Vivásá, R. 6 (in *satavi°*) = Sansk. *vivását*.

Vivuthá, S. 7 = Sansk. *vivrittáni*, Pali part. of *vaṭṭati*, is sometimes *vutto*: compare also Khandagiri inscr. l. 5, *Jour. Beng. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. p. 1050, *tatho vase viruthe*.

Vivuthena, S. 7 = Sansk. *vivrittena*.

Vyuṭhená, R. 5, a vicarious form for the preceding, caused by the substitution of *u* for *vu*.

Śvaṁge, *śvage*, B. 6 = Sansk. *svargaḥ*. Similar substitutions of *ś* for *s* occur particularly often in the latter half of the Khâlsî edicts, *e.g.* XI. 129 *śo* for *so*, XI. 30 *mitaśaṁthutána* = *mitrasaṁstutánáṁ*, XII. 34, *śiyá* = *siyá* = *syát*, &c.

Savachhaláni, S. 1 = Sansk. *saṁvatsaráḥ*: compare also *chhavachhare* and *saviṁchhale*.

Sakiye, *-kye*, S. 4, R. 3, B. 6 = Sansk. *svakíyaḥ*, Pali *sakiyo*.

Saṁgha, R. 1, *-ghe*, B. 3 = Sansk. *saṁghaḥ*, Pali, *saṁgho*.

Satavivásá, R. 5, 6 = Sansk. *śástrivivását*, Pali *satthuvivásá*.

-Satá, S. 7 = Sansk. *śatáni*.

Sapaṁnálátisatá, S. 7=Sansk. *shaṭpanchásadatiśatáni*. For *sa* = *shaṭ*: compare *saḍu-(vísati)* in the pillar edicts. For the use of *ati* = *adhi* compare *atiratha*, *rájátirája*, &c.

The *la* of *paṁnála* is inexplicable, and one feels tempted to read *paṁnádha* instead, [Aśoka character] for [Aśoka character].

Sa(va)ki, R. 1=Sansk. *śrávakaḥ*, Pali *sávako*.

Savara-, R. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *saṁvara*.

Savane, S. 6, a mistake for *sávane*.

Saviṁchhale, a mistake for *saṁvachhale*

Sátirakekáni, R. 1, a mistake for *sátilekáni*.

Satileke, R. 1=Sansk. *sátirekaḥ*, Pali *sátireko*.

Sádhike, S. 2 = Sansk. *sádhikaḥ*.

Sávane, R. 3, 5=Sansk. *śrávaṇam*, Pali *sávaṇaṁ*: compare Delhi VII. 20.

Sávane, S. 4, a mistake for the preceding.

Siyá, R. 4=Sansk. *syát*: compare Gir. III. 3, &c.

Siláṭhaṁbhasi, R. 5 = Sansk. *śilástambhe*.

Siláṭhubhe, R. 5 = Sansk. *śilásthambhaḥ*.

Siláthaṁbhá, S. 8 = Sansk. *śilástambháḥ*: compare *siláthaṁbháni*, Delhi sep. ed. 11.

Suag(e), S. 4 = Sansk. *svargaḥ*.

Sumi, S. 1, R. 1. = Sansk. *asmi* (1st per. sing. pres. of *as*): for the insertion of *u* compare Kuhn, *Beit. Pali Gram.* p. 45.

S e, S. 4 = Pali *se:* compare Dhauli IV. 1, VI. 1, Delhi II. 16, R. 2, &c.

S v a g e, R. 3 = Sansk. *svargaḥ.*

H a k a, R. 1, B. 2 = Sansk. *aham*, Mâgadhi, *hage:* compare also *pâkâ*, and Dhauli VI. 5 and *passim.*

H a d h a, R. 4 = Sansk. *iha*, Pali *hidha:* compare pillar edicts, *e.g.* Delhi I. 3, *hida-ta.*

H i, S. 3, R. 2, B. 5 = Sansk., Pali, *hi.*

-*H u s u*, (*hu*)*saṁ*, R. 2, S. 2=*abhûvan:* compare *a-huṁsu*, and *husa*, Delhi VII. 12.

H e t e, S. 8 = Sansk., Pali, *ete* (nom. m. of *etad*).

H e v aṁ, S. 1, R. 1, B. 1 = Sansk., Pali, *evam:* compare Dhauli VI. 4 and *passim.*

H o t u, S. 5 = Sansk. *bhavatu:* compare Dhauli V. 8, &c.

BOOK NOTICE.

LA LANGUE ET LA LITTE'RATURE HINDOUSTANIES EN 1876: Revue annuelle. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, membre de l'institut, professeur à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, président de la société asiatique, &c.

So far as we are aware, there is no publication either in India or in Europe, from which the state of Hindustani literature may be so distinctly ascertained, year by year, as from the *Revue* of M. Garcin de Tassy, where not only the books, but all the newspapers and societies which spring into existence are registered in detail. The number of reprints, translations, and original works this year is as large as usual, if not larger; this holds good also of their contents,—religion, history, science, with fiction both in prose and poetry, the latter prevailing. Both natives and Europeans appear to have signalized themselves more than previously by their publications.

The Hindi *Râmâyaṇa* of Tulsidâs prepared by F. S. Growse—not a translation, nor even an imitation, of that of Vâlmiki, although dealing with the same subject—will no doubt be appreciated. Dr. Bühler has brought from Kaśmîr Chand's *Pṛithirâj Rasau*, which is important from a historical as well as a philological point of view, and ought to be published. As to the *Adigrantha* of the Sikhs, which Dr. E. Trump is engaged in translating, 800 pages of it, preceded by an introduction, have been printed. Mr. J. Beames has introduced to the notice of Europeans a new Hindi bard, giving a few pages of text and translations in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Part I., No. 3, 1875); but the whole work, in praise of Jagat Singh, who revolted against the Moghul emperor Shâh Jehân, occupies a small 4to volume of 105 pages. The *Yajur Veda* in Sanskṛit, with a commentary in Hindi, was published by Giriprasâd, Râja of Besma, and printed in that town. It is curious to note that at present several Hindi works formerly edited in Persian characters are being printed in Devanâgiri; of these are the translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," the *Bakavali*, and the *Ṭotakahâni.*

Among larger works, such as the *Muntakhab al-tovârikh*, translated from Persian into Urdu, pp. 545; the *Ma'dan-al-hikmat*, "Mine of wisdom," a treatise on medicine in Urdu and English, pp. 499 8vo; and among other books, treatises on astrology and talismans—the *Sangraha Śiromaṇi*, 536 pp., and the *Indarjal*, 304 pp.—would imply that superstitious practices are not expected to die out soon. And besides treatises on hygiene and physical geography produced after European models, some Hindi and some Urdu versions of Bain's *Mental Science*, Fowler's *Logic*, Taylor's *Ancient History*, and Huxley's *Physiology*, are also announced. Lastly, the progress of Dr. S. W. Fallon's large *Urdu Dictionary*, several fascicles of which have appeared, together with an improved edition of the first of them, is also encouraging; the learned author is uninterruptedly engaged in his colossal labour, and will in course of time, no doubt, bring it to a prosperous end.

Periodical literature appears also to be on the increase, especially as printed matter can be brought out very cheaply by lithography, and editors are not sanguine in their aspirations for subscribers; thus, for instance, the *Panjâbi* says, concerning the journal published by the Anjuman of Kasûr, in the Lahor zillâ:—"The monthly journal published by the Anjuman has 325 subscribers, which number ought to satisfy us." The number of newspapers has increased since last year by more than 30; but, as is annually the case, many of them will soon again disappear and make way for others. A long time is required for a journal to take firm root; those who demand quick returns, and are not prepared to make any sacrifices, must quickly retire from the arena.

The *Revue* terminates, as usual, with a necrology. The first place is assigned to Dr. Wilson, and is followed by a notice of Dr. M. Haug.—During the same year with Drs. Wilson and Haug, also Râdhâ Kishn or Râo Kishn, a former tutor of the Mahârâja Dhulîp Singh, died; he was a good Sanskṛit scholar—and one of the most fertile of Hindustâni poets.—Edward Thornton died on the 24th December 1875, at the age of 77 years. He was for several years the editor of *Allen's Indian Mail*, and is well known by his *History of the Oriental Empire of India*, as well as by his *Gazetteers of Sindh* and *of India*. During the

same year also Francis Johnson, the author of the most extensive Persian dictionary, expired. He occupied during 31 years the chair of Sanskṛit, Telugu, and Bengâli at Haileybury, where he had been installed at the age of 24, and remained till 1855, when he was succeeded by Mr. Monier Williams, now Professor of Sanskṛit at Oxford. He was endowed with a prodigious memory and great talents for languages. His two editions of the *Hitopadeśa*, with text, translation, and vocabulary, his select pieces from the *Mahâbhârata*, his editions of the *Meghaduta* and of the *Gulistán*, are valued by students of Sanskṛit or Persian.—On the 4th January 1876 M. Jules Mohl, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, editor and translator of the *Shahnamah*, died.—On the 25th July 1876 Robert Childers expired, at the age of 38.—On the 10th August of the same year Edward William Lane died, at the age of 75 years. He is well known as the author of the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and the translator of the *Thousand and One Nights* with extremely valuable notes; but his chief work—over which he died—was his *Arabic and English Lexicon*, a treasure of vast erudition, of which five volumes are already published, and the sixth is in the press, while the seventh and eighth will be edited from the manuscripts left by the author.—E. R.

ON THE KṚISHṆAJANMÂSHṬAMÎ, OR KRISHṆA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Read in the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, 17th June 1867.*

(Translated from the German by E. Rehatsek.)

Since I communicated to the meeting of philologists at Erlangen (1851) "some data relating to *Kṛishṇa's birth-festival*,"† a very rich mine of new materials on this subject has become accessible to me, to arrange and utilize which the time has perhaps arrived.

In the first place *these sources* are themselves to be indicated, and the manner in which the subject is treated in them is to be discussed (§ 1), whereby particular aspects of it will be at once specially illustrated, so that only a brief retrospect will afterwards suffice. To the elucidation of the *ritual* of the festival itself (§ 2) an investigation concerning the *origin* of the festival (§ 3), or rather of *Kṛishṇa*-worship in general, as well as on the *pictorial representations* connected therewith, will then be added (§ 4).

§ 1. *The Sources.*

In order to obtain a chronological standpoint, I adduce, in the first instance, in their proper order, the texts referable to fixed authors, or rather those the period of whose compositions can in any way be fixed, and only afterwards I deal with the works not allowing of being ascribed to a fixed author. For though the works belonging to this latter class are just those *quoted* in the texts to be first treated of, they are still, at present, with the exception of the passages actually quoted from them, devoid of definite chronological value. Their higher antiquity in general is no voucher that in single instances considerable additions or other alterations have not crept into the texts, especially in those sections which cannot yet be pointed out in their acknowledged texts, and appear merely as pieces detached from them, though with a claim to belong to them.

Accordingly the *oldest chronologically fixed text* making mention of the festival is the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hemâdri,‡ written perhaps at the end of the *thirteenth* century, and representing the various *festival-days* of the Brâhmaṇic ritual according to the order of the *lunar*

* As the printing of the paper could only be begun after a considerable time, it became possible to utilize, or rather to interweave, several communications or publications of *later* date,—thus, *e.g.* the number of the *Athenæum* of 10th Aug. 1867, mentioned in the beginning of § 3, and others.

† See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesell.* Bd. VI. pp. 92-97, and my *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskṛit MSS.* pp. 337-340.

‡ Conf. Wilson, *Mackenzie Coll.* vol. I. p. 32; Burnouf, *Bhâg. Pur.* tom. I. pp. xcix.-ci.; my *Catal. of the Berlin Sansk. MSS.* pp. 332-343; Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 37b. There are several Hemâdris. The patron of Vopadeva bearing this name was minister to king Râmachandra of Devagiri. But a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Râmarâja was also called Hemâdri (Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 38a). Our Hemâdri, son of Chârudeva, styles himself minister (*sarvaśrîkaraṇaprabhu, śrîkaraṇeśa*) of a king Mahâdeva, by whose command he composed the *Chaturvargachintâmaṇi*, the *first* part of which is the *Vratakhaṇḍa*. I determine his age from the circumstance of his being quoted several times by Mâdhava in the *Kâlanirṇaya*. (Raghunandana also mentions him in the beginning of his *Tithitattva before* the latter.) One of our MSS. of the second section of the *Chaturvargachintâmani*, the *Dânakhaṇḍa*, is dated *Saṁvat* 1435, A.D. 1379. (Conf. the first leaf of the facsimile added to the *Cat. of the Berl. Sansk. MSS.*) Besides the *Chintâmani*, king Mahâdeva caused also the *Kâmadhenu* and the *Kalpadruma* to be prepared (see v. 12 of the Introd. to the *Vratakhaṇḍa* and to the *Dânakhaṇḍa*). By this both the works of Vopadeva bearing these names can scarcely be meant, as the other data do not agree.

calendar. Unfortunately, however, the MS. we possess of the work breaks off just with the *seventh day*, the *saptamî*, whereas the festival belongs to the next following date, the *eighth*. Thus we lose not only Hemâdri's own representation of it, but also the *quotations* from *older representations* of the kind, which he had, according to his wont, doubtless utilized very abundantly. From the citations adduced by later authors from this section of his work, it is shown, for example, that he utilized for it particularly the *Bhavishya Purâṇa*.§ It is to be hoped that the *Vratakhaṇḍa* will yet be discovered complete. On account of their richness and comparative antiquity the works of Hemâdri really deserve special consideration.

The *second* text, chronologically fixed, treating of the festival is the *Kâlanirṇaya* of Mâdhavâchârya (= *M.*), minister of king Vukkaṇa, of the second half of *the fourteenth century*.|| Here the festival is explained in vv. 65-75 of the introductory *kârikâ*, or rather in the fourth section of the work itself, with very great detail¶ —however, in harmony with the character of the whole work, not according to its *ritual*, but according to its *calendar* relation, yet with the insertion of *numerous quotations* from *earlier* works. The author begins with statements from the *Purâṇas* which concern the high significance and the all-sin-expiating force of the *Janmâshṭamî* festival; partly they threaten with severe punishments those who neglect it or the obligatory fast enjoined therewith—thus three passages from a *Smṛiti*, the *Bhavishyatpurâṇa*, and

§ On account of the quotations to be made hereafter, I insert the following abbreviations by which I designate the several texts of the *Bhavishya*, or rather the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa* :—

O. = Bodleian Wils. 124 (*O* 1) and 126 (*O* 2)

Śa., *Śb.*, *Śc.*, the three texts of this class which are at my disposal in Śaṁkara's *Vratârka* (all three also in Viśvanâtha's *Vratarâja*=*Śv.* 1-3).

B. = Chambers 793*t*.

C. = Chambers 724 (*Ca* = fol. 1*b*-3*a*).

D. = Chambers 816.

Also the other abbreviations may be here inserted in one view, because they will also be often used :—

M. = Mâdhava (*Kâlanirṇaya*).

Al. = Allâḍanâtha (*Nirṇayâmṛita*).

R. = Raghunandana (*Janmâshṭamîtattva*).

N. = Nîlakaṇṭha (*Samayamayûkha*).

Ś. = Śaṁkara (*Vratârka*; the three *Bhavishya* texts of which are *Śa.*, *Śb.*, *Śc.*).

K. = Kamalâkara (*Nirṇayasindhu*).

Bhd. = Bhattojidîkshita (*Saṁkshepatithinirṇaya*).

Vr. = Viśvanâtha (*Vratarâja*; the three *Bhavishya* texts of which are *Śv.* 1-3).

Ms. = *Mâsakṛitya* (*J.* = fol. 25*a*-26*b*).

Ud. = *Janmâshṭamîvratodyâpana*.

Kâ. = Kâśinâtha (*Dharmasindhusâra*).

Śk. = Râdhâkântadeva (*Śabdakalpadruma*).

Vi. = Chambers 640.

R. Ś. K. Bhd. Vr. Śk. specially refer to Hemâdri as their source.

|| According to Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. (168) 977, this prince of Vijayanagara reigned "from about 1365-1370." Mâdhava, in the introduction to the *Kâlanirṇaya*, mentions that, after completing his commentary on the *Dharmâḥ Pârâśarâḥ* (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 264*a*), he began to compose *this* work, the *Kâlanirṇaya*. From the introductions to the commentaries on various Vedic writings ascribed to him and to his brother Sâyana, *their later* composition, or rather the following order of them, further appears :—The first place is occupied by the explanation of the two *Mîmâṅsâ*, *pûrvottaramîmâṅse* (conf. v. 9 of the Introd. to the *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlâ*, and the *vistara* thereto, pp. 13, 15, ed. Goldstücker); then follows the commentary on the *Yajurveda*, on the *Ṛigveda*, on the *Saṁhitâ* of the *Sâmaveda*, on the *Pañchaviṅśabrâhmaṇa*, on the *Shaḍviṅśa*. As in the beginning of *all* these works, or rather commentaries, king Bukkaṇa (or rather Bukka) is mentioned as patron, he must very probably have reigned more than *five* years! At the conclusion of the introduction to the commentaries on the first part of the *Sâmasaṁhitâ*, Mâdhava calls himself the son of Śrî-Nârâyaṇa (*pañchâgninâ Mâdhavena Śrî Nârâyaṇasûnunâ*, *Berl. MS. Orient.* fol. No. 452), whilst elsewhere, as in the introduction to the commentary on the *Parâśarasmṛiti* (Aufrecht, *loco citato*), and in other places his father is called Mâyaṇa. On a colony of 24 learned Brâhmaṇs who coöperated in the composition of the works bearing the name of Mâdhava, see Roth in the *Münchener Gel. Anz.* 1853, p. 464, or rather the inscription communicated by Major Jacob in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 115. As, moreover, this inscription states concerning him that, whilst temporarily entrusted with the government of the town (and district) of Jayantî he had conquered Gova (now Goa), the capital of the Koṅkaṇa, where he issued the still existing grant of 25 estates situated in the district of Kuchara (now Kochrè), and which were henceforth to be called 'Mâdhava-town,' as a monument of his conquest in the 1313th Śaka year (A.D. 1391, just 107 years before Vasco de Gama's arrival), the question is not out of place whether an acquaintance with *Syrian Christians*, who were so numerous in that very district, has not exerted some influence on the special emphasis imparted by him to the *Krishṇajanmâshṭamî*. There was, according to all appearances, just in this southern part of India, where at that time also the Jainas exerted considerable influence, a peculiarly favourable soil for a certain syncrasy of religious systems at that period; as appears, among other circumstances, also from that commingling of the Vishnu-cultus with Śiva-worship as manifested in the name Harihara borne by a brother and a nephew of king Bukka: conf. Lassen, IV. pp. 171, 172. This may have been in a measure commendable simply on patriotic and political grounds, as in opposition to the invasion of Moslems, against whom these princes had to contend.—According to Maheśachandra (Introduction to the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, Calc. 1866, p. 22), Mâdhava composed the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* A.D. 1335 ; it is unknown to me on what this statement rests. Conf. also Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.* vol. I. p. 301 ; Cowell, *Introd. to the Kusumâñjali*, p. 10.—Germann, in his edition of Ziegenbalg's *Genealogie der Malabar. Götter* (p. 118), has confounded our Mâdhava with an older namesake (born *Śaka* 1121,—A.D. 1199), who appears as a very zealous promoter of *Kṛishṇa*-worship (but whose real name is Ânandatîrtha). See, on the latter, Wilson's *Select Works*, vol. I. pp. 139-141 (ed. Rost, where among his works, curiously enough, also a *Ṛigbhâshya* is adduced); Burnouf, *Bhâg. Pur.* vol. I. p. lxii. ; and Hall, *Biographical Index of the Ind. Philos. Systems*, pp. 94-95.

[Compare at present Burnell, *Vaṁśa Brâhmaṇa*, Pref. pp. vii.-xxiv.—A. W.]

¶ On fol. 78*a*-88*a* of the only complete, but unfortunately very incorrect MS. (Chambers, 240) at my disposal for the work. The festival occupies the *fourteenth* part of the whole work, from which circumstance alone it is quite evident what a high significance the author attached to it.

the *Skandapurâṇa*;* and on the other hand they promise very special rewards for the fulfilment of a peculiarly meritorious form thereof, which is called *Jayantî* [where, namely, the solemn festival, *i.e.* the *eighth* day of the *dark* half of the 'last quarter' of the month Śrâvaṇa (July–August) is connected with the star Rohiṇî, *Aldebaran*]—thus five passages from the *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Vahnipurâṇa*, *Padmapurâṇa* (fol. 78*b*), *Skandapurâṇa*, and *Bhavishyottarapurâṇa*.† Afterwards he quotes for the *Jayantî* a variety of different passages from the *Purâṇas* and similar works, with detailed information on its special relations: thus from the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the *Sanatkumârasaṁhitâ* (fol. 79*a*), the *Skânda*‡: for some do not celebrate it in *Śrâvaṇa* (*nabhas*, July–August) but in *Praushṭhapada* (*nabhasya*, *Bhâdrapada*, August–September), those, namely, who *end* the month with the *full moon*, or rather cause it to begin with the dark half, with whom, accordingly, the dark half following the full moon of *Śrâvaṇa* no longer belongs to *Śrâvaṇa*, but to *Praushṭhapada*;§ for this there are also two passages, from the *Vishṇurahasya* and from the *Vasishṭhasaṁhitâ*.|| With this is connected a detailed explanation of the question (fol. 79*a*-82*b*) whether, considering the higher position, or, rather, larger effectiveness and bearing of the *Jayantîvrata*, the same ought not to be entirely separated from the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîvrata*, in favour of which latter doctrine the author finally decides, with a display of much *mîmâṅsâ* learning, on five different grounds, namely: *nâmabhedât*, *nimittabhedât*, *rûpabhedât*, *śuddhamiśratvabhedât*, *nirdeśabhedâch cha*. Here his statement based on the *third* ground, *rûpabheda* (fol. 80*b*), is of particular interest, namely, that the essence of the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration consists only in the *fast* (*upavâsamâtraṁ tasya svarûpam*) enjoined for it;¶ whereas in the *Jayantî* celebration, the erection of a shed, watching

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* Tathâ cha smaryate (1 in *Al.*, conf. *D.* 44*c*; 2 occurs in *B.* 60*b*-61*a*, *Skânde* after *N.*):

gṛidhramâṅsaṁ khaga (kharaṁ, *Al.*)-kâkaṁ śyenaṁ cha munisattama | mâṅsaṁ vâ dvipadâm bhuktaṁ (bhuṅkte, *Al.*) Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîdine || 1 ||
janmâshṭamîdine prâpte yena bhuktaṁ, dvijottama (narâdhipa, *B.*) | trailokyasambhavam pâpaṁ tena bhuktaṁ dvijottameti (na saṁśayaḥ *B. N.*) || 2 ||

Bhavishyatpurâṇe (1 also *N.*; 1.3 *Bhavishyottare*, *R.*; 1*b*-3 in *B* 62*b*, 64*b*, 65*a*, 61*b*, 62*a*):
śrâvaṇe vahule pakshe Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîvratam | na karoti naro yas tu bhavati krûrarâkshasaḥ || 1 ||
Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîṁ tyaktvâ ye 'nyad vratam upâsate | nâ''pnoti sukṛitaṁ kiṁchid ishṭâpûrtam athâ 'pi vâ || 2 ||
varshe-varshe tu yâ nârî Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîvrataṁ | na karoti mahâkrûrâ (*R.*, yat pâpî sâ, *B.*) vyâlî bhavati kânana iti || 3 ||

Skaṇḍapurâṇe 'pi (1*a*, 2*ab*. 3*a*, in *D.* 48*b*, 42*a*, 49*b*, 50*a*):
ye na kurvanti jânantaḥ Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamîvrataṁ | te bhavanti mahâprâjna vyâlâ (*Al.*, *M.* omits) vyâghrâś cha kânane || 1 ||
raṭantîha purâṇâni bhûyo-bhûyo mahâmune | atîtânâgataṁ tena (pitṛito mâtṛitaś chaiva, *D.*) kulam ekottaraśatam || 2 ||
pâtitaṁ narake ghore bhuñjatâ (yo bhuṅkte, *Al.*) Kṛishṇavâsara (°janmani, *Al.*) iti || 3 ||

† *Vishṇudharmottare Jayantîm prakṛitya paṭhyate* (1*b* in *R.* as from the *Śivarahasya*):
yad vâlye yach cha kaumâre yauvane vârddhake tathâ | vahujanmakṛitam pâpaṁ hanti so 'poshitâ tithir iti ||
Vahnipurâṇe:
saptajanmakṛitam pâpaṁ râjan yat trividhaṁ nṛiṇâm | tat kshâlayati govindas tithau tasyâṁ śubhârchitaḥ || 1 ||
upavâsaś cha tatrokto mahâpâtakanâśanaḥ | Jayantyâṁ jagatîpâla vidhinâ nâ 'tra saṁśaya iti || 2 ||
Padmapurane 'pi:
pretayonigatânâṁ tu pretatvaṁ nâśitaṁ naraiḥ (tu yaiḥ, *R.*) | yaiḥ kṛitâ śrâvane mâsi ashṭamî rohiṇîyutâ || 1 ||
kim punar vudhavâreṇa somenâ 'pi viśeshata iti || (here *N.* remarks: somaḥ somavâra iti kechit, yuktaṁ tu chandrodaya iti | *M.* belongs to the *kechit*, conf. below, fol. 86*a*.)
Skandapurâṇe 'pi (1*b*, 2*a* to *arthân* in *D.* 23*b*, 24*a*):
mahâjayârthaṁ kuru tâṁ Jayantîm muktaye 'nagha ('thavâ, *N.*) | dharmam arthaṁ cha kâmaṁ cha mokshaṁ cha munipuṁgava || 1 ||
dadâti vâñchhitân arthân nâ 'narthaṁnâ 'tidurvalam (ye châ 'nye 'py âtidurlabhâ, *NK.*) iti || 2 ||
Bhavishyottare Jayantîkalpe (*Bhavishye Al.*, *Śa.* 68*b*, 70*a*): prativarshavidhânena madbhakto Dharmanandana | naro vâ yadi vâ nârî yathoktam phalam âpnuyât (labhate phalaṁ, *Śa.*) || 1 ||
putrasaṁtânam ârogyam saubhâgyam atulam bhavet | iha dharmaratir bhûto(°tvâ, *Al. Śa.*)mṛito vaikuṇṭham âpnuyâd iti || 2 ||.

‡ *Vishṇudharmottare*:
rohiṇî cha yadâ kṛishṇe pakshe 'shṭamyâṁ dvijottama | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ sarvapâpaharâ tithir iti || *and in the same*: prâjâpatyarkshasaṁyutâ kṛishṇâ nabaśi châ 'shṭamî | sopavâso hareḥ pûjâṁ tatra kṛitvâ na sîdati || (the last hemistich in *N.*, *Bhavishyatpurâṇât*).
Sanatkumârasaṁhitâyâm (v. 1 in *D.* 93):
śriṇushvâ 'vahito râjan kathyamânam mayâ 'nagha | śrâvaṇasya cha mâsasya kṛishṇâshṭamyâṁ narâdhipa || 1 ||
rohiṇî yadi labhyeta Jayantî nâma sâ tithir iti |
Skânde: prâjâpatyena saṁyuktâ ashṭamî tu yadâ bhavet | śrâvaṇe vahule sâ tu sarvapâpapranâśinî || 1 ||
jayaṁ puṇyaṁ cha kurute jayâṁ puṇyâṁ cha (Jayantîm iti, *R.*) tâṁ vidur iti ||

§ atra śrâvana iti mukhyaḥ kalpaḥ | nabhasya ity anukalpaḥ. Conf. also fol. 83*b*: iyam ashṭamî kṛishṇapakshâdimâsavivakshayâ bhâdrapade bhavati, saivâ 'shṭamî śuklapakshâdimâsavivakshayâ śrâvaṇe bhavati, *and fol.* 18*a*: tathâ, Jayantîprakaraṇe smaryate: mâsi bhâdrapade'shṭamyâṁ kṛishṇapakshe 'rdharâtrake | bhavet prajâpater ṛikshaṁ Jayantî nâma sâ smṛiteti || atrâpi Jayantyâ bhâdrapadântargatatvam mâsasya pûrṇimântatvaṁ gamayati. Conf. my *Abh. über die Nakshatra* II. 281, 342-5.

|| *Vishṇurahasye*: ashṭamî kṛishṇapakshasya rohiṇî-ṛiksha (without *saṁdhi!*)-saṁyutâ | bhavet praushṭhapade mâsi Jayantî nâma sâ smṛiteti ||
Vasishṭhasaṁhitâyâm (thus also *K.*, *Vishṇupurâṇe Śk.*, but only 1): śrâvane vâ nabhasye vâ rohiṇîsahitâ 'shṭamî | yadâ kṛishṇe narair labdhâ sâ Jayantîti kîrtitâ || 1 || śrâvaṇe na bhaved yogo (*in case*), nabhasye tu bhaved dhruvam | tayor abhâve yogasya tasmin varshe na sambhava iti || 2 ||.
Purâṇântaram:
rohiṇî cha yadâ kṛishṇe pakshe 'shṭamyâ(ṁ) dvijottama | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ sarvapâpaharâ tithir iti ||

¶ For this there is only one *quotation*, without mention of the work: kevalenopavâsena tasmin janmadine mama | śatajanmakṛitât pâpân muchyate nâ 'tra saṁśaya iti ||

through the night, distribution of images, &c. (*maṇḍapanirmâṇa-jâgaraṇa-pratimâdânâdi*) take place; he adduces for this (fol. 81*a*) several quotations from the works quoted before, with the exception of the *Naradîyasaṁhitâ*, which after all are not very much to his purpose.* Then on the *fourth* ground, according to which at the simple *Janmâshṭamî* celebration only punishments for its neglect are threatened, whilst at the *Jayantî* special promises of rewards are also proffered for the celebration of it, the author, curiously enough, adduces no statements of the latter kind (conf., *e.g.*, above, p. 163), but only threats of punishments in case of non-celebration,† particularly from the *Skandapurâṇa* (fol. 81*a*). Lastly, the *fifth* ground is that in Bhṛigu the *Janmâshṭamî* is mentioned together with the *Jayantî*, and therefore directly separated from it.‡

On this the author (fol. 83*a*) determines the season of the festival more closely, and places it, or rather its determinative, the meeting (*yoga*) of the black *eighth* (either in *Śrâvaṇa* or *Bhâdra*) with *Rohiṇî*, on the ground of corresponding statements in the *Vasishṭhasaṁhitâ* in the *Vishṇurahasya*, *Âdityapurâṇa*, *Varâhasaṁhitâ*, *Vishṇudharmottara* (fol. 83*b*), *Yogîśvara* at *midnight* (*ardharâtrasya mukhyakâlatvam*), and, in order to be *quite* accurate, at one *kalâ* ($\frac{1}{180}$ of a *ghaṭikâ* = 8 seconds) before and after it§; or also, as it is difficult to conceive so short an interval of time (*kalâyâ atisûkshmatvena durlakshyatvât*) at a whole *ghaṭikâ* (24 minutes) *before*, and a half of the same after midnight,|| on the authority of

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* *Purâṇe* (*Bhavishyapur.*, *R.*):
tushṭyartham Devakîsûnor Jayantîsaṁjñakaṁ (*R.* °sambhavam, *M.*) vratam | kartavyam vittamânena (chintamâ° *R.*) bhaktyâ bhaktajanair apîti (janaiḥ saha, *Sk.*, bhaktajanair iti taiḥ sahety arthaḥ, *R.*) ||
Bhavishyottare 'pi (1-2*a* in *Śv.* 1. 15*b*, 16; 3-4*a* in *Śa.* 64*abc*): mâsi bhâdrapade 'shṭamyâṁ niśîthe kṛishṇapakshage (kṛishṇapakshe 'rdharâtrake, *N.*) | śaśâṅke vṛisharâśistha ṛikshe rohiṇîsaṁjnake || 1 ||
yoge 'smin Vasudevâd dhi Devakî mâm ajîjanat | tasmân mâm pûjayet tatra śuchiḥ samyag uposhitaḥ || 2 ||
brâhmaṇân bhojayed bhaktyâ tato dadyâch cha dakshinâm | hiraṇyaṁ medinîṁ gâvo (*accusative!*) vâsâṅsi kusumâni cha || 3 ||
yad-yad ishṭatamaṁ tat-tat Kṛishṇo me prîyatâm iti || 4 ||
Bhavishyad-vishṇudharmottarayoḥ:
Jayantyâm upavâsaś cha mahâpâtakanâśanaḥ | sarvaiḥ kâryo mahâbhaktyâ pûjanîyaś cha keśava iti ||

Vahnipurâṇe: kṛishṇâshṭamyâm bhaved yatra kalaikâ rohiṇî yadi (smṛiti, *N.*) | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ uposhyâ sâ (°shyaiva, *K.*) prayatnata iti ||
Smṛityantare 'pi: prâjâpatyarkshasaṁyuktâ śrâvaṇasyâ 'sitâshṭamî | varshe-varshe tu kartavyâ tushṭyarthaṁ chakrapâṇina iti ||

Nâradîyasaṁhitâyâṁ Jayantîm prakṛitya smaryate: uposhya janmachihnâni kuryâj jâgaraṇaṁ tu yaḥ | ardharâtrayutâshṭamyâṁ so'śvamedhaphalaṁ labhed iti ||

† Jayantîm prakṛitya kasmiṅśchit purâṇe (according to *R.*, p. 30 *Bhavishye*) smaryate: akurvan yâti narakaṁ (nirayaṁ yâti, *R.*) yâvad indrâś chaturdaśeti |

Skandapurâṇe 'pi (with 1, 3, 4*a* conf. *D.* 45*abc*, 46*a*, 48*a*):
śûdrânnena tu yat pâpaṁ śavahastasya bhojane |
tat pâpaṁ labhate Kunti Jayantî vimukho naraḥ || 1 ||
brahmaghnasya surâpasya govadhe strîvadhe 'pi vâ |
na loko Yaduśârdûla Jayantîvimukhasya cha || 2 ||
kriyâhînasya mûrkhasya parânnam bhuñjato 'pi vâ |
na kṛitaghnasya loko 'sti Jayantîvimukhasya cha || 3 ||
yamasya vaśam âpannaḥ sahate nârakîṁ vyathâṁ |
Jayantîvâsare prâpte karoty udarapûraṇam || 4 ||
sa pîḍyate 'timâtraṁ tu yamadûtaih kalevare |
yo bhuñjîta vimûḍhâtmâ Jayantîvâsare nṛipeti || 5 ||

‡ (The verse occurs in the same way also in *D.* 32*b*-33*a*).
Janmâshṭamî Jayantî (rohiṇî, *K.*) cha Śivarâtris tathaiva cha | pûrvaviddhâ tu (? mu, *Cod.*, pra, *D.*, viddhaiva, *N.K.*) kartavyâ tithibhânte cha pâraṇam iti ||
In case, however, in this verse (as is done in *K.*) the lection *Rohiṇî* in lieu of *Jayantî* should be preferred, *M.* thinks that, after all, *Rohiṇî* does not designate the star itself, but the *lunar* day (*tithi*) connected therewith, because the preceding and the following word have only *this* meaning. This variant is, moreover, of value, as it appears as a voucher that by the *Jayantî* of the verse the festival in question of this name, and not another, which might otherwise be probable, is really meant (see a cognate text below, p. 166 in *Al.*).

§ *Vasishṭhasaṁhitâyâm* (*Vasishṭhaḥ*, *R. N.*): ashṭamî rohiṇîyuktâ niśyardhe (also *N.K.*, niśârdhe, *R.*) dṛiśyate yadi | mukhyakâla iti khyâtas (thus also *K.*, kâlaḥ sa vijneyas, *RN.*), tatra jâto hariḥ svayam iti ||
Vishṇurahasye (*Bhavishyapurâṇa-Vishṇudharmottarayoḥ*, *R. N.* 27*b*, *Bhavishyatpurâṇât*, *N.* 26*a*, *Bhavishya*, *K.* 23*a*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, *K.* 22*a*): rohiṇyâm ardharâtre tu (cha, *N.K.*) yadâ kṛishṇâshṭamî bhavet | tasyâm abhyarchanâchhaureḥ (°nam śaurer, *Al. R. N. K.*) hanti pâpaṁ trijanmajam iti ||
Âdityapurâṇe (*Âdipur°* *R.*; *Agnipur°* *K.* according to Hemâdri, under addition, namely of prefixing the following hemistich: rohiṇîsaṁyutoposhyâ sarvâghaughavinâśinî): ardharâtrâd adhaś chordhvaṁ kalayâ 'pi (vâ, *K.*) yadâ bhavet | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ sarvapâpapraṇâśinîti ||
Varâhasaṁhitâyâm: siṅhârke rohiṇîyuktâ nabhaḥ (narâḥ, *R.*) kṛishṇâshṭamî yadi | râtryardha pûrvâparagâ Jayantî kalayâ 'pi cheti || râtryardhe cha te pûrvâpare cha râ °pare, tayor gachhati vartata iti râ°ragâ | ghaṭikâyâ aśîtyadhikaśatatamo bhâgaḥ (°śatayo bhârâḥ, *Cod.*) kalâ | tâvatâ parimâṇena pûrvârdhâvasâne uttarârdhâdau cha vartmânâ grahîtavyâ |
Vishṇudharmottare: rohiṇîsahitâ kṛishṇâ mâsi bhâdrapade 'shṭamî | saptamyâm ardharâtrâdhaḥ kalayâ 'pi yadâ bhavet || 1 ||
tatra jâto Jagannâthaḥ kaustubhî harir îśvaraḥ | tam evopavaset kâlaṁ kuryât tatraiva jâgaram iti || 2 ||
[This passage is quoted in *Sk.* under *Janmâshṭamî* as occurring in the *Agnipurâṇa* (see above); it is, however, on the other hand, by *R. N.* 27*a* as here, referred back to the *Vishṇudharmottara*, by *R.* also more particularly to the *Bhavishyapurâṇa* and *Vayupurâṇa*, both of which, however, read the second hemistich of the first verse (conf. supra, the quotation from the *Âdityapurâṇa* and the next following one from Yogîśvara) *ardharâtrâd adhaś chordhvam*; which latter lection indeed occurs also in *N.* 27*b*, where it is indicated as in the *Bhavishye Vishṇudharmottare.*]
Yogîśvaraḥ (whereby usually Yâjñavalkya is meant, which, however, does not suit here):—rohiṇîsahitâ kṛishṇâ mâse cha śrâvaṇe 'shṭamî | ardharâtrâd adhaś° (as *Âdityapurâṇa*; *R.* p. 29 cites these verses from the *Skânda*).

|| Sa eva (*i.e.* Yogîśvara) pakshântaram âha: ardharâtrâd adhaś chordhvam ekârdhaghaṭikânvitâ | rohiṇî châshṭamî grâhyâ upavâsavratâdishv iti ||
M., however, explains *ekârdho* as if it contained *two* eventualities: "*either* one *gh.* (before and after midnight), or *half* a *gh.* (before and after)." *R.*, on the other hand (p. 29), as above. The verse occurs also in *D.* as 31 with the variant: *ghaṭikarohânvita'pi vâ.*

Yogîśvara. The ritual prescription that at the *Jayantî* festival an *arghya* gift is always to be given to the *moon*, which term is on its part again limited to the *rising* of the moon, serves, on the authority of a passage from the *Vishṇudharmottara*,¶ as a closer determination. If, however, *Rohiṇî* does not meet the *eighth* exactly at midnight, it will suffice if this meeting occurs at any other moment either in the diurnal or nocturnal portion of this lunar date: for this there are quotations* from the *Vasishṭhasaṁhitâ* (fol. 84*a*) and from another *Purâṇa*. In a year in which such a meeting does not occur at all, then *not* the *Jayantî* form, but the *simple Janmâshṭamî* form of the festival is to be celebrated. But then also the midnight term for the *tithi* is kept.† With this, moreover, several specialities are connected concerning the various possibilities of the beginning of the *tithi*, whether it coincides with sunrise, or occurs during the night,‡ &c. There are, moreover, yet other possibilities added for the *Jayantî* form (fol. 84*b*), because the star *Rohiṇî* belongs to those (see *Ind. Stud.* X. 306) the connection whereof with the moon lasts throughout 1½ Nycthemera.§ The principal question after all is, How in all these cases is the *fast* to be placed?

As a closer discussion of these specialities here would carry us too far, I shall content myself with the subjoined quotations || from the *Vishṇurahashya* (fol. 85*b*), *Âdityapurâṇa* (fol. 85*b*), *Vishṇudharma*, *Gâruḍa-Padma-Brahmavaivarta* (fol. 86*a*)- and *Skanda-Purâṇa*.

After further briefly elucidating a special heightening of the sacredness of the *Jayantî* celebration by quotations from the *Padma* (fol. 86*b*) and *Skanda-Purâṇa*, as well as from the *Vishṇudharmottara*,¶ viz. in the case when it falls on a *Monday* (*somavâsara*) or *Wednesday* (*vudhavâsara*), the author turns in conclusion to the *pâraṇam*, *i.e.* to the *infringement* of the *fast* enjoined by the festival on the day

¶ ardharâtre tu yogo 'yam târâpatyudaye tathâ | niyatâtmâ śuchiḥ snâtaḥ pûjâṁ tatra pravartayed iti ||
Al. inserts between both hemistichs a third: Jayantî nâma sâ râtris tatra jâto Janârdanaḥ |

* *Vasishṭhasaṁhitâyâm*:—ahorâtrântayor (°traṁtayor, *Cod.*) yogo 'tyasampûrṇo bhaved yadi | muhûrtam apy ahorâtre yogaś chet tâm uposhayed iti ||.

Purâṇântare 'pi:—rohiṇî cha yadâ krishṇapakshe 'shṭamyâṁ dvijottama | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ sarvapâpaharâ tithiḥ.||
(The following verse is, according to R., from *Vaśishṭha*): vâsare vâ niśâyâṁ vâ yatra svalpâ 'pi (*so also K.* yadi yuktâ tu *R.*) rohiṇî | viśeshena nabhomâse (°si *R.*) saivoposhyâ manîshibhir (*so also K.*, sadâ tithir *R.*) iti || The *thirty* days (*tithi*) of the lunar month are distributed in a constantly changing way among the c. 29½ Nycthemera which are at its service: see more in my *Abh. über das Jyotisha*, pp. 43-44, *Ind. Stud.* X. 262.

† tatrâpi netarâshṭamîvad divase vedhaḥ, kim tv ardharâtravedhaḥ | tathâ cha tasminn eva purâṇântare (according to *R.* this is a *Parâśaravachanam*; *Brahmavaivarte* N.): divâ vâ yadi vâ râtrau nâ 'sti ched rohiṇîkala | râtriyuktâm prakurvîta viśeshenendusaṁyutâm iti ||
anyatrâ 'pi (*D.* 33*b*-34*a*): ashṭamî śivarâtriś cha hy ardharâtrâd adho yadi | driśyate ghaṭikâ yâ, sâ pûrvaviddhâ prakîrtiteti || iti vedho nirûpitaḥ |

‡ sûryodayam ârabhya vartamânâ ashṭamî śuddhâ, niśîthâd arvâk saptamyâ kiyatyâ 'pi yuktâ viddhâ.

§ Wherefore the *rohiṇîsahitâ 'shtamî* is in the first place fourfold,—*śuddhâ*, *viddhâ*, *śuddhadhikâ*, *viddhadhikâ*; but each of these four species is again divided into three sub-species.

|| *Vishṇurahasye* (*smṛiti* in *R.*):
prâjâpatyarkshasaṁyuktâ krishṇâ nabhasi châ 'shṭamî | muhûrtum api labhyeta so 'poshyâ sumahâphalâ || 1 ||
muhûrtam apy ahorâtre yasmin yuktaṁ hi labhyate | ashṭamyâ rohinî-ṛiksham, tâṁ supuṇyâm upâvased (*so also Al.*, *Ś. Vr.*) iti || 2 || . . . tatra yâ pûrvedyur eva rohiṇîyuktâ viddhâdhikâ, tasyâm upavâsaś châ "dityapurâṇe (âdipur°, *R.*) smaryate:
vinâ ṛikshaṁ na (ṛikshena, *R.*) kartavyâ navamîsaṁyutâ 'shtami | kârya viddhâ 'pi saptamyâ rohiṇîsaṁyutâ 'shtamîti (also the *Haribhaktivilâsa*, cited in *Śk.*, reads in the first *pâda*—*ṛikshena*!)
Vishṇudharmè 'pi (°*rmottare* in *R.*): Jayantî Śivarâtriś cha kârye bhadra jayânvite | kritvopavâsaṁ tithyante tathâ (tadâ *R.*) kuryât tu (cha *R.*) pâraṇam iti ||

The examination of the *Vishṇudharma*, as it is one of the older *dharmaśâstras*, would here be of special importance (conf. particularly also Bühler's remark in the *Z. der D. M. G.* XXI. 327): but according to *R.* it is to be read *Vishṇudharmottare*, whereby the quotation considerably loses in interest, as the *uttara* part of the *Vishṇudharma* is evidently of a much later date than the *Vishṇudharma* itself.

Gâruḍapurâṇe 'pi (*Garuḍapurâṇe-Vishṇudharmottarayoḥ*, *R.*, p. 31, *K.* 24*b*):
Jayantyâm pûrvaviddhâyâm upavâsaṁ samâcharet | tithyante votsavânte vâ vratì kurvîta pâraṇam iti ||

(Thus *Al.*, fol. 33*b*, in our MS., also reads *vrati kur°*, whilst *R.*, p. 32, has *nirṇayâmṛite tu pratikurvîta pâraṇam iti pâṭhaḥ*. For *votsavânte R.* has afterwards the lection *târakânte*, but rejects it, because *votsavânte* is said to be authorized by Hemâdri, Nirnayâmṛita, and Mâdhava.

Padmapurâṇe (the first hemistich is, according to *Al. Brahmavaivarte*; the whole verse *D.* 30): kâryâ viddhâ 'pi (viddhâ yadâ tu *D.*) saptamyâ rohiṇîsahitâshṭamì | tatropavâsaṁ kurvîta, tithibhântaṁ (°bhânte, *D.*) cha pâraṇam iti ||

Brahmavaivarte:—varjanîyâ prayatnena saptamìsaṁyutâshṭamî | sâ sa-rkshâ (saṛikshâ, *Al. N. K.*) 'pi na kartavyâ saptamîsahitâ 'shṭami (*Al. R.*) | aviddhâyâṁ tu sarkshâyâṁ jâto Devakînandana iti ||

Skandapurâṇe (*Sk°ṇa-Brahmavaivartayoḥ R.* p. 31): saptamîsaṁyutâshṭamyâm bhûtvâ ṛikshaṁ dvijottama | prâjâpatyaṁ dvitîye 'hni muhûrtârdham bhaved yadi | tad âshṭayâmikaṁ jneyam proktaṁ Vyâsâdibhiḥ pureti ||

Padmapurâṇe: pûrvaviddhâ 'shtamî yâ tu udaye (*R. K.*) navamîdine | muhûrtam api saṁyuktâ (also *K*, °*ṛtenâ 'pi R. N.*) sampûrṇâ sâ 'shṭamî bhavet || 1 ||
kalâ-kâshṭhâ-muhûrtâ 'pi yadâ krishṇâshṭamî tithiḥ | navamyâṁ saiva grâhyâ syât saptamîsaṁyutâ na hìti || 2 ||

¶ We have already above (p. 163) the quotation from the *Padmap.* (*pretayoni*); but here yet a fourth hemistich is added (...*viśeshataḥ* |): kim punar navamîyuktâ kulakoṭyâs tu muktideti ||

Skandapurâṇe (so also *N.* 28*b*, *K.*; *Padmapurâṇa Al.*; *Brahmavaivartaḥ R.*; the first verse in *D.* as 28): udaye châ 'shṭamî kiṁchin navamî sakalâ yadi | bhavet tu vudhasaṁyuktâ (sâ budhavâreṇa, *D.*) prâjâpatyarkshasaṁyutâ|| api varshaśatenâ 'pi labhyate yadi vâ na veti |
Vishṇudharmottare 'pi (in *D.* as 27):
ashṭamî vudhavâreṇa rohinîsahitâ yadâ | bhavet tu muniśârdûla kiṁ kṛitair vratakoṭibhir iti ||

following (*paredyus*). The general rule is that the *pâraṇam* falls in the *forenoon* : consequently, as *breakfast* is here subjected to exception, it is strictly incumbent that it should not take place as long as there is a remnant of the *eighth* (*i.e.* of the *tithi*) or of the *star* (*bha*, namely, *rohiṇî*) (fol. 87*a*),* but this again with the further observation that the *pâraṇam* is not allowed to take place in the night, but restricted to the day-time, so that in case either the *tithi*† or the *nakshatram* should extend into the night, the *pâraṇam* is, without reference to it,‡ to commence *before*, or at the termination of the festival (*utsavânte*) itself.§

The *third* work among those approximately fixed in chronological order is the sort of calendar handbook *Nirṇayâmṛita* (see *Verz. d. Berl. Sans. H. S.* pp. 331-2, Chambers 560 (fol. 31*b*-34*a*), which was composed by order of a Sûryasena by Allâdanâtha (= *Al.*), probably in the fifteenth century, as it is quoted by *R.* (*e. g.* vol. I. pp. 32-33 in the latter passage even *before* Mâdhava, immediately after Hemâdri). The representation of the *Janmâshṭamî* therein (in *śrâvaṇa*) begins with numerous quotations, containing threats of penalties for those who eat on the birthday of Krishṇa, and similarly disproportionate promises of rewards for those who observe the *fast.* || A representation of 18 different ways, in which the festival day in its simple and in its *Jayantî* form may be related to the preceding and following date (the seventh and the ninth) as *śuddhâ*, *viddhâ* (see p. 165, n. †), &c., is appended to this, as well as statements concerning the correct termination of the *pâraṇam* : both with the production of all kinds of quotations, and in general in concert with what has been adduced above from M â d h a v a. Among others, a quotation from the *Mârkaṇḍeya* is new :—

prâjâpatyena saṁyuktâ krishṇâ nabhasi châ 'shṭamî | Jayantî nâma sâ proktâ sâ hy uposhyâ mahâphaleti

as well with regard to *this* context of the words (though the first hemistich with the variant °*patyarksha*° occurs, according to *M.*—see above, pp. 163,165—also in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, and together with *pâda* 4, also in the *Vishṇurahasya*), as in its being attributed to the *Mârkaṇḍeya*, whereby no doubt the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa* is meant (but I have not found there any passage of the sort).

By *tad uktam*, among others, also the following new quotations are introduced :—

rohiṇî saṁyutâ cheyaṁ vidvadbhiḥ samuposhitâ | viyoge pâraṇaṁ kuryur munayo brahmavâdina iti ||

and (conf. herewith the verse from *Bhṛigu* in *M.* above, p. 164)—

Krishṇâshṭamî Skandashashṭhî Śivarâtri(ś) Chaturdaśî | etâḥ pûrvayutâḥ kâryâḥ tithyante pâraṇam bhaved iti ||

and by *Nigame 'pi* :

pûrvaviddhâsu tithishu teshu cha śrâvaṇaṁ vinâ | uposhya tithiṁ vidhivat kuryâd ante (°*t tadante*, MS.) *tu pâraṇaṁ iti* ||

No mention whatever is made of the *ritual* part of the festival.

As the *fourth* among those fixed approximately in chronological order, the *Janmâshṭamî*-

* *Brahmavaivarte* (*Bhavishya-Vishṇurahasya Brahmavaivarteshu R.*): ashṭamyâm atha rohiṇiyâṁ na kuryât pâraṇaṁ kvachit | hanyât purâkṛitaṁ karma upavâsârjitam phalam || 1 ||
tithir ashṭaguṇaṁ hanti nakshatraṁ cha chaturgunam | tasmât prayatnataḥ kuryât tithibhânte cha pâraṇam || 2 ||

† The beginning of a *tithi* in the night is considered as of evil import (*tâmasa*, doomed to darkness), that in the day as favourable (*taijasa*, light) ; *tathâ cha Brahmavaivarte* (fol. 87*b*) : sarveshv evopavâseshu divâ pâraṇam ishyate | anyathâ puṇyahâniḥ syâd ṛite dhâraṇapâraṇât (dhâraṇam niyamagrahaṇaṁ, tataś châ 'gṛihîtanaktavratasya râtripâraṇanishedhaḥ *R.*) ||
anyatithyâgamo râtrau tâmasas taijaso divâ | tâmase pâraṇaṁ kurvaṅs tâmasîṁ gatim aśnuta iti ||(this last verse is according to *R.N.* from the *Garuḍa Pur.*)

‡ One quotation (fol. 88*a*) even excludes in general *rohiṇî* (the *yoga* of which occupies just 1½ entire days) from any reference to this : yâḥ kâśchit tithayaḥ proktâḥ puṇyâ nakshatrasaṁyuktâḥ | ṛikshânte pâraṇaṁ kuryâd vinâ śrâvaṇarohiṇîm (śrâv° MS.) iti.||

§ For this calendar-like representation of Mâdhava's, conf. also Wilson's statements in his *Posth. Works* (ed. Rost), I. 28-129 ; III. 70 (from the *Padmapurâṇa*), 129 (from the *Brahmavaivartapurâṇa*).

|| The passages quoted for the threats of penalties are more particularly designated as *śravaṇa*, which at any rate involves a still more sacred authority for them than if they were designated only as *smaraṇa*. Most of the quotations are known already from *M.* The following are new :

Bhavishye 'pi (*Śa.* 68*b*-75, with some variants) : prativarsha° vaikuṇṭham âpunyât (see above, p. 163)|| 2 || tatra divyavimânena varshalakshaṁ Yudhishṭhira | bhogân nânâvidhân bhuktvâ puṇyaśeshâd ihâ ''gataḥ ||3|| sarvakâmasamṛiddhe tu sarvaduḥkhavivarjite | sarvadharmayute Pârtha sarvagokulasaṁyute ||4|| kule nṛipa varishṭhânâṁ jâyate tridaśopamaḥ | yasmin sadaiva deśe tu l i k h i t a ṁ vâ p a t â r p i t a m ||5|| mama j a n m a d i n a m puṇyaṁ sarvâlaṁkâraśobhitam | pûjyate Pâṇḍavaśreshṭha janair utsavasaṁyutaiḥ ||6|| parachakrabhayaṁ nâ 'sti kadâchin nṛipanandana | parjanyaḥ kâmavarshî syâd îtibhyo na bhayam bhavet ||7|| gṛihe vâ pûjate yasmin D e v a k y â ś charitam mama | tatra sarvasamṛiddhiḥ syân nopasargâdikam bhayam iti ||8|| and *Skandapurâṇe* (at 2-3*a*, conf. *D.* 37*b*, 38*a*, 39*a*) :
vratenârâdhya deveśaṁ D e v a k î sahitaṁ harim | tyaktvâ yamapathaṁ ghoraṁ yâti vishṇoḥ param padam || 1 ||
Janmâshṭamîvrataṁ ye vai prakurvanti narottamâḥ | kârayanty athavâ lokân lakshmîs (*K.*) teshâṁ sadâ sthirâ || 2 ||
smaraṇaṁ Vâsudevasya mṛityukâle bhaven nṛipa | sidhyanti sarvakâryâṇi kṛite Janmâshṭamîvrata iti || 3 ||

tattvam of Raghunandana (= *R.*) may follow, whom Bühler, in his Introd. to the *Digest of Hindu Law*, p. x., lately edited at Bombay by him and R. West, assigns to "the beginning of the sixteenth century."¶ This *tattva* is considered to be the *eighth* section of a large work printed at Serampore in 1834, in 2 vols., under the title of *Institutes of the Hindu Religion*, though it is only a separate portion of the *seventh* section of the *tithitattva* (see vol. I. pp. 25-34). According to the plan of the whole, the festival is here also treated chiefly from its place in the *calendar*, yet the *ritual* also is specially elucidated in the beginning. The discussion begins with two verses from the *Brahma* and the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, relating to the double *month*-date of the festival.* By means of the passage from the *Varâhasaṁhitâ* (see above, p. 166), which claims the name *Jayantî* specially for the so-called variety of the festival here discussed, *R.* then rejects the opinion broached in the *Dvaitanirṇaya* of Vâchaspati Miśra—conf. fol. 80*a* of the Oxford MS. in Aufrecht's *Catal.* p. 273*b*), according to which this name would belong to *each second quarter* of one of the twelve months in the case of its conjunction with Rohiṇî. Then follow some verses, to glorify the miraculous power of the festival, from the *Brahmavaivarta Purâṇa*.† According to the *Gâruḍa Purâṇa*‡ midnight is the correct time for the *worship* (*pûjâ*) to be paid to the god, the ritual of which is then described in a collection of passages from the *Bhavishya* and from the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa*, which, however, the author has not taken directly from these texts themselves, but from other works, and partly from one which is called *Saṁvatsarapradîpa* (the author of which is by Aufrecht, p. 38*b*, designated as a *prâchîna-gauḍa*). This *pûjâ* is said to be only an *aṅgam* or secondary member of the celebration by which its meritoriousness is enhanced, whilst the *chief part* of it (*pradhâ, nam*) is the *fast*, as set forth in a passage from the *Brahmavaivarta*.§ This is followed by a second and more detailed description of the ritual of the festival, first of the prayers, &c. to be addressed to the god on the day *before the fast*, in quotations from the *Garuḍa*‖ and *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa*, which are taken from the *Râjamârtaṇḍa*, and the *Kṛityachintâmaṇi*,¶ and secondly, of the formalities to be observed on the *fast-day* itself from the morning, and on the day after it,* which are likewise described in quotations from the same *Purâṇas* (partly on the ground of their mention in the *Saṁvatsarapradîpa*.) From the middle of p. 29 the *calendaric* examination (*vratakâlavyavasthâ*) of the festival begins with the discussion of the correct time for the *pâraṇam*. The quotations are essentially the same as in Mâdhava, but with the addition of a few more of the same kind from the *Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa*, *Parâśara*, *Vasishṭha*, *Paiṭhînasi*, and *Vishṇu Purâṇa*.† *R.* also assigns some verses

¶ He is similarly placed by Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus*, p. 291*b*, between A.D. 1430 (Râyamukuṭa) and 1612 (Kamalâkara). According to Wilson (*Posth. Works*, I. 60), Raghunandana lived "less than a century ago" (this was written in 1840): but is decidedly erroneous (nor is the number of his *tattvas* 18, but 28).

* That is, according as the month begins with the black or the white half, it falls into the *bhâdrapada* or into the *śrâvaṇa (nabhas)*; the former is the *gauṇa*, the latter the *mukhya* manner (see above, p. 165). The quotations are—
Brahmapurâṇe:
atha bhâdrapade mâsi krishṇâshṭamyâṁ kalau yuge | ashṭâviṅśatime jâtaḥ krishṇo 'sau Devakî sutaḥ ‖ ashṭâviṅśatime Sârvarnikamanvan, taraprathamayagâpekshayeti śeshaḥ |
Vishṇupurâṇe mahâmâyâm prati bhagavadvâkyam (Wilson, *Vishṇup.* V. i. p. 499):
prâvṛitkâle cha nabhasi kṛishṇâshṭamyâm ahaṁ niśi (mahâniśi *Sk.*) | utpatsyâmi navamyâṁ cha (tu *Sk.*) prasûtiṁ tvam avâpsyasi ‖

† *Brahmavâivarthaḥ* (as masc.!):—
manvâdidivase prâpte yat phalaṁ snânapûjanaih | phalam bhâdrapade 'shṭamyâm bhavet koṭiguṇaṁ dvija ‖
tathâ: asyâṁ tithau vârimâtraṁ yaḥ pitṛîṇâm prayachhati | Gayâśrâddhaṁ kṛitaṁ tena satâbdaṁ nâ 'tra saṁśayaḥ.

‡ kṛishṇâshṭamyâṁ tu rohiṇyâm ardharâtre 'rchanaṁ hareḥ iti Gâruḍât |

§ *Brahmavaivartaḥ*:—
nṛiṇâṁ vinâ vratenâ 'pi bhaktânâṁ vittavarjinâm | kṛitenaivopavâsena prîto bhavati Mâdhavaḥ ‖ 1 ‖ bhaktyâ, vinopachârena râtrau jâgaranena cha | phalaṁ yachhati daityârir Jayantîvratasambhavam ‖2‖ vittaśâṭhyam akurvâṇaḥ samyak phalam avâpnuyât | kurvâṇo vittaśâṭhyaṁ tu labhate sadṛiśam phalam ‖ 3 ‖ vinâ vratena pûjâdyaṅgaṁ vinâ.

‖ tam evopavaset kâlaṁ râtrau kuryâch cha jâgaram | ekâgreṇaiva bhâvena Vishṇor nâmânukîrtanam ‖ anaghaṁ vamanaṁ° (*O.* 44 *b*).

¶ Both works are several times quoted by *R.* (or rather, after him, by *K. Bhd.*): more about them is not known to me. On an evidently different work, *Kṛityachintâmaṇi* by name: see *Ind. Stud.* I. 60.

* In place of the great festival to be celebrated on the morning of this day, yet before breakfast (*pâraṇam*) in honour of *Bhagavatî* (*i.e.* here of Devakî) *R.* has, on p. 29, a festival dedicated to Durgâ: *paradine prâtar bhagavantaṁ yathâvidhi sampûjya durgâyâś cha mahotsavaḥ kâryaḥ | tato brâhmanân bhojayet.* This is evidently a sectarian misunderstanding. For on p. 26 *R.* quotes the very verses, *O.* 56. 60, which show plainly that by *bhagavatî* here Devakî is meant. There are, after all these, still other Śaiva alterations occurring in *R.* (see below, § 2).

† Thus *Brahmâṇḍapurâṇe* (p. 30):—
ekâdaśîśatâd râjann adhikaṁ rohiṇîvratam | tato hi durlabham matvâ tasyâṁ yatnaṁ samâcharet ‖
Parâśara (p. 31):—trisaṁdhyavyâpinî vâ tu saiva pûjyâ sadâ tithiḥ | na tatra yugmâdaraṇam anyatra harivâsarât. Then (see above, p. 166): Kṛishṇâshṭamî Skandashashṭhi (*on to*) pâraṇam bhaved iti ‖ Vaśishṭha-Brahmavaivarta-Paiṭhînasy-uktasyâ 'py esha eva vishayaḥ | kṛishṇâshṭamî kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî

to other texts than *M.* (see the observations above on the respective passages).

The *fifth* place may be assigned to the *Samayamayûkha* of *Nîlakantha* (*N.*) the son of *Saṁkarabhaṭṭa*, who lived, according to Bühler (*loc. cit.*, p. viii.) "about 1600 A.D." Here, too, the *calendar* side of the festival is especially favoured. A few new quotations, *e.g.* from the *Skânda* and the *Saiva Purâṇa*, are here added‡ to those already known. According to the view of the author, in the first place the fast (*upavâsa*) and the *worship* (*pûjâ*) of the god are of equal import, both being (*pradhânam*) *essential* parts of the festival. At length he arrives at an opposite result to that of Raghunandana, —on the assumption that the *pûjâ* is the *pradhânam*, and the *fast*, on the contrary, only an *aṅgam*, or secondary constituent part of the festival. Besides this no material difference appears in the discussion of the calendaric relations, and the quotations are also the same.§ But that the author enters more particularly upon the relation of *Jayantî* to Mercury, or rather to the day of Mercury (Wednesday), and appeals to the explanation of this which occurs in the *Dvaitanirṇaya*.|| After this he turns against the supposition of Mâdhava that the simple and the *Jayantî* form of the festival are to be considered as two different *vratas*, &c. This is followed by a description of the ritual of the festival itself (*janmâshṭamîvataprayogaḥ*, fol. 30*a*-32*a*), with the insertion of verses which we have already met in *R.* among the quotations from the *Bhavishya Purâṇa* and *Garuḍa Purâṇa*. He closes with the examination of the *pâraṇam*-breakfast on the next day, with constant polemics against Mâdhava, into which we cannot enter more closely here.

The *sixth* may follow here on account of relationship,—the *Vratârka* of Saṁkara (= Ś.); Saṁkara being a son of the above Nîlakaṇṭha (see Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 280*b*, 281*a*; my *Verz. der Berl. H. S.* p. 335). Whilst in the works hitherto mentioned—of course excepting Hemâdrî, who is, unfortunately, not at our disposal—the *calendar* part of the question forms the *chief* object, the discussion—we find here, in conformity with the character of the work, the *ritual* side of it 'specially advanced. Only at the beginning of the detailed examination (Chambers 83, fol. 137*a* to 151*a* = *A.*, and Chambers 64, fol. 144*b* to 160*b* = *B.*) is the calendaric question briefly discussed by the author (in *A.* to fol. 139*a*), or rather dismissed by him with a reference to the *samayamayûkha* of his father (the views of the grandfather are also alluded to). After this first brief description of the ritual of the festival (*janmâshṭamîvratapaddhatiḥ*) as contained in the work of his father from which it is entirely transcribed (fol. 139*a*-141*b* in A.), there follow *three* detailed metric representations of it:—first one taken by Hemâdri from the *Bhavishya Purâṇa* (fol. 141*b* to 145*b* = *Śa.*); then a *second* (= *Sb.*) introduced by the words *atha śishṭâchâraprâptâ kathâ*, and indicated at the conclusion (fol. 148*b*) as taken from the *Bhavishyottara*; and lastly, a *third* (= *Śc.*), which is likewise marked at the end as taken from the *latter* work, under the special title *janmâshṭamîvratodyâpanam*. More on these three texts will be said in the course of this treatise.

Seventhly, the *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalâkara (=*K.*) composed A.D. 1612 (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 280*a*; Bühler, pp. x.-xi.), treats in detail, in its *second* section (fol. 21*b* to 24*b* of the Bombay ed.), of the *Janmâshṭamî* and especially

skandashashṭhy âdisâhacharyât, tithyante pâraṇavidhânâch cha | atraiva vishaye tither astagâmitve Vishṇu purâṇam:
alâbhe rohiṇîbhasya kâryâ 'shṭamy astagâminî | tatropavâsaṁ kṛitvaiva tithyante pâraṇaṁ smṛitam ||

Further a quotation borrowed from the *Saṁvatsarapradîpa*:—na râtrau pâraṇaṁ kuryâl ṛite vai rohiṇî vratât | niśâyâm pâraṇaṁ kuryât varjayitvâ mahâniśâm ||

The verse occurs also in the *Brahmâṇḍapurâṇa* (thus also *N. K.*), but the second hemistich there is as follows:—tatra niśy api tat kâryaṁ (kuryât *N. K.*) varjayitvâ mahâniśâm iti |

(By *mahâniśâ* the central point of the two middle *yâmas*, night watches, is meant, according to *K.* 24*a*: the *Vriddha-Sâtâtapa* understands by it two *ghaṭikâ* of it, and *Garga* both the middle *prahara*, *madhyamam prahâradvayam*).

‡ *Skânde*: ashṭamî śrâvaṇe mâsi kṛishṇapakshe yadâ bhavet | Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî jneyâ mahâpâtakanâsinîti ||

Saive purâṇe śiva vachanam: śṛiṇu vatsa pravakshyâmi ashṭamîbhedanirṇayam | śrâvaṇe kṛishṇapakshasya ghaṭishashṭir yadâ bhavet || 1 ||
tadâ Janmâshṭamî khyâtâ sampûrṇâ sâ prakîrtitâ | rohiṇî-rikshasaṁyuktâ Jayantî sâ tu kathyate || 2 ||
Jayantî yadi labhyeta tatra puṇyaṁ na gaṇyata iti ||

§ Perhaps the following are still new:—
Vahnipurâṇe: saptamîsaṁyutâshṭamyâṁ niśîthe rohiṇî yadi† bhavitâ sâ 'shṭamî puṇyâ yâvach chandradivâkarâv iti ||
and *Bhavishye Vishnudharmottare cha* (in *K. Bhd.* designated as likewise borrowed from the *Vahni purâṇa*): samâyoge tu rohiṇyâṁ niśîthe râjasattama | samajâyata govindo vâlarûpî chaturbhujaḥ (janârdanaḥ *Bhd.*) | tasmât taṁ pûjayet tatra niśîthe râjasattameti (*yathâvittânurûpatâ iti*; *K. Bhd.* breaks off with *tatreti*) ||

|| The author of which he designates here by the name of *guru*: *prapañchitâ chaitadvyâkhyâ dvaitanirṇaye gurubhiḥ*. Accordingly, *not* the work of Vachaspatî is meant (see above, p. 167), but one of the same name by Śaṁkara, the father of Nîlakaṇṭha,—see Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 281. (The passage is cited more closely in S. by *iti pitâma hacharaṇâḥ*.

in its calendaric aspect, with a thorough investigation of the controversy started by Hemâdri and Mâdhava, whether the simple and the *Jayantî* form of the festival are two different *vratas*. The quotations adduced from the *Purâṇas* are mostly those already known,¶ but a few other works and authors are also added, *e.g.* Anantabhaṭṭa, Chûḍâmaṇi, Madanaratna, &c. (see Aufrecht, *loc. cit.* pp. 277-280); the differing views of the Gauḍâs and Maithilas are particularly reflected upon several times (once, *e.g.*, in the following order: *Madanaratna-Nirṇayâmṛitâ-'nantabhaṭṭa-Gauḍa-Maithilagranthâdishu*). According to a statement in the *Madanaratna* purporting to have been taken from the *Vahni Purâṇa*, the festival may also be celebrated *every month* on *every* "eighth;" whoever does this throughout a whole year is promised an abundant reward.* The description of the festival itself (fol. 24*b*-25*a*) is based on the *Bhavishya Purâṇa*, or rather on Hemâdri's quotation from it.

The *eighth* place may be assigned to Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita's (*Bhd.*) *Saṁkshepatithinirṇaya* (Chambers 625). According to Colebrooke's *Misc. Ess.* II. 12 (1801) the author lived "between one and two centuries ago;" and according to Hall (*Index*, p. 156) not much before A.D. 1676. He puts together the calendaric statements in a compressed form (fol. 9*b* to 10*a*), referring to the antagonistic views of Hemâdri and Mâdhava in respect to the *Jayanti* (*Hemâdris tu: Jayantîvrataṁ na bhinnam.*) The celebration of the festival is touched on but slightly by him, as he refers the reader to Hemâdri.

In the *ninth* place the *Vratarâja* (*Vr.*) of Viśvanâtha, composed at Banâras A.D. 1736, is at least briefly to be mentioned. The section† treating of the subject presents, however, almost nothing particular, but is, with a few omissions, or additions, identical with the corresponding passage in the *Vratârka* of Śaṁkara, whence it has been directly taken without acknowledgment.

In the *tenth* place the description of the festival is to be mentioned which occurs in a ritual of the *Vaishṇavas*, calendarically arranged bearing the name *Mâsakṛitya* (*Ms.*) (Chambers 282, *Catal. of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.* p. 335). It is entirely of a ritual character (fol. 32-33), and breaks off abruptly. Here the *Jayantî* form of the festival is treated quite separately (fol. 25*a*-26*b* = *J.*), and is placed, moreover, on the *twelfth*; see the remarks made on this in the course of this treatise in connection with the statements from the *Varâha Purâṇa*. The date of the work is not known.

In the *eleventh* place, I mention the *janmâshṭamî-vratodyâpanam* (*Ud.*), which treats exclusively of the festival in question, and which exists in a Berlin MS. (Chambers 606 f. fol. 9), without date, but evidently modern. It is composed in prose, of a purely ritual kind, and contains one reference to the *Bhâgavata*. Conf. herewith what has already been observed in the *Z. der D. M. G.* VI. 93, *Catal. of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.* p. 338. Devakî is, on the occasion of a *pûjâ* dedicated to her, invoked under various names belonging to Durgâ, finally even as Durgâ herself.

The *twelfth* place may be occupied by the *Dharmasindhusâra* of Kâśinâthopâdhyâya (*Kâ.*), though composed only in A.D. 1790, but is highly valuable for its rich contents. Here the festival is considered in two *parichhedas*, fol. 17*b* to 22*a* of the Bombay edition‡; first, namely, from a calendar view, with an accurate statement of the time measured by *nâḍî* and *pala* (to fol. 19*b*), and then from a ritual aspect. In both respects the author adheres to the

¶ Among others also a quotation from the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* (fol. 22*a*), utilized already by Hemâdri according to *K. Bh.*, is new:—

abhijin nâma nakshatram Jayantî nâma śarvarî | muhûrto vijayo nâma yatra jâto Janârdanaḥ.|| Conf. with this *Harivaṅśa*, v. 3320; the passage is of interest because it mentions *another nakshatra*—*Abhijit*, not *Rohiṇî*—as that under which Krishṇa's birth took place (see below). Further, a few quotations from the *Vahnipurâṇa*,—thus, fol. 22*a*:—

Tretâyâṁ Dvâpare chaiva râjan Kṛitayuge tathâ | rohiṇîsahitâ cheyaṁ vidvadbhiḥ samuposhitâ||

and fol. 23*a* (after Hemâdri):

ataḥ paraṁ mahîpâla samprâpte tâmase kalau | janmanâ Vâsudevasya bhavitâ vratam uttamam. (It is surprising that K. quotes *by the side* of the *Vahnipurâṇa* also the *Agni Purâṇa*, both according to Hemâdri,—see here, and above, p. 164,—whilst under both names the same work ought to be understood; we are evidently to conclude from this that two such *Purâṇas* existed.) Lastly, a quotation from Vyâsa:—janmâshṭamîṁ pûrvaviddhâṁ sarikshâṁ sakulâm api | vihâya navamîṁ śuddhâm uposhya vrataṁ âchared iti ||

* *madanaratne Vahnipurâṇe*: pratimâsaṁ cha te pûjâṁ ashṭamyâṁ yaḥ karishyati | mama chaivâ 'khilân kâmân sa samprâpsyaty asaṁśayam|| *tathâ*: anena vidhinâ yas tu pratimâsaṁ nareśvara | karoti vatsaraṁ pûrṇaṁ yâvad âgamanaṁ hareḥ | dadyâchhayâṁ susampûrṇâṁ gobhi ratnair alaṁkṛitâm.||

† It embraces fol. 96*a*-104*a* of the Bombay edition (on which see *Z. der D. M. G.* XVII. 782) and fol. 181*a*-193*b* of an Oxford MS., on which see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 285*a*.

‡ See *Z. der D. M. G.* XVII., 783-5.

description given in the *Kaustubha* of Śrîmad-Anantadeva§ (fol. 19*a*-21*b*), or rather to the views of Mâdhava, once with a polemic glance at Nirṇayasindhu (19*a*). He gives, however, also some new indications, *e.g.* he remarks that the festival is at present celebrated in the Mahârâshṭra country under the name Gopâlakâla. The *Purâṇa* quotations are wanting.||

Lastly, I mention the article *Janmâshṭamî* in vol. II. (1827) of Râdhâkânta Deva's *Śabdakalpadruma* (*Śk.*), which however appears to be really only an extract from *R.*

With this closes the series of works directly fixed in a chronological order, or at least referable to a certain author (whose name is, however, not known in the case of the tenth and eleventh).

Now we come to the texts of *uncertain* times adduced in the above-mentioned works as *sources* for *their own representations*. These mostly belong to the *Purâṇa* literature, either directly, or as quotations from the *Agni* (*K. Kâ. Śk.*)-, *Âditya* (*Âdi*^c *R.*)-, *Garuḍa*-, *Pâdma*-, *Brahma* (*R. K.*)-, *Brahmavaivarta*-, *Brahmâṇḍa* (*R. N. K.*)-, *Bhavishya* (°*shyat M. N.*)-, *Bhavishyottara*-, *Markaṇḍeya* (*Al.*)-, *Vahni*-, *Vayu* (*R.*)-, (*R.*)-, *Vishṇu*.(*R.*)-, *Śaiva* (*N.*)-, *Skanda-Purâṇa*, or at least works of a similar kind (which are probably to be considered as parts of particular *Purâṇas*), such as the quotations from the *Nâradîya*-, *Varâha*-, and *Sanatkumâra-Saṁhitâ*, and from the *Vishṇurahasya*. Besides, however, several works apparently also belonging to the literature of the *Smṛitiśâstras* are quoted, such as *Parâśara* (*R.*, according to *M.* however the passage stands *purâṇântare*), *Paiṭhînasi* (*R.*), *Bhṛigu*, *Yogîśvara*, *Vasishṭha* (more strictly *Vas. Saṁhitâ*), *Vishṇudharma*, and °*dharmottara*, *Vyâsa* (*K.*) Now almost all these works, only those excepted for which I have just now adduced another authority within parentheses, have already been utilized by *M.* at the end of the fourteenth century as *sources* for the *celebration* of the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî*. And some of these books, such as the *Bhavishya Pur.*, *Garuḍa Pur.*, *Vahni Pur.*, and *Agni Pur.*, are traceable *yet one century* earlier as already utilized in this manner by *Hemâdri*. Now it will, I think, not be going too far if we assign to a work quoted in the 13th and 14th century, and claiming to be a *Purâṇa* or *Smṛitiśâstra*, an age from *two* to *three* centuries earlier, whence the *eleventh* century would be obtained as the period for which the *celebration of the festival* appears to be vouched for as *certain*.¶ Moreover, the *consensus* of so *numerous* works of this kind leads us, after all, probably somewhat higher, since such an universal acknowledgment of the festival appears to warrant the conclusion that it was at the time of their composition a *generally* received one, whence again the further suggestion presents itself, that the *institution*, or rather the *introduction* of it, belongs to a *yet earlier* time.

In this respect notice is to be taken of the circumstance that among the quotations adduced as authorities the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* is entirely wanting.* This is the more surprising, as just *this Purâṇa*, especially the *tenth* book of it, constitutes the real text-book of the Krishṇa sect. But according to all appearances the celebration of the festival does not actually occur in it.† From this the conclusion might perhaps be ventured that the festival had no existence at the time when the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* was composed. Such a result, however, falls to the ground simply from the circumstance that the grammarian Vopadeva— to whom Colebrooke, with Wilson and Burnouf, ascribes the composition of this *Purâṇa* in its present form‡—was a *contemporary* of the author in whom we are able to point out the

§ The *Saṁskârakaustubha* of this author (see *Cat. of the Berlin Sansk. MSS.*, p. 301) which I have before me, also in a Bombay (1861) edition (see *Z. der D. M. G.* XVII. 783), cannot be here meant. Aufrecht (*Catalogus*, 272*b*) mentions also another work of this author, the title whereof terminates also with the word *kaustubha* (*râjadharma*°). Probably he composed a larger work named *Smṛitikaustubha*, of which both the above-mentioned ones are only sections.

|| We find several verses recurring in *O.*, *Sa.*, &c.; and on fol. 21*b* two entirely new quotations from the *Agnipurâṇa* and from the *Bhâgavata* (see below, § 2).

¶ The material of the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa* is by Wilson (*Vishṇu Pur.*, ed. Hall, I. lxiv.) designated as referable to a period "probably prior to the Muhammadan conquest:" also the *Agni Purâṇa* belongs, according to its materials, to the *oldest Purâṇas*,—*ibid.* p. lxi.

* Excepting the entirely modern texts *Ud.* (*Ms.*) and *Kâ.* In *D* likewise a secondary section purporting to be taken from the *Bhavishyottara*, the citation from the *Bhâgavata* is indicated indeed as a part of the celebration itself; but there is no mention here, as in *Ud.* (*Ms.*) of a description of the festival in the *Bhâg.*, only some sayings, or rather sections, are utilized for it. And the quotation in *Kâ.* only refers evidently to a secondarily added and unimportant ceremony.

† The period of the *birth* is described in detail, X. 3, 1–8, but without giving any date; it is only mentioned that it took place under the star Rohiṇî and at midnight: v. 1 *yarhy evâ 'ṁjanajanmarksham* (schol.: *ajanân* (sic!) *nârâyanâj janma yasya prajâpates, tasya ṛiksham, rohiṇî nakshatram*) and v. 7 *niśîthe tama-udbhûte jâyamâne*. But neither there, nor in X. 44 *seq.* after the death of Kaṁsa, at which time the *Bhavishya* texts place the institution of the festival, do I find any remarks about it.

‡ See Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.* I. 104; Wilson, *Vishṇu Pur.*, Hall, I. p. l.; Burnouf, *Bhâg.* Pt. I. pp. lxiiff., xciiff. *seq.*

first dated representation of the festival, namely, Hemâdri, the author of the *Chaturvargachintâmaṇi*§. Therefore it must have been another reason which led to the omission of the festival in the *Bhâg. Pur.*|| I would propose the following explanation:—In the *Bhâg. Pur.* we have the modern turn of the Krishṇa-cultus, which chiefly concerns the *amours* of Kṛishṇa, and where the *mother* of the god gradually retires in course of time more and more into the background;¶ whereas, on the other hand, as we shall see, in the celebration of the *Janmâshṭamî* the mother comes specially into the foreground,—she plays a chief part in it, whereas no notice at all is, or rather can be, taken of the amours of Kṛishṇa, since he still appears as a babe at his mother's breast. I do not hesitate to notice here a particularly *archaic* moment of the celebration, the more so, since, as will appear further on, even here the endeavour has in course of time manifested itself to repress *this* side of it, and to offer the tribute of the celebration to the *god alone, without his mother.*

Among the *Purâṇas* quoted as authorities for the festival, the *Bhavishya* (or *Bhavishyat*), and the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa* occupy throughout the most prominent position. With reference to the verification of the quotations in question, unfortunately, peculiar ill luck prevails. As far as in the first instance the *Bhavishya Pur.* is concerned, the Oxford MS. of it (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, pp. 30-33) breaks off in the representation of the Festival calendar just with the *seventh* (exactly like our MS. of Hemâdri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*); the immediately following section of the *eighth*, in which the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration ought to be represented, is wanting.* Further, the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa*, evidently a supplement to it, is indeed before me in MS. (see *Catal. of the Berlin Sansk. MSS.*, pp. 133-7), but contains nothing about this festival in the section treating of the festivals on the "*eighth.*" According to all probability, we have here to deal, however, only with an omission on the part of the copyist; for, according to Aufrecht (*Catalogus*, pp. 34-36), both the Oxford MSS. of the work actually contain a chapter on the *Janmâshṭamî*, whilst our MS. gives in lieu of it a chapter on the *sonmâshṭamî*, which is thus *twice* represented therein.† For this a double explanation presents itself; the writer was either a Śaiva, and therefore intentionally interpolated in lieu of the Kṛishṇa festival a Rudra festival (which the *somâshṭamî* communicated by him is), or—as his name, Râmâjî contradicts this—the MS. from which he copied was defective. This defect appears, however, to have been noticed finally on the delivery of the MS., and the writer may have had to answer for it, because after the date of the copy has been stated, yet 7½ verses more are added (see my *Verz. der Berl. Sansk. H. S.* p. 137), which, although in an extremely unsatisfactory manner, really concern the Kṛishṇa festival, so that the suspicion arises that the

§ On the probable difference of his personality from that of Vopadeva's patron who bore the same name, see what has been remarked above, p. 161. The *synchronism* of both men is meanwhile secured otherwise, nor is it entirely beyond the bounds of possibility that an identity of personality may yet at last result. The author of the *Chaturvargach.* calls *himself* the minister of king "Mahâdeva"; on the other hand, only *later* texts designate the patron of Vopadeva as the minister of a king Râmachandra of Devagiri, but nothing of the kind is said by himself. That, however, *at the time* of the *Chaturvargach.* one *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* already existed appears by the quotations made therefrom, which occur in it (see, for instance, Aufrecht, *Catal.* p. 38*b*).

|| Accordingly the *testimonium a silentio* cannot, as in this case, also be drawn from the non-mention of the festival in the *Vishṇu Pur.* (according to Wilson, I. cxii. ed. Hall, composed about the middle of the *eleventh* century), or in the *Harivaṅśa*.

¶ In the *Nârada Pañcharâtra*, *e.g.*, Kṛishṇa is often represented as the son of Devakî (see III. 8, 7. 12, 2. 14, 2. 37. 58. IV. 1, 19. 3, 130. 5, 29. 8, 33); she is, however, besides mentioned only once (III. 7, 32): allusion to Kṛishṇa's birth and childhood is, after all, made only occasionally in the enumeration of his epithets (IV. 1, 18 *seq.*; 8, 14), as could not, of course, be otherwise expected in a work which essentially glorifies him in an *esoteric* manner as the *highest god.*

* It might perhaps be supposed, as this occurs *twice*, that we have here an intentional omission from a standpoint inimical to Kṛishṇa (see immediately, p. 172). But none of the *other ashṭamî* festivals have anything to do with Kṛishṇa.

† Also the order of the other sections is different:—

Berlin MS.	Oxford MS.
Ch. 51, *somâshṭamî.*	Ch. 47, *budhâshṭamî* (=Berl. 54)
,, 52, *dûrvâshṭamî.*	,, 48, *janmâshṭamî.*
,, 53, *kṛishṇâshṭamî.*	,, 49, *dûrvâshṭamî* (=Berl. 52)
,, 54, *budhâshṭamî.*	,, 50, *kṛishṇâshṭamî* (=Berl. 53)
,, 55, *anaghâshṭamî.*	,, 51, *anaghâshṭamî* (=Berl. 55)
,, 56, *somâshṭamî.*	,, 52, *somâshṭami* (=Berl. 51, 56)

Both the representations of the *somâshṭamî* in Ch. 51, 56 of the Berlin MS. agree considerably in the beginning, and more particularly in the seven first verses, but afterwards diverge. Ch. 56 has in general only 25 verses. Ch. 51, on the other hand, breaks off on fol. 141*b* in the 49th verse, so that the conclusion is entirely wanting, as fol. 142*a* begins with Ch. 52. The *Kṛishṇâshṭamî* occurring both in the Berlin and the Oxford MS. has nothing to do with the god Kṛishṇa, but concerns a celebration, to be addressed on *each second* quarter of the moon during the twelve months of the year, to Śiva under twelve different names (*Śaṁkara* in *Mârgaśirsha*, *Śambhu* in *Pausha*, *Maheśvara* in *Mâgha*, *Mahâdeva* in *Phâlguna*, *Sthâṇu* in *Chaitra*, *Śiva* in *Vaiśâkha*, *Paśupati* in *Jyaishṭha*, *Ugra* in *Âshâḍha*, *Śarva* in *Śrâvaṇa*, *Trayambaka* in *Bhâdrapada*, *Bhava* in *Âśvina*, *Rudra* in *Kârttika*; and this celebration is considered to be a comfortable substitute for the Vedic sacrifices *agnishṭoma*, &c.

copyist has on his part needily stitched together these verses in order to make up for the blamed defect.‡ However the case may be, the ritual texts beginning from Hemâdri all unanimously point to the *Bhavishya* and to the *Bhavishyottara Pur.* as the chief *sources* for the celebration of the festival: hence there is no doubt that they are actually to be considered as such, and that accordingly the Oxford MSS. of the last-mentioned *Purâṇa* justly contain the *Janmâshṭamî* chapter as a portion of the work. For a copy of this chapter from both MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of one of my former students, Hermann Brunnhofer, residing at present in Oxford. Unfortunately both these MSS. are of recent date, the one (Wilson 126) having been copied at the end of the last century, and the other (Wilson 124) as late as 1826. They are also rather incorrect, but nevertheless closely agree with each other (= *O.*), both assigning to the chapter the same 67 verses. A comparison of their contents with other texts on the *Janmâshṭamî* now before me in a detached form as sections of the *Bhavishyottara*, or rather the *Bhavishya Pur.*, leads to the conclusion that it is, on the whole,—of course excepting very numerous differences in detail,—identical with *that* text which Śaṁkara (= *Śa*, or rather after him again Vratarâja = *Śv.* 1) adduces after Hemâdri from the *Bhavishya Pur.* (*not* from the *Bhavishyottara Pur.*), but in 78 verses.§ On the other hand, the two texts adduced by Śaṁkara from the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa* (*Śb.*, *Śc.*) have nothing in common with the Oxford text.|| Further, among the other texts of this kind occurring separately in the Chambers collection, and designated in their final signatures as having been taken from the *Bhavishyottara*, there is, firstly, one which in reality *almost wholly* corresponds with the Oxford text (Chambers 724 = *C.*), and further a second (Chambers 793*t* = *B.*) which shows at least in the first ten of its 87 verses close relations, whereas afterwards it differs entirely, and shows again a few closer points of contact only in the description of the festival itself. These latter coincidences then occur again also in the third text of this kind (Chambers 816 = *D.*, written A.D. 1654), and are therefore evidently to be recognized as a common original stock; as to the rest, however, this third text is quite different from the Oxford text, whilst on the other hand some verses of it recur partly in *B.*, and partly in *Śa.*, *Śb.*

Now the question is how this discrepancy is to be explained. In the first place, by the fact that the *Janmâshṭamî* appears to have been treated in *both* works,—in the *Bhavishya* as well as in the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa*, and that in consequence of the similarity of names and the identity of the subject, in citations as well as in larger independent extracts from these two works, the confusion of the one with the other easily arose. Further, particular stress is doubtless to be laid also on the circumstance that all the *Purâṇa* texts in general are, so to speak, in a fluent state, easily allowing of interpolations as well as of alterations; especially it may often have been the case that refuge was taken under the authority of the name of

‡ These verses are:—

tasya vidhânaṁ vakshyâmi śṛiṇu râjan yathâtatham | tasmin dine śubhe prâtaḥ snânaṁ kâryam prayatnataḥ || 1 || nâ "lapet patitân pâpân tathâ pâshaṇḍino narân | kumbhâ dvâdaśa vai kâryâ(ḥ) phalabhakshyaiḥ samanvitâḥ || 2 || tathâ dampatayo (?) bhûpâ bhojayetu (°yantu ?) dvijâtayaḥ (*nomin.!*) | paridhâpya vastrai ramyaiś cha (*an akshara too few*) gâvo deyâḥ kṛitârchanâḥ || 3 || śayyâ deyâ mahârâja Devakî-Kṛishṇa-saṁyutâ | padâni cha nṛivâṁgâni(?) deyâni vidhivat tathâ || 4 || pañchavarṇaṁ mayam kâryam maṇḍalaṁ sarvataḥ-samam | suvarṇaṁ kâṁchanaṁ gâvo vâsâṇsi vibhidhâni (*sic!*) cha || 5 || pâraṇâ(!)-divase râjan dâtavyaṁ śubham ichatâ | bhojayitvâ dvijân bhavyân tebhyo deyâ cha dakshiṇâ || 6 || etat kṛitvâ mahârâja na bhûyas te 'nayo bhavet | kṛitvâ kṛishṇâshṭamîṁ râjan vidhânasahitâṁ purâ || 7 || munayo brâhmaṇâ bhûpâḥ paraṁ nirvâṇam âyadhuḥ (! âyayuḥ) || iti kṛishṇâshṭamîvidhânam ||

The *tasya* and *tasmin* in the beginning of these verses are characteristic, as they point to a preceding question which had probably been addressed to the unfaithful copyist. The statements themselves, partly composed in a barbarous style, bear only scanty relations to the other data on the *Janmâshṭamî*, and are, characteristically enough, limited to the gifts to be presented to the Brâhmans.

§ They correspond as follows:—

O.	*Śa.*	*O.*	*Śa.*	*O.*	*Śa.*
1. 2.	1. 3.	25*b*.	19*a*.	43*b*-45.	46. 47.
3*b*-5*a*.	2. 4.	26*b*.	21*b*.	45*b*-47.	48.
5*b*-8*a*.	5-7.	27*b*.	23*b*.	47*b*-51.	49-55.
9*b*-11*a*.	8. 9.	28-33.	24-29.	52.	57.
12.	10.	34*a*.	31*a*.	53.	59.
13*b*. 14*a*.	11.	34*b*-36.	32-34*a*.	54*a*.	60*a*.
15.	12.	37*b*.	37*a*.	54*b*-60.	62-67.
16.	15.	38*b*.	39*a*.	61.	69.
20. 21.	13. 14.	39.	38.	63.	74.
22. 23*a*.	16.	40. 41.	40. 41.	66-67.	77-78.
23*b*-25*a*.	17. 18.	42.	44. 45.		

Accordingly the following verses are peculiar to *O.*:— 3*a*. 8*b*. 9*a*. 11*b*. 13*a*. 14*b*. 17-19. 26*a*. 27*a*. 37*a*. 38*a*. 43*a*. 46. 62. 64. 65. and *Śa.* alone has the following verses:—

19*b*. 20. 21*a*. 22. 23*a*. 30. 31*b*. 34*b*. 35. 36. 37*b*. 39*b*. 42. 43. 56. 58. 60*b*. 61. 68. 70-73. 75. 76.

|| In the *Vratarâja* (*Śv.* 2, 3), indeed, the second of them (*Śv.* 3) is at the conclusion designated as taken from the *Bhavishya*, *not* from the *Bhavishyottara*. No source whatever is given at the conclusion of *Śv.* 1 and *Śv.* 2, so that Viśvanâtha appears to have considered all the three texts as taken from the *Bhavishya*.—No reference to Hemâdri occurs in *Śb.*, *Śc.*

some *Purâṇa* for sectarian purposes, and that any special elaboration by utilizing older constituent parts was perhaps bluntly designated as a section of such a *Purâṇa*. Hence it will always be necessary to be very cautious in using texts of any only so-called *Purâṇas*, in their final signatures; and only such passages of this sort as may be supported by being quoted as parts of a particular *Purâṇa* also in other works can with certainty be used as being original.¶

Now if we compare the quotations adduced in the ritual texts from the *Bhavishya* (*Bhavishyat M.*, *N.*), and the *Bhavishyottara Pur.*, with those texts just purporting to belong to these *Purâṇas* (*O*, *Śa.*, *C.*, *B.*, *D.*, *Śb.*, *Śc.*), it first appears that a not inconsiderable part of those quotations does *not* occur in them. This, at all events, may very likely be attributed to the fact that they may have been taken from the yet wanting *Janmâshṭamî* section of the *Bhavishya Pur.*; though of course yet other circumstances may have coöperated to effect this. Further, those quotations which can be identified, though with numerous and considerable variants, yield the following result:—The far preponderating number of them is taken from *O.*, *Śa.*, *C.*, mostly indeed from the verses common to these three texts; some, however, also from verses peculiar either to *O.* or to *Śa.* (*C.* has but few of this kind).* Also from *B.* a few verses are quoted; also a certain number of verses from *D.*; the latter are, however, mostly attributed directly to other *Purâṇas* than to the *Bhavishya*, or *Bhavishyottara*.† Lastly, of *Śb.* and *Śc.* I find no verses at all quoted which are peculiar to them alone. Or, in other words, *O. Śa. C.* are really ancient *Bhavishya* or *Bhavishyottara* texts. *B. D. Śb. Śc.*, on the contrary, are, in comparison with them, of secondary origin, although they contain ancient portions.

Now, as these texts on the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration which are assigned to the *Bhavishya*, or the *Bhavishyottara*, constitute in reality the chief basis of our knowledge of this festival, I think it proper, before I proceed, to examine them individually according to their principal features.‡

1. In Chap. 48 of the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa* in the texts of both the Oxford MSS. (= *O.*) compared with Chambers 724 (= *C.*)§ and Śaṁkara's *Vratârka*, fol. 141*b*-145*b* (= *Śa*),‖ Kṛishṇa himself instructs Yudhishṭhira on his own establishment of the festival of his *birth-celebration* (*Janmâshṭamî*) which ensued after Kaṅsa's death in Mathurâ. He had instituted it on the occasion when, taken into the lap of his mother Devakî with tears of joy, and tenderly embraced by his father Vasudeva, for the sake of the people arriving in rejoicing crowds, and, at the fervent requests of *all castes*, also of Śûdras and other believers (*dharmiṇaḥ*), he had ordered it to take place (vv. 11-19), at midnight the eighth of the black half of *Bhâdrapada*, whilst the sun is in Leo, and the moon in Taurus (*Vṛisha*), or more definitely in the *prâjâpatya ṛiksha* (i.e. *Rohiṇî*, Aldebaran). At Yudhishṭhira's request (vv. 20-21) Kṛishṇa then explains to him the details of the celebration.—The same begins with taking the vow to *fast* at the *break* of the *day* in question, after the necessary cleansing of the teeth (so that no remnants of food are left on them); at *noon* a bath in pure water, in a river, or elsewhere; then the erection of a beautiful inlying-*house* (*sûtikâgṛiha*),¶ provided with all

¶ But with reference to these latter passages a peculiar circumstance is not to be overlooked,—the fact, namely, that, considering the large extent of the *Purâṇas*, complete copies of these works are not very frequently to be met with, which is manifest simply from the circumstance that several authors of ritual texts (*R.*, *S.*, *K.*) often expressly state that they have *not* taken their quotations from the respective *Purâṇas* themselves, but from *other* works. How easily in this way might false coin also obtain currency! Corresponding to this, we have already, several times above, observed that *the same* verse is by *various* authors attributed to *different Purâṇas*.

* *Al.* quotes, *e.g.*, the verses *Śa.* 68*b*-75 together.—In one case some verses which occur only in *Śv.* 1 (15*b*, 16 *ibid.*) are quoted already by *M.* (81*a*).

† Thus *M.* attributes the verses *D.* 23*b*. 24*a*. 28. 42*b*. 45*abc*. 46*a*. 47. 48*b*. 49. 50*a*. to the *Skânda* (likewise *Al.* the verses *D.* 37*b*. 38*a*. 39*a*; it is in fact Skanda who appears as teacher in *D.*, see below), further *D.* 93 to the *Sanatkumârasaṁhitâ* (Sanatkumâra recites the verse in *D.*), *D.* 32*b*. 33*a* to Bhṛigu, *D.* 31 to Yogîśvara, *D.* 27 to *Vishṇudharmottara*, *D.* 30 to *Padmapur.*; *D.* 17*a*. 33*b*. 34*a* are quoted by him without special statement whence they are taken, merely by *purâṇe* or *anyatrâ 'pi*. Also the verses elsewhere quoted from *D.*, namely, 112. 114*b*-118. 129-131. 138, are all adduced (especially in *Bhd. Ms.*, only 115 also in *K.*, and 133 in *RNK*) without giving any special source (therefore *not* as taken from the *Bhavishya*).

‡ On Chambers 724, 793*t*, and 816 conf. also the communications already made by me in the *Z. der D. M. G.* VI. 93-97, and in the *Verz. der Berl. S. H.* pp. 338-340.

§ Viz. of the 2nd section of the MS. A section in prose but mixed with 20 verses, mostly again occurring in *D.* precedes (to fol. 3*a* = *Ca*), which contains another representation of the worship (*pûjâvidhi*) to be addressed to Kṛishṇa. Some of these verses ought to have found a place again also in the 2nd section (which I call *C.*), but are wanting; these are the verses 44*b*-52 of the Oxford text. In consequence of this and of some other differences, *C.* has only 62, not 67 verses.

‖ = Vratarâja, fol. 99*a*-100*b* (*Śv.* 1).

¶ Conf. K. III. 1, fol. 6*a*, *Saṁskârakaustubha* fol. 56*a*, *Kâ.* III. 1, fol. 18*b*.

appurtenances of ornaments, amulets, &c. for Devakî in the shape of a *cow-stall*, or rather shepherd-house (*? gokulavat*), filled with shepherdesses. In the centre a couch (*paryaṅka*): on it an *image* of Devakî as *just delivered*, slumbering, *with* Krishṇa likewise sleeping as a *suckling on her breast*. Also Yaśodâ is to be represented as just delivered of a beautiful girl (*prasûtâṁ varakanyakâṁ*). Gods and genii of every kind are to be represented as soaring in the air. Vasudeva armed with sword and shield stands at hand;* likewise singing *Apsarasas* and dancing *Gandharvas*. Also the snake Kâliya is to be pourtrayed in its Yamunâ bed. Then follows an adoration of Devakî (vv. 38 *seq.*) with fumigation, fruits, delicacies, and flowers, whilst certain formulas are recited, which are omitted when the celebration is carried on by women or Śûdras. *According to the view of some* (vv. 43 *seq.*), an honour-gift (*argha*) to the moon is added to this, when it rises, and is offered to it after prefatory name-prayers† and consecrated presents to Hari (Vishṇu), with a consecrating formula invoking the moon in connection with Rohiṇî (v. 52). At the same time the god himself (*i.e.* Hari, strictly Krishṇa), the moon with Rohiṇî, the parent-pairs Devakî-Vasudeva, and Yaśodâ-Nanda, as well as Baladeva (Krishṇa's brother), are placed on a sacrificially arranged spot, namely a heap of earth, *sthaṇḍila*,‡ and worshipped. *At midnight*, the moment when Krishṇa's birth took place, a *ghî*-present, called *vasordhârâ*, is sacrificed§; next follows the *birth*-ritual, called *vardhâpanam*,|| the *adoration* of the goddess Shashṭhî,¶ and also in the night the ceremony of giving the name. Then at the *break of day* on the ninth, in breaking the fast, just as great a feast (*mahotsava*) as to "me" (Krishṇa) is to be offered to Bhagavatî (Devakî), in connection with abundant feeding and largesses to the Brâhmaṇs, who are afterwards to be dismissed with prayers to Krishṇa. The conclusion (beginning from v. 60) consists of high promises to those who thus understand how to celebrate the *mother and the son*, and who hold the *Janmâshṭamî* either themselves in their own houses, or at least participate in its celebration by others.

(2) Chambers 793*t* (=B.), in 87 verses.

The beginning (to v. 10) agrees essentially with the Oxford text (as far as v. 14).* But in place of immediately entering on the description of the festival, Krishṇa here first premises (vv. 11-36) a condensed history of his birth, and of the events following thereon, till the death of Kaṅsa.† Then follows the special statement

* According to *C. Śa* also the sleeping watchmen of Devakî, the servants of Kaṅsa, are to be represented, as well as the various *Dânavas*, whom, according to the legend, the child Krishṇa had vanquished.

† Name-prayers (*nâmamantra*) are repeated by mentioning a deity's name followed by an exclamatory salute to the same. The consecrated gifts here consist of bath-water (*snâna*), of the honour-gift (*argha*), flowers, &c., sandal-wood, incense-victuals (*naivedya*), and couches (*śayana*) *S.*, *śâyana*, *O*).

‡ It is to be made one hand high and quadrangular (*Sk.*). On the erection thereof by means of the *pañcha bhûsaṁskârâs*, see *Gobhila* I. 1, 9, 10, and Stenzler, *De Domesticis Indorum Ritibus*, pp. 12 *seq.* (Bresl. 1860).

§ *Vasordhârâ* means literally "a pouring of riches." A ceremony of this name plays a special part in the Vedic ritual, namely in the *Śatarudriyam* belonging to the *agnichayanam*. The offering above is evidently an imitation of it (just as the form of some of the *mantras* also is adapted to that of the *mantras* of the *Śatarudriyam*).

|| *Vardhâpanam* is used here in the text itself (*OC.* 10*b.* 11*a. B.* 8) in this *general* signification: *yasmin dine prasûte 'yaṁ Devakî tvâṁ janârdana | tad dinaṁ dehi vaikuntha kurmo vardhâpanaṁ tava | Sa.* 9 has in the last *pâda*—*kurmas tatra mahotsavam*. According to Chambers, 362 (*Verz. d. Berl. S. H.* p. 314), *vardhâpanam* is the name for a certain benedictory ritual of the birthday (*janmadinakṛityam*), which is in the first year to be performed every month, but after that every year; conf. the detailed description in *Kô* III 1, fol. 32*b*. where it is explained as *âyurabhivṛiddhyarthaṁ varshavṛiddhikarma*. *R.* p. 27, lastly, explains the word, but probably erroneously, directly by *nâḍichhedanam* (so also the *Sk.*) by which evidently the *cutting of the navel-string* is meant,—conf Manu, II. 29. *prâñ nâbhivardhanât puṅso jâtakarma vidhîyate*; also NC. in their prose portions place a particular stress on the *nâlacheda*.

¶ *Shashṭhî* is the tutelary goddess of the sixth day, which is particularly critical for infants,—see *Ind. Stud.*. IX. 100; *Verz. der Berlin Sansk. H.* p. 314; Wilson, *Posth. Works*, ed. Rost. II. 192,—A passage quoted after Aparârka from the *Brahma Pur.* conceives the name quite differently, namely, as "the sixth" of the so-called *janmadâ devatâs*, the birth-protecting goddesses: the four first are the four phases of the moon under their feminine names: *Râkâ*, *Anumatî*, *Sinîvâlî*, *Kuhû*; the name of the fifth is said to be *Vâṭaghnî*, removing disorders from wind. This is probably an erroneous idea; the passage is *kanyâś chatasro Râkâdyâ vâtaghnî cha tathâ pañchamî | kriḍanârthâ cha bâlânâṁ shashthî cha śiśurakshinî.* ||

* The MSS. correspond with each other as follows:—

O.	B.	O.	B.	O	B.
1	1	6	4	10*b*, 11*a*	8
2*a*	2*b*	7*a*	5*a*	13*b*, 14*b*	9
4*a*	3*a*	8*b*, 9*a*	6	14*a*	10*a*

† "The gods, vexed by Kaṅsa came (for me) to Vaikuṇṭha, and brought information about his keeping his sister Devakî imprisoned, who was married to Vasudeva son of the *sûri* Yâdava, and that he had, on the strength of a prophecy that her eighth child would kill him, slain already six. Hereon I resolved to enter into Devakî's lap myself, and ordered Mâyâ to take birth in Yaśodâ, the wife of the cowherd Nanda. After my birth in the eighth month I showed myself first to my astonished parents in my true Vishnu form, and then ordered Vasudeva to exchange me for the girl just born on the other side of the Yamunâ in Nanda's shepherd-house (*gokula*). The watchmen became insensible. The bolts of the apartment opened spontaneously, the Yamunâ allowed Vasudeva to pass through her waters. After the exchange, the girl, now reposing on Devakî's couch, cried loudly. The watchmen awoke. Kaṅsa arrived

of the date of the birthday (vv. 31-39).‡ To this are added glorifications of the festival-celebration (vv. 40-66), especially under the name *Jayantî*. Already the kings of antiquity from Ambarîsha to Sumantu, and the old rishis and sages from Vasishtha to Vâlmiki (*kritaṅ Râmâyaṇaṁ yena vishṇoś charitam uttamam*), have kept this festival. Threats to him who does not fast on that day, or keep the festival (vv. 60 *seq.*). The description of the celebration itself (vv. 67-82) is very brief, but agrees pretty closely with the Oxford text.§ The statement that at midnight a cow rich with milk is to be given away with her calf (v. 80) is new; and that this is to be followed by songs, music, dancing, and listening to the narrative of Krishṇa's birth. The *vardhâpanam* &c. follows only after this. The conclusion (vv. 83-87) consists of new promises for the celebration of the festival; and their purport, as well as partly also the context, agrees closely with the final verses of the Oxford text.||

(3) Chambers 816 (= D.) in 173 verses; written A.D. 1654.

Instruction of Nârada by Brahman on the greatness of the *Jayantî* festival. First its glorifications to v. 23, whereof many verses are identical with B. (4).¶ Then (till v. 34) various calendaric determinations (*asitâ śrâvaṇe 'shṭamî*, Wednesday, and *rohiṇî*), among which there are many verses occurring in *M.* but quoted from other *Purâṇas* (see above, p. 173). Again promises for the celebration, and on the other hand threats for non-observance, of the fast (till v. 54). Next follows a legend about the mighty king Harischandra whom Brahmarshi Skanda, or, as he is also called, Sanatkumâra, informs about the reasons of his glory, which is inconceivable to the king himself; stating that having formerly, in an earlier birth as a Vaiśya in Kanyakubja, been suddenly seized with religious zeal at the sight of the preparations (vv. 82 *seq.*) for a celebration of the *Jayantî* festival at Vârâṇasi, arranged by Chandravatî, the daughter of the Kâśî king Indradyumna, he had *gratuitously* given away for it flowers, and had also kept the fast itself. At the question of Harischandra about the way and manner of this celebration, he then gives him the details of it (vv. 92-150), partly analogous with the statements of the Oxford text but also with considerable variations. After the bath about noon, first a *pitcher* (*ghaṭa*) adorned with five jewels and filled with holy water is to be set up, and over it a vessel (*pâtram*) made of gold, silver, copper, or plaited of reeds, and on this again a golden image of the god is to be placed which represents him as he *sucks the breast of the mother, presses the nipple with the hand, and often lovingly looks up to the countenance of the mother.* Only now, and not before, the *lying-in house* of Devakî is to be erected, in order thereby to represent by it the history of the Hari race as well as the shepherd's house. Then Hari is to be honoured with flowers and fruits under recitals of the (Vedic) *Purusha sûkta*. In a flower-arbour (*pushpamaṇḍapika*) song, music and dancing takes place. The thousand-name prayer is to be recited, the "liberation of the elephant,"* 'the acts of the Vishnu-(=Krishṇa-) child, and the various *Avatâras* are to be narrated. In the night, prayers follow to Devakî, who is to be considered *equal* to Aditi (111-116), and to her son Hari (117-125), as reposing in the lap of his mother (*mâtur utsaṅgasaṁsthitam*, 118), and to be honoured by all kinds of consecrated gifts (perfumes, &c.). Also the name-prayer is to be addressed to the Govinda placed on the *copper vessel* (*pâtre tâmramaye sthitam*, 126). When the moon rises, an *argha*-gift to Krishṇa and Devakî is presented, which consists of a cocoanut and a shell; and then a similar present to the moon, consisting of water with flowers, roasted barley, and sandal placed in a shell. (The *birth-ritual about midnight* is *not* mentioned here.)

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running quickly, snatched it from the mother, and smashed it against a stone. But it rose as a shining lightning form into the air, exclaiming to Kaṅsa, 'Thy slayer liveth,' and disappeared. I then grew up among the pastors, slew many *Daityas*, and have to-day, in the eighth year from my birth, slain Kaṅsa." The "slaughter of the innocents" is not mentioned here. (Conf. *Harivaṅśa* 3311 *seq.*; *Vishṇu Pur.* 5, I; Wilson, pp. 491 *seq.*; *Bhâgavata* 10, 1 *seq.*)

‡ = O. 16, 17; here, however, we have *śrâvaṇasyâ 'sitâshṭamyâṁ budhavâre 'rdharâtrike*, whereas there *mâsi bhâdrapade 'shṭamyâṁ krishṇapakshe 'rdharâtrike.*

§ The MSS. agree with each other as follows:—

O.	B.	O.	B.	O.	B.
22	67*b*, 68*a*	28*a*	74*b*	33*b*	74*a*
23	42	29*b*, 30	71, 72*a*	39*a*	77*b*
25	69*b*, 70	32*b*	73*a*	55*a*	82*b*

but of course with all sorts of variants.

|| Conf. particularly vv. 83*b*, 84*a*, 85, with O. 65*b*, 64*b*, 63.

¶ The MSS correspond with each other as follows:—

B.	D.	B.	D.	B.	D.
43-45	3-5	50, 49*a*	9, 10	52-56	19-21
46*a*	6*b*	51	13*b*, 14*a*	58	22
48	7				

* *gajendrasya cha mokshaṇam*, see *Catal. of the Pet. MSS.* 14 (as a portion of the *Mahâbhârata*); Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, 5*a*, 46*b*, also chap. 84 of the *Vamana Pur.*

Then the night is further to be spent in all kinds of amusements, dance, music, song, &c., listening to the history of Devakî's son, especially to the *Harivansa* and the *Bhâgavata* (137). Rich presents are due to the reader (*vâchaka*). At *daybreak* the prayers to *mother and son* are repeated. After having fed, and given presents to the Brâhmans, the landlord himself eats, with his family (150). Then Sanatkumâra terminates with renewed promises for the celebration of the festival (till v. 160); and after this Brahman first makes a few calendaric statements (161-165), and then terminates by again praising the greatness of the festival.

(4) Śaṁkara's *Vratârka* (= *Śb.*) fol. 145*b*-148*b*,† in 81 verses.

After the termination of the *Bhârata* fight, Yudhishṭhira turns to Krishṇa with the request to communicate to him, after imparting so many benefits and instructions, also the *Janmâshṭamî-vratam.* Krishṇa begins with the history antecedent to his birth, and narrates how the earth, tormented by *Daitya* hosts, had turned to Brahman for protection, and that the latter, accompanied by all the gods, had departed to Śvetadvîpa, in order to represent to him (to Vishṇu) this suffering of the earth. That he had then promised his aid, and had, according to a promise formerly made to Vasudeva and to Devakî, taken up his abode in the womb of Devakî (v. 18), whilst Yogamâyâ had done so in that of Yaśodâ. The further narrative is entirely as in B., although in quite different words.‡ After the disappearance of the girl in the air, Kansa being frightened, ordered a general slaughter of infants (*vâlânâṁ kadanâya*). In order thus, possibly, to annihilate the new-born foe announced to him. Kansa's servants execute his command. He himself, however, growing up in the cowherd's house (*gokula*), eluded all persecutions, slaying the wicked Pûtanâ,§ as well as other numerous servants of Kansa, and lastly him also (v. 44). Joyfully saluted by his parents, and requested by the people streaming by in festive joy, he then explained the celebration of his birth-festival as follows (vv. 52-62). The following very laconic description is limited to the bath, the fast, the erection of the shed (*maṇḍapa, sûtikagṛiha;* then some particulars are given as to the arrangement and fabrication of the images of the holy family), the watching through the night with song, dance, &c. The performance of the *birth-ritual* is touched upon quite briefly,—*purâṇaiḥ stotrapâṭhaiś cha jâtunâmâdishû 'tsavaiḥ*); the *argha*-gift and the moon are not even mentioned. In the morning the fast is broken on feeding the Brâhmans. After two verses in glorification of the festival, a legend follows to the same purpose (vv. 65-78), about Satyajit, the son of the Anga king Amitrajit, who had by connection with heretics (*pâkhanḍaiḥ*) become an unbeliever, and then, after long heavy infernal punishments, roaming about in the form of a *Piśâcha*, having been wholly exculpated by accidentally witnessing a celebration of the *Janmâshṭamî* and listening to it,|| and had found direct entrance into the Vishṇu-world. In conclusion two verses more are added in glorification of the festival, and finally the question is put to Yudhishṭhira what more he wished to hear.

(5.) *Ibidem* (= *Śv.*), fol. 148*b*-151*a* ¶ in 55 verses.

This piece directly follows the preceding one;* the first verse especially, in which Yudhishṭhira announces his wish to be henceforth instructed concerning the *udyâpanavidhi* by which "this *vratam*" is fulfilled, is probably meant as his actual reply to Krishṇa's question in the last verse of *Śb.* Krishṇa now gives, first, extensive details on the preparations for the festival. In the middle of a spot of the size of a cowhide, a circle is to be drawn where the gods (idols) Brahman, &c. are to be set up and worshipped. There a *shed* (*maṇḍapa*) is to be erected of plantain-tree trunks—the *sûtikâgṛiha* of Devakî is not mentioned; in the circle a copper or earthen pitcher is to be placed (see above in *D.*); on this a vessel (*pâ-*

† *Vratarâja* (*Sv.* 2), fol. 100*b*-102*b*.

‡ It appears from v. 34 that the parents of Krishna were *fettered*: after Vasudeva's return the doors closed themselves, and the fetters were as before, *dvârâṇi pihitany âsan pûrvavan nigadaṁ tataḥ.*

§ *Aham cha gokule sthitvâ pûtanâṁ bâlaghâtinîm | stanaṁ dâtuṁ pravrittâṁ cha prâṇaih samam aśoshayam* || 42 || In *Bhavabhûti* (*Mâlatîmâdhava* 69, 14. 15. 70, 8 *pûtana* m. f. appears in an appellative sense (*putidus*) as a name of the spectres haunting cemeteries.

|| Kadâchid daivayogena mama janmâshṭamîdine | kriyamâṇâm mahâpûjâṁ vratibhir munibhir dvijaiḥ || 75 || râtrau jâgaranaṁ chaiva nâmasaṁkîrtanâdibhiḥ | dadarśa sarvaṁ vidhivach chhuśrâva cha hareḥ kathâḥ || 76 ||

¶ In the *Vratarâja Śv.* 3), fol. 102*b*-104*a*.

* In the *Vratarâja*, moreover, it is not even separated from it, but follows in *immediate* connection. In *Ś.*, however, *Śb.* terminates with the subscription *iti*, and *Śc.* begins anew: *atha janmâshṭamîvratodyâpanam.*

trâm) of silver, or plaited of reeds, and upon it the god (*i e.* image of Kṛishṇa) wrapped in a garment is to be placed (v. 10). Then follow 16 *upachâras, i.e.* sacred formulas,† and gifts to Kṛishṇa, who is to be served as a beloved and honoured guest. This is followed by‡ the worship of the persons forming his suite &c., by name-prayers (vv. 27-28). After this comes (till 33) the offering of incense, candles, delicious victuals (*naivedyam*), betelnuts, fruits, the fee for sacrifice to the priests, and lastly the *lustratio* (*nîrâjanam*). To this new prayers to Kṛishṇa are added. When the *moon rises*, the *argham* to the moon follows, after Kṛishṇa and Devakî have previously received the like (37-43 entirely as above in *D.* 127-134; and a portion of the verses likewise as in *O.*). The *birth-ritual is wanting.* The night is to be watched through, with song, dance, &c., as well as by listening to old legends. At the grey of morning (*pratyûshe*), a bath, a gift of milk &c. are presented to "the lord of the world," as well as 108 *ghee*-offerings, &c. connected with the *Purushasûkta*. Next the "teacher" (*âchârya*) is to be honoured with ornaments, clothing &c.; a *brown* cow (*kapilâ*) with her calf (conf. herewith above, *B.* 80), richly adorned with gold, jewels, &c., is also to be given to him, or if none of the *kapila* colour is to be had, another cow (v. 50). After further rich presents to the Brâhmaṇs, who are besides to be festively fed, the landlord may himself eat, with his family.

Apart from the above-treated *Bhavishya* texts on the *Janmâshṭamî*, I have at my disposal another text of this kind from the circle of the *Purâṇas*, purporting to be taken from the *Vishṇu Purâna*, which I therefore append in this place. I mean the *śrîjanmâshṭamîvratakathâ*, Chambers's collection 640 (= *Vi.*), in 130 verses (to fol. 6*a*); annexed to it is yet another piece. in 75 verses (till fol. 8*a*), called *janmâshṭamîvratodyâpanavidhi*, for which no special *Purâṇa* is mentioned as a source. I have already reported—in the *Z. der. D. M. G.* VI. 92, and *Catal. of the Berlin MSS.* p. 337—on the first piece, which appears in the form of a narrative of Nârada to Indra, and have observed that neither in Wilson's translation of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, nor in the MS. text of it (Chambers 799), anything corresponding to the *order* and *words* of this piece occurs. The *contents* of it are, however, *closely* related to *Vishṇu Pur.* V. 1 *seq.* (Wilson, pp. 491 *seq.*), as it narrates likewise the antecedent history§ of Kṛishṇa's birth, as well as the birth itself‖ and some of his infant deeds¶ till the death of Kaṅsa. Only the last verses (122 *seq.*) give a short account of the celebration of his *birth-day*, wherein mention is made also of a golden image of Kṛishṇa, to be worshipped on a large pitcher (*kṛishṇamûrtiṁ cha sampâdya sauvarṇaṁ kalaśopari*), as well as of the adoration of the ten *avatâras* of Vishṇu. of Devakî, of the cowherds, and of Yaśodâ.

More particulars on this subject are communicated in the *second piece* by Kṛishṇa himself to Yudhishṭhira. To the bath, to be taken *at noon* of the eighth, an adoration of *Hari* is added (*âvâhanam*, and *âsanâdîni*, v. 10). The further proceedings, although given in entirely different words, materially correspond with what has been communicated above from *Śc.*, except for the insertion of an *aṅgapûjâ*, just in the manner of the one described in the *Vrataraja*. Wanting here, however, besides the *birth-ritual* of the other texts, also there omitted, is the *honour-gift* to the *moon*. Of the *night* it is merely said that it is to be spent with song, music, and legendary tales (*purâṇa*-

† They are destined for—1. the *dhyânam*, the adoration of the god; 2. the *âvâhanam*, adduction of the god; 3. *âsanam*, the offer of a seat; 4. *pâdyam*, the foot-water; 5. *arghyam*, the honour-gift (perfumes, flowers, roasted barley); 6. *âchamanîyam*, water for rinsing the mouth; 7. *madhuparka*, the honey-food; 8. again *âchamanîyam*; 9. *pañchâmṛitam*, the five ingredients of the bath,—milk, sour milk, butter, honey, sugar; 10. *snânam*, the bath; 11. *vastrayugmam*, two new garments; 12. *yajnopavîtam*, the sacrificial thread; 13. *bhûshaṇâni*, all kinds of ornaments; 14. *chandanam*, sandal-ointment; 15. *kuñkumâkshatâḥ*, roasted barley, anointed with saffron; 16. *pushpâṇi*, flowers.

‡ *Śv.* 3 adds here yet a special worship of the separate limbs of Kṛishṇa (*añgapûja*), at each of which he is worshipped with another name.

§ Herewith some new points:—Devakî, whose six first boys were slain by Kaṅsa, and who is just pregnant with her seventh child, went to fetch water, and sits sadly under a large *vaṭa*-tree. Yaśodâ, the likewise pregnant spouse of the cowherd Nanda, arrives, and asks the reason of her tears. Enlightened on the subject, she promises to exchange her own child in case it should be a girl for the seventh of Devakî if it should be a boy. Kaṅsa, who does not find his sister at home, goes after her, and keeps her henceforth shut up at home and closely watched. But after the birth of Kṛishṇa the bolts open spontaneously, the watchmen fall asleep, and Devakî goes to her husband Vasudeva and requests him to carry the infant to Yaśodâ, and there to exchange it for her girl; the Yamunâ touched by Kṛishṇa's foot becomes shallow, so that all this easily takes place. Kaṅsa does not himself kill the girl, but causes a servant to do so. Of the "slaughter of the innocents" (*Vishṇu Pur.* V. 4, p. 504; *Bhâg. Pur.* X. 4) no mention occurs here.

‖ Ver. 33: *samprâpte bhâdragade*.

¶ The frustration of Pûtanâ's evil intentions, as well as of those of a Brâhmaṇ sent forth by Kaṅsa, the humiliation of the serpent prince Kâliya, the killing of Châṇûra, Keśin, &c.

paṭhanena, v. 42). On the other hand, the ritual for the next *morning* is discussed here in still more detail than in *Śc.*, although materially corresponding therewith. The *colour* of the richly adorned cow to be presented to the teacher is not specially dwelt upon, and therefore left optional. The presents to be given to the priests, or rather to the Brâhmaṇs, are very specially treated.

The withdrawal of Devakî appears to be particularly worthy of remark in this narrative. Whilst she and her *sûtikâgṛiha* occupy in *O.* (*C.*, *Śa*), as well as in *B.*, *Śb.*, a specially prominent position, and also the *birth-ritual* constitutes a material part of the celebration, here in both texts of *Vi.*, as well as in *Śc.*, strictly speaking, only Kṛishṇa himself is celebrated, and Devakî mentioned only incidentally. Nor is Kṛishṇa here any longer represented at his *mother's breast*, but his *image alone* is worshipped, and that over a pitcher. Lastly, also, the great stress laid in *Vi. Śc.* on the presents to be given to the Brâhmaṇs, is to be noticed, inasmuch as it likewise appears to militate in favour of a more secondary origin of *this* narrative. An intermediate step between the two groups of texts is formed by *D.*, where the *sûtikâgṛiha* of Devakî is indeed specially mentioned, and the god is also still represented as a suckling on her breast; the latter representation, however, no longer takes place in its natural place, the *sûtikâgṛiha*, but (as in *K. Śa.*) *over a pitcher*; moreover, the *birth-ritual* at midnight is entirely wanting (as the presents *to* the Brâhmaṇs also play in *D.* a notable part). This adoration of the god (and moreover, as in *D*, of the god sucking the mother's breast) *over a pitcher* (*kumbha kalaśa*) appears, in comparison to his worship, as a suckling reposing on a *couch* by the side of his mother, or rather sucking her breast, to be very extraordinary. It becomes intelligible only when we observe (see p. 179) that at other similar sectarian festivals also, a *pitcher* filled with holy water placed in the centre of the sacred circle, plays the same part. Thus it appears to be a variation which has, on the strength of *other* Indian ritual forms, been put in the *place* of that other representation which corresponds to the natural circumstances.

Other allied *Purâṇa* texts on the *Kṛishṇâjanmâshṭamî* are not at present at my disposal. Accordingly I am not able to verify the numerous quotations adduced concerning it by the ritual texts from the *Purâṇas* or from the *Smṛitiśâstras*. According to Aufrecht's excellent *Catalogus*, the festival is indeed explained in detail also in chapters 164, 165 of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padma Purâṇa* (Aufrecht, p. 14*b*; Wilson's *Select Works*, ed. Rost, III. 70), as well as in chap. 6, 7 of the *Kṛishṇâkhaṇḍa* of the *Brâhmavaivarta Purâṇa* (Aufrecht, p. 26*b*, Wilson III. 109);* and corresponding with this these two *Purâṇas*, especially the *Brâhmavaivarta Pur.*, occupy in fact an important place among the quotations of the ritual texts. Besides, the *Vâhni Purâṇa*, the *Vishṇudharmottara*, and the *Skanda* (from which 21 *ślokas* are cited) play a prominent part in this respect. In all these quotations, however, the *ritual* celebration is not dealt with specially—only the *fast* and the *pûjâ* of the god, the *watching through* the night, and the *pâraṇam* are often dwelt upon. In this, however, the *Garuḍa Purâṇa* is an exception, and appears to treat the ritual celebration very specially, as in *R.* (pp. 27, 28) and in *N.* (31*ab*, 32*a*) quite a number of prayers pertaining to it are quoted from it. Also a verse quoted from the *Brahma Pur.* by *R.* on p. 24 refers to a speciality of the ritual; likewise two verses which only *Kâ.* adduces from the *Agni Pur.*, and 2½ verses quoted by *K.* from the *Vâhni Pur.* (see above, p. 169) after Madanaratna.

Now all these texts give one and the same date for the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration (be it for *śrâvaṇa* or for *bhâdrapada*). In contrast to this, it is of special interest that we find in the *Vârâha Purâṇa* (Chambers 585*a*, fol. 142*a*, Chambers 557, fol. 40*b*,—conf. my *Catalogue of the Berlin Sansk. MSS.* pp. 142-43, and ch. 46 in Aufrecht) an entirely different datum for the celebration of the *Kṛishṇa-birthday*†. It is there called *Kṛishṇadvâdaśîvratam*, and falls on the *twelfth* of the *white* half of *Âshâḍha* (June, July). Moreover the text runs just as in *Vi. Sc.* (*D.*) about a *golden*

* Wilson's statement (p. 120) that this *Purâṇa* was composed only "about four centuries ago" can at all events relate only to the text which he had before him, because that *one Purâṇa* of this name existed already at the time of Mâdhava, or rather of Hemâdri, appears by the quotations from it in these authors.

† On the other hand, the *Vârâha Saṁhita* (quoted by M., fol. 83*a*, see above, p. 164) has the usual date for it; we are therefore to separate it from the *Vârâha Purâṇa*. *R.* indeed quotes both works (pp, 25, 29, 30).

image of Vâsudeva which, after a previous *añga-pûjá*, being covered with clothing, is to be *placed over a pitcher* (*ghata*), to be worshipped with perfumes, flowers, &c., and then to be presented to a Brâhman. The legend on the *birth of* Krishna recited by Durvâsas, who appears as the narrator, is entirely divested of the usual additions, and simply states that,—"Nârada once came to the house of the Yâdava prince Vasudeva, who had no children by his wife Devakî, and reported to him what he had just seen in heaven: 'The earth stepped into the assembly of the gods complaining‡ that it could no longer carry its burden, and pleaded for relief. Then the gods turned their thoughts to Nârâyaṇa, who immediately arrived in person and promised them to assume the human form: "The woman who will with her husband fast during the white half in *Âshâḍha*, into her womb shall I enter." Then the gods dispersed, and he (Nârada) immediately hastened to this place.' Accordingly Vasudeva conformed himself herewith, fasted on the 12th of the *Âshâḍha*, and obtained Krishṇa for a son, and great glory. And so also now the celebration of this festival secures the birth of a son."

Here the idea at once suggests itself that an *older* narration is before us, and this the more so as the *Vârâha Purâṇa* in general seems to contain rather old material. Wilson (*Vishṇu Pur.* I. lxxi. ed. Hall) places it in "the early part of the *twelfth* century," and mentions also just the very *absence* of the *Janmâshṭamî* in it as a sign that the work belongs "to an earlier stage of *Vaishṇava* worship." In other words, he considered this festival to belong to a *later* time. That he was, however, mistaken *herein*, apart from the other points involved in this question, is evident from the simple fact that a century later Hemâdri uses the *Bhavishya Pur.*, the *Vâhni Pur.*, &c. in his description of the festival. Accordingly, as with regard to the total omission of it in the *Bhâgavata Pur.*, so we must here also look for an explanation of this indication of a different date, resting on a basis other than a *chronological* one. There might exist for it many geographical, religio-historical, or other reasons the particular details of which escape our notice. In the first place special stress is, at all events, to be laid on the fact that in the *Vârâha Purâṇa* the birth-festival of Krishṇa appears as a *single* link of an *entire series* of such festivals to be held on the *twelfth*, and addressed to the ten, or rather eleven (!) *avatâras* of *Vishṇu* as fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Bhârgava (*i.e.* Paraśurâma), Râma, Krishṇa, Buddha, Kalkin, and as Padmanâbha (*sic*). With the general calendar this single festival had to be harmonized.|| Therefore this description does not exclude the possibility that in other quarters it was *contemporaneously* celebrated also according to the manner known to us, which *finally* become the *only* acknowledged one. In the festival-calendars of other nations similar differences are also found to occur *by the side* of each other. I am moreover inclined to recognize an after-effect of this festival described by the *Vârâha Purâṇa*, in that form of the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration which (see above, p. 178) likewise, as is done here, requires the worship of the god *over a pitcher*. We shall return to the probable reason for this manner of adoration in § 2. I have finally to state an extremely peculiar fact, in the above discussed (p. 169) modern *Vaishṇava* ritual *Ms.*, which breaks off in our MS. at the representation of the *Janmâshṭamî* (fol. 32*a*-33*b*), we find an exposition also of *this festival* of the *Vârâha Purâṇa*, and that shortly before it (fol. 25*a*-26*a*), under the very name of *Jayantî*, or rather *Jayantîmahâdvâdaśîvratam*, in such a manner, however, that the description *entirely agrees* in the essential points with that of the *Janmâshṭamî* itself (except the erection of the *sûtikâgṛiha*, which is here wanting), so that the defect at the end may be considered quite supplemented by the former description. We have here, then, a peculiar commingling of the view of Mâdhava, according to which *Jayantî* and *Janmâshṭamî* are *two special vratas* (the month-date whereof, however, is the same), with the divergent month-date of the *Vârâha Purâṇa*,—in such a manner, however, that whilst according to *M.* the *Jayantî* is the *richer* form of the festival, here rather the *Janmâshṭamî* appears as such. This is, however, probably quite a secondary arrangement, as it cannot as yet be traced to other sources.

There is, besides, yet a *third* date, though of a

‡ Conf. *Vishṇu Pur.* V. 1, Wilson, p. 493.

|| In reality all these *dvâdaśî* celebrations are held *entirely* in the same manner: on the festival-day, fasting, bathing, *añgapûjâ* of the god, worship of this idol *over a pitcher*, watching through the night, the giving away of the idol in the morning,—these are, throughout, the separate stages of the celebration.

somewhat indefinite kind, to hand, at least for the *birth* of Kṛishṇa, if not for a special celebration thereof. In the *Harivaṅśa*, v. 3315, it is said that Devakî and Yaśodâ gave birth to infants in the same night. This night is in v. 3247 called the *ninth* day of the *dark* half (*navamyâm eva saṁjâtá kṛishṇapakshasya vai tithau*), but *the month* is *not* mentioned, and in v. 3320 it is designated by the name *Jayantî*. In the latter place, also, *Abhijit*, not *Rohiṇî*, is named as the *star* of the birth, and the *hour* of the birth is as above, p. 177, called *Vijaya*, but in v. 3317 *Abhijita* (conf. also v. 3248). Now, although it is evident that in this statement the root *ji*, "to conquer," intentionally employed, is of great importance, and therefore perhaps no special stress is to be laid on the difference of the birth-star, it remains nevertheless strange enough; besides, the difference of the date is in no wise touched by any reasons for the use of the root *ji*. The verse (3320), moreover, which gives the star *Abhijit*, the day *Jayantî*, and the hour *Vijaya* as the birth-marks of Janârdana, is elsewhere (see above, p. 169) quoted from the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa*, or rather was known already to Hemâdri, and is therefore just as old as any other statement concerning the subject in question.

Considering the vast extent of India, it is self-evident that various calendar-ritual differences must have taken place there, and do take place, according to the locality, time, sect, or sub-sect. Thus we find, for instance, *for the same date* which was finally fixed as the solemn one to celebrate the *Kṛishṇâjanmâshṭamî*, and in *the same* work which is the chief source for it, namely in the *Bhavishyottara Purâṇa*, almost immediately after the description of this festival, also a festival dedicated to Śiva in *Śrâvana* as *Śarva* (see above, p. 171), and in *Bhâdrapada* as *Tryambaka*.

ELEVEN LAND-GRANTS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF AṆHILVÂḌ.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF GUJARÂT.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Some time ago Major J. W. Watson, then Acting Political Agent, Revâkâṇṭhâ, informed me that a large number of ancient copper-plates were lying in the Gaikvâḍî *kacherî* at Kaḍî, the chief town of the Uttara Mahâls. At the request of the Honourable Sir E. C. Bayley, Dr. Thornton, Officiating Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was good enough to ask the Agent to the Governor-General at Barodâ to use his influence with the Gaikvâḍ's Dîvân to make these important historical documents accessible. On hearing of the matter, Sir T. Mâdhavrâo, with the greatest readiness and courtesy, gave orders that the Kaḍî plates should be made over to me for publication, and I received shortly afterwards, 20 pieces—Nos. 1 and 3 to 11.

No. 2 I owe to the kindness of Colonel Shortt, Political Agent, Pahlanpur, who obtained it, together with a very valuable grant of Govinda III., the Râshṭrakûṭa king of Mâlkheṭ, from the Râdhanpur Darbâr. The first information regarding the existence of the plates I received in this case also from Major Watson.

Hitherto three grants only, issued by Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilvâḍ,—the Nâḍola plates of Kumârapâla, a Kachh grant of Bhîmadeva I., and the Ahmadâbâd plates of Bhîmadeva II.,—have been partly published.* The discovery of so large a number of new grants is therefore an important event for those who take an interest in the history of Gujarât. The Chaulukyas have had, it is true, more, and more trustworthy, chroniclers than any other Indian dynasty; and the hoarding disposition of the Jaina Panchâyats has preserved, if not all, at least many important works of these writers.† Still there are a number of points in the history of the Chaulukya kings which require further elucidation. Thus the origin of the Aṇhilvâḍ Chaulukyas, and the

* Tod, *Annals of Râjasthân*, vol. I. pp. 707-8; Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 6; *History of Kachh*, p. 17, by Âtmârâm K. Dvivedî.

† The works hitherto recovered are :—

1. Hemachandra Abhayatilaka's *Dvyâśrayakosha*, about A.D. 1160, but revised A.D. 1255-56.
2. Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, 1220-35 A.D.
3. Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa's *Ratnamâlâ*, about 1230 A.D.
4. Merutunga's *Prabandhachintâmani*, 1308 A.D.
5. Merutunga's *Vichâraśreṇî*, about 1310 A.D.
6. Râjaśekhara's *Prabandhakosha*, 1340 A.D.
7. Harshagaṇi's *Vastupâlacharita*, 1440-41 A.D.
8. Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumârapâlacharita*, 1435-6 A.D., and abstracts of the same in Gujarâtî.

manner in which the first king Mûlarâja came to the throne, is not quite clear. Next, the number of the kings is doubtful, as Bhîmadeva's published grant leaves out the fourth king, Vallabha. Further, the statements of the later Muhammadan writers about the invasion of Gujarât by Mahmûd Ghaznavî do not agree with the chronology of the Jainas. Finally, the duration and the history of the last portion of the reign of Bhîmadeva II., the last Chaulukya of the main or Aṇhilvâḍ line, and the accession of the Vyâghrapallî or Vâghelâ branch line to the sovereignty of Gujarât, require further elucidation. The information given in Mr. Kinloch Forbes's standard work, the *Rás Málá*, on these last points is very scanty, because Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, Râjaśekhara's *Prabandhakosha*, and Harshagaṇi's *Vastupâlacharita* were not available when he wrote. A not very correct Gujarâtî abstract of the latter work has been published by Vrijlâl Śâstrî in the *Buddhiprakâśa* for 1866. Owing to the language, and the obscurity of the periodical, it has not received any attention on the part of Orientalists. Under these circumstances, it will be advisable to prefix to the transcripts and translations or abstracts of the new inscriptions a short review of the history of the Aṇhilvâḍ Chaulukyas, with special reference to the doubtful points. Though it is not yet possible to solve all the doubtful questions, still the information which these grants afford, advances our knowledge not inconsiderably.

Most Jaina chroniclers of Gujarât agree that the first Chaulukya ruler of Gujarât was descended from Râja, a son of king Bhuvanâditya who ruled at Kalyâṇa, the capital of Kânoj, and from Lîlâdevî, the sister of the last Châpotkaṭa or Châuḍâ king of Aṇhilvâḍ Pâṭhaṇ.‡ A rather romantic story is told of the manner in which Râja came to Pâṭhaṇ, attracted the notice of Sâmantasiṁha, and became his brother-in-law. Merutunga asserts that Râja in 998 Vikrama, with two brothers, in disguise, made a pilgrimage to Somanâthapâṭhaṇ, and on his way back attended at Aṇhilvâḍ a parade of cavalry, on which occasion his criticism of the performances and an exhibition of his equestrian skill, gained him the esteem of the king. When his descent became known, Sâmantasiṁha wished to retain him, and married him to Lîlâdevî. The latter died in childbirth. But her body being opened, a living son was taken from it, who was called Mûlarâja, after the constellation under which he was born. Mûlarâja was educated and adopted by his maternal uncle. When he was grown up, Sâmantasiṁha used repeatedly, when drunk, to abdicate in his favour, and to resume the kingly power after he had become sober. Mûlarâja, who became tired of being a plaything for his uncle's varying moods, finally caused him to be assassinated, and usurped the throne.

Mr. Forbes has accepted this account, merely toning down some of the palpable absurdities of the story, and assuming with Mr. Elphinstone§ that Mûlarâja's father came, not from Kânoj, but from Kalyâṇa in the Dekhaṇ, the seat of the great southern Châlukya dynasty.|| I do not think that the accuracy of any portion of the story can be upheld, except perhaps the assertion that Mûlarâja's mother was a Châuḍâ princess, and that his father was a Chaulukya. For if the chronology of Merutunga is compared with his story, the utter absurdity of the latter comes out very clearly. Merutunga says that Sâmantasiṁha mounted the throne in 991 Vikrama, and ruled seven years, until 998. At the same time and in the same breath he states that Râja came to Aṇhilvâḍ in 998 Vikrama, married Lîlâdêvi, and had a son by her, as well as that this son grew up to manhood under his uncle's care and slew him. Now for all these events at least twenty years are required, and yet we are told that Râja came to Pâṭhaṇ in 998, and that Mûlarâja dethroned his uncle in the same year! It will not avail anything to say that the arrival of Râja must be dated earlier. For as Sâmantasiṁha reigned only seven years it could not have fallen in his reign at all, and the story of Râja's meeting with Sâmantasiṁha while king must be untrue. I think Merutunga's whole narrative must be thrown aside, as an invention of the bards, who wished to join in a convenient manner the history of their Châpotkaṭa and Chaulukya rulers. In this opinion I am confirmed by the silence of the *Dvyâśrayakosha* on the point, and by the short statements of our grant No. 1. The *Dvyâśrayakosha* is, as Mr.

‡ Forbes, *Rás Málá*, vol. I. p. 49.
§ *Hist. of India*, p. 241, 6th ed.
|| *Rás Málá*, *loc. cit.* and vol. I. p. 244.

Forbes has already pointed out, not simply a work of Hemachandra. It has probably been revised by Abhayatilaka¶ in 1312 Vikrama, and contains a sufficient number of anachronisms to prove that even its earlier parts are not simply the work of an author of the 12th century. But on the whole it is more trustworthy than Merutunga's *'variæ historiæ.'* Now this work merely states that Mûlarâja was a Chaulukya, and extols his valour and power. The statement of our inscription regarding the donor's origin is very short, but, I think, sufficient to further discredit Merutunga. He calls himself a descendant of the Solankîs (*chaulukikânvaya*) and son of the *great king of kings* Râji, and says that he acquired the *Sârasvatamaṇḍala, i.e.* the province watered by the Sarasvatî, by (the strength of) his arm." Now it may be conceded that the assassination of Sâmantasiṁha might, and probably would, be represented by the paṇḍits of the murderer as an honest victory gained 'by the strength of his arm.' But it does not at all agree with Merutunga's narrative that Raji is called *'the great king of kings.'* Such a title would hardly be given to a wandering Rajput younger son. I do not think that the desire to do honour to his patron's father would induce a paṇḍit to call him *mahârâjâdhirâja* if he had not really been a king seated on the *gâdî*. At least, before I could admit such an hypothesis, I should require a much stronger proof than Merutunga's inconsistent story.

As matters now stand, I think it safer to take the statement of Mûlarâja's grant as the basis for the reconstruction of the origin of the Chaulukya rule in Gujarât. The above-cited words of the inscription, coupled with the fact that Mûlarâja is always, in the grants and elsewhere, named as the first Chaulukya king of Aṇhilvâḍ, lead to the conclusion that his father was actually king of the native country of this branch of the Chaulukyas, and that Mûlarâja, either driven out of his paternal realm by other enemies, or impelled by ambition and 'hunger for land,' attacked and conquered northern Gujarât. The question is now where Râji's home and kingdom was. The Gujarât chroniclers state that in 752 Vikrama, Bhûrâja, Bhûyaḍa, or Bhûvaḍa (*i.e.* Bhûpati), king of Kalyâṇakaṭaka, in Kânoj, held Gujarât and destroyed Jayaśekhara; that after him Karṇâditya, Chandrâditya, Somâditya, and finally Bhuvanâditya occupied the throne of Kalyâṇa, the last being Râji's father. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Elphinstone, and others have identified this Kalyâṇa with the capital of the Dekhaṇî Châlukyas, and have assumed that the Gujarâtîs are in error. I must confess that until very lately I have been of the same opinion. But a careful reconsideration of the question inclines me to side now with the native writers. The fact that Kalyâṇa in the Dekhaṇ was for more than eight centuries a Châlukya capital, and that no famous town of this name has been traced in Kânoj, is no doubt a strong argument in favour of the European historians. It becomes all the stronger by the repeated statements of the Dekhanî Châlukyas in their inscriptions that they conquered Gujarât, and by the fact that a grant of a Châlukya king Vijayarâja dated Saṁvat (*i.e.* probably Śaka Saṁvat) 394, or 472-73 A.D., has been found, which proves that that king held the Bharuch districts. But the arguments in favour of the native statement appear still stronger. Firstly, the form of the family name used by the Dekhaṇîs slightly differs from that given by the Gujarâtîs. The latter always call themselves ChAUlukyas (whence Solunkî or Solankî), and the latter are named now Châlukyas or ChAlukyas, now ChAlikyas, or even ChAlkyas. Hence their modern descendants are called Chalke. I do not doubt that Ch*au*lukya and Ch*â*lukya are only dialectic forms of the same name. But it is inexplicable why the founder of the Pâṭhaṇ dynasty should call himself *Chaulukika* if he came direct from Kalyâṇa, where the form *Châlukya* was used. On the other hand, the difference would be easily explained if he was descended from a northern branch of the family, separated for a long time from its southern brethren. Secondly, the *kuladevatâ*, or family deity, of the Dekhaṇî Châlukyas is Vishṇu, while the Gujarâtî Chaulukyas are

¶ Mr. Forbes (p. 269) gives the name of the reviser as Leśâjye, or Leśâjâya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 72) as Leśâbhai. The Pâṭhaṇ copy in Hemâchârya's *Bhaṇḍâr* reads clearly *Śrîjineśvarasûriśishyaleśâbhayatilakagaṇi*, *i.e.* the *insignificant pupil* of Śrî Jineśvara Sûri, Abhayatilakagaṇi. Jaina names are frequently formed with *abhaya, e.g.* Abhayadeva Leśâjâya has no meaning. *Leśa* means 'a particle,' and *śishyaleśa* literally 'a particle of a pupil,' *i.e.* 'an insignificant pupil.'

Śaivas. Thirdly, the cognizance of the former is the *boar*, and that of the latter, as grant No. 1 shows, *the bull*, Nandi. Fourthly, the names of the kings from Bhûpati to Râji do not agree with those of the *vaṁśâvali* of the Dekhaṇî inscriptions. Fifthly, it seems certain that the relations between Mûlarâja and his Dekhaṇî clansmen were anything but friendly. After his accession to the throne he had to encounter an army under Bârap, sent by Tailapa of Telingana. Sixthly, Mûlarâja, as well as his successors, settled in Gujarât numerous colonies of Brahmans, who down to the present day are called Audîchyas, 'Northerners.' He gave to them Siṁhapura or Sihor, in Eastern Kâṭhîavâḍ, Stambhatîrtha or Khambay, and numerous villages in the country between the Baṇâs and the Sâbharmatî.* Now, as a general rule, Indian kings, on making new conquests, import people from their native homes† if they do so at all. If, therefore, Mûlarâja had come from the Dekhaṇ, Gujarât would have been filled with Telingana and Karṇâṭa Brahmans. If, as the chronicles say, he came from the north, the introduction of the Audîchya Brahmans is at once explained. This last point is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments in favour of the native statement, and least likely to be reconciled with Elphinstone's theory. Several of the other points above mentioned *may* be explained away. Thus, it *may* be contended that Mûlarâja changed his religion and his crest on succeeding to the Châuḍâ throne, and accepted those of his mother's family. But though the adoption of a new deity is not a matter of great importance for a Rajput,—because, as I was told in Rajputana, a râjâ ought not to be exclusive in the point of worship, but favour all the various sects among his subjects,—and though the adoption of new armorial bearings may have occurred in other cases, still it would be desirable to have some proof (which has hitherto not been furnished) that Śiva and his Nandi were affected by the Châuḍâs. I must leave the reader to estimate the weight of each of the other arguments for himself. But in concluding this discussion I will add that the existence of a Chaulukya kingdom in Kânoj and the existence of another Kalyâṇa are not so very incredible. There is a gap in the history of Kânoj from the times of Yaśovarman, in the beginning of the eighth century, down to the end of the tenth century, when the Râṭhors appear as its lords. This gap very nearly corresponds to the period assigned to Bhûpati and his successors, as the former is stated to have reigned in 695-6 A.D., and Mûlarâja's accession is placed in 941-42 A.D. Further, the Dekhaṇî Châlukyas assert that their ancestors came from the north, and ruled in Ayodhyâ and other towns, and from the *Gazetteer of the N. W. Provinces* it appears that Châlukya Rajputs are found in the Kânoj districts to the present day. As regards the existence of another Kalyâṇa, it ought to be borne in mind that the name is by no means uncommon. Two towns of this name are well known and of great antiquity, viz. Kalyâṇa near Bombay, the *Kalliēnē* of the Greeks, and Kalyâṇa in the Dekhaṇ. Less noted Kalyâṇapuras occur frequently on the map of India. Considering all these circumstances, I adopt the statement of the Gujarâtîs, and take Mûlarâja to have been the son of a king who ruled in Kânyakubja and who reconquered Gujarât, which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire. It may be that his mother belonged to the Châuḍâ family. As the account of the chroniclers is evidently based on bardic stories, it deserves, in such a particular, some credit. The genealogies are the special province of the bards, and they are more careful in matters connected with these than regarding other historical facts.

There are two other points in the inscription which receive their explanation through facts related by the chroniclers, and confirm the history given by the latter. The first of these is contained in the statement No. 1, Pl. I. l. 2, that Mûlarâja was *tryambaka iva vihitâchalâśrayaḥ*, literally, "like Tryambaka, one who took up his residence on a mountain." Now, if we did not know that Mûlarâja's capital was Aṇahillapâṭaka (Pl. I. l. 8), situated in an entirely flat, sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill, the inference might be made that he held his court in some hill-fort. As the case stands, such an explanation is not admissible, and we have to look for some other solution of the problem. This is

* Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 65.

† As an instance I may quote the introduction of Deśastha Marâṭhâ Brahmans into Gujarât since the conquest of Barodâ by the Gaikvâḍs.

afforded by Merutunga, who tells us‡ that soon after his accession to the throne Mûlarâja was assailed by two armies, that of the Sapâdalakshîya Râjâ of Śâkambharî (Ṣâmbhar) and that of Bârapa,§ the general of Tailapa of Kalyâṇa. Unable to resist his foes, he fled to Kanthâdurga, the modern Kanthkoṭ in the eastern (Vâgaḍ) division of Kachh, and there bided his time. Now it seems to me very probable that the Paṇḍit who composed the *praśasti*, in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mûlarâja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthâ, which he boldly compared to Śiva's residing on Kailâsa.

The second point is clearer. Merutunga says in the *Prabandhachintamâṇî* that Mûlarâja was a constant worshipper of Somanâtha, and used to perform a pilgrimage to Somanâtha Pâthaṇ *every Monday*, *i.e.* a journey of about 250 miles, and back! Somanâtha was so much pleased with this devotion that he personally migrated first to Maṇḍalî (now Mâṇḍal, in the Viramgâm Tâlukâ), and later to Aṇhilvâḍ. At Maṇḍalî, Mûlarâja built for him the temple called Mûleśvara. This is evidently the Mûlanâthadeva to which the village of Kamboïkâ was given.

It is a pity that the historical portion of the inscription is so short, and affords no information regarding the great expeditions of Mûlarâja against the Âbhîra or Yâdava of Vâmanasthalî (Vanthalî) and the ruler of Lâṭa. Its date, 1043 Vikrama (986-87 A.D.), agrees with the statement of the chroniclers that Mûlarâja ruled from 998 to 1053 of the same era.

According to the account of Merutunga, Mûlaraja was succeeded by his son Châmuṇḍa, who ruled for thirteen years, until 1066 (A.D. 1009-10). After him came his two sons Vallabharâja and Durlabharâja, the former of whom died of small-pox after a reign of six months, while the latter occupied the throne until S. 1078 (A.D. 1021-22). In that year he abdicated in favour of his nephew Bhîmadeva I., the son of his younger brother Nâgarâja. No historical events are recorded of these three reigns except that both Châmuṇḍa and Durlabha became ascetics, and that during this period the enmity between Mâlava and Gujarât began, owing to an affront offered either to Châmuṇḍa or to Durlabha when procceeding to Banâras.|| A great deal of confusion has been caused in this account by the fact that Mr. Forbes's grant of Bhîmadeva II., dated 1266 Vikrama (1209-10 A.D.), does not enumerate Vallabharâja among the kings of Aṇhilvâḍ, and that some of the later Muhammadan historians place the expedition of Mahmûd Ghaznavî in the reign of Jâmund, *i. e.* Châmuṇḍa. The first circumstance has led Mr. Forbes to doubt that Vallabha actually reigned. The new collection of grants settles this question in favour of the chroniclers. Seven out of the eight grants which give the complete genealogy of the Chaulukya kings, Nos. 4-10, include Vallabharâja, while one only, No. 3, omits him. It is evident that the shortness of his reign induced the writers of Mr. Forbes's grant and of our No. 3 to omit his name.

The other point, the discrepancy between the chronology of the chroniclers and that of the *Ayîn Akbarî* and other late Muhammadan writers, is very serious. If Châmuṇḍa is placed in 1024 A.D. instead of in 1010, the dates of the Gujarâtî writers are entirely disarranged, and the confusion becomes worse by the identification of the descendant of the Dâbishlîm, whom Mahmûd is said to have placed on the *gâdî* of Aṇhilvâḍ, with Durlabhasena (Durlabharâja). Mr. Forbes's chapter on this period is, therefore, most unsatisfactory. His narrative first follows the account of the Gujarâtîs, which is plain enough. When, afterwards, the conflicting version of the Muhammadans is given, accompanied by hints that this may contain, after all, the real historical facts, the reader is left in an uncomfortable state of perplexity and doubt. This is, however, not the fault of Mr. Forbes, in whose time it would have been difficult to obtain a satisfactory solution of the question without a thorough study of the rare MSS. of the earlier Musalmân historians of the Ghaznavî dynasty. It is gratifying that now the Gujarâtî chroniclers can be proved to be in the right, both by the testimony of early Musalmân writers and of the inscriptions of Bhîmadeva I.

‡ *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 51.

§ The name is spelt Bârp by Mr. Forbes. The Government copy reads Bârakha,—probably a mistake for Bârapa. The statement that this invasion occurred shortly after Mûlarâja's accession cannot be correct, as Tailapa began to rule in 973 A.D., and Mûlarâja in 941-42.

|| *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 71.

In the Appendix to Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. II. pp. 429 *seq.*, a full review of the history of Mahmûd's expeditions against India has been given. The oldest account of the Somanâtha expedition by Ibn Asîr, p. 469, states that the "chief of Anhalwâra, called Bhîm, fled hastily (on Mahmûd's approach), and abandoning his city he went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare himself for war." Next the march against Somanâtha *viâ* Dabalwâra, "which is two days' journey from Somanâth," and the capture of the temple, are related. After this we are told* that "Mahmûd received intelligence that Bhîm, the chief of Anhalwâra, had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Somnât, *between that place and the desert.* He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place he questioned some men, who were hunting, as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little he might be submerged. Mahmûd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. From thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansûra," &c.

In this narrative we have the name of Bhîma twice. He was therefore on the throne in 1024 A.D., as the Gujarâtî chroniclers assert. This account is remarkable also in other respects. It knows nothing of a long stay of the Musalmâns in Gujarât, or of the establishment of a descendant of the Dâbishlîms on the throne of Aṇhilvâḍ. That fable occurs first in Mîrkhond's history together with a wild description of the riches of Gujarât and its *gold mines,* and it may be therefore rejected as one of the later embellishments which have been added so freely to the fall of Somanâtha by the later† Musalmân writers. As regards Ibn Asîr's story that Bhîma fled at Mahmûd's approach to a fort called Kandahat, there is no reason for rejecting it. On the contrary, the flight is what might be expected from a king whose dominions probably included not much more than the Pahlanpur Agency, part of the Mahîkâṇṭha, the Gaikvâḍî Uttar Mahâls, the Ahmadâbâd Collectorate north of the Sâbharmatî, and eastern Kachh (Vâgaḍ), and who was taken by surprise. The fort of Kandahat I consider to be Kanthkoṭ, in Kachh,—the same to which Mûlarâja retired before his enemies. Just this last point, as well as the resemblance of the two names, its position between Somanâtha and the desert (of Marvâḍ), and the fact that Bhimadeva did possess eastern Kachh,‡ are strong arguments in favour of this identification. It seems to me also that the difficulty about the sea being near Kandahat may be got over. For in marching from Somanâtha to Kanthkoṭ Mahmûd had to cross the Raṇ of Kachh, which in his time probably extended further east than now. The statement that the sea was fordable at low water, and that it became dangerous at high water if the wind rose, fits the Raṇ well. Anybody who has crossed its eastern corner will know how frequently the boats stick in the mud at low water, while a strong west wind with the tide is sure to fill the narrow bed to a considerable depth. The only difficulty which remains is the phrase "when Mahmûd came *in front* of the place," which would seem to indicate that the sea was close to the fort.§ This is not the case, as Kanthkoṭ is about twenty miles north of the Raṇ. But it is not too much to suppose that Ibn Asîr and his successors, who were not possessed of any personal knowledge of Gujarât, may have made a little mistake on this point.

If we now turn to Bhîmadeva's inscriptions, they fully confirm the Gujarât chroniclers' chronology, as they show that he reigned in 1086 and [10]93 Vikrama,|| or A.D. 1029 and 1036. It is highly interesting that both grants are dated from Aṇhilvâḍ, and prove that Mahmûd's invasion did not prevent the king from reoccupying his capital soon after the invader's departure. This fact confirms the narrative of Ibn Asîr, who makes Mahmûd march from Kandahat against Mansûra. To sum up, the Gujarâtî chroniclers are right in placing the accession of Bhîmadeva in S. 1058 Vikrama, or 1022 A.D. Bhîmadeva was the king who ruled Gujarât at the time of Mahmûd's invasion. He fled, at the latter's approach, to his ancestral fortress Kanthâ or

* *Loc. cit.* vol. II. p. 349.

† See H. H. Wilson, *As. Res.* vol. XVII. p. 194.

‡ See grant No. 2 and Mr. Kakhar's grant, *Kachhdeśno Itihâs*, p. 17.

§ As is expressly stated by the later Muhammadans,—see Elliot, *loc. cit.* p. 473.

|| The historian of Kachh, *loc. cit.*, says that Bhîmadeva's grant is dated in S. 93, and he refers this date to the years of the Chaulukya dynasty. If the grant really is dated 93, which may be doubted, as it has been imperfectly deciphered, it is more likely that the hundreds have been left out, according to a very common habit of Hindu writers.

Kanthkoṭ. Mahmûd, after following him thither, and forcing him to seek again safety in flight, marched against Mansûra, probably through the northern part of the Raṇ and Thar-Pârkar. Bhîmadeva on his part returned to Aṇhilvâḍ as soon as the great storm-wave had passed, and ruled for nearly fifty years longer, not without glory.

Our inscriptions furnish no information regarding the latter part of Bhîmadeva's reign, nor for that of his son Karṇa I., S. 1128-50 Vikrama (1072 to 1093-94 A.D.) except that he bore the surname *Trailokyamalla*, 'the wrestler of the universe.' Regarding Karṇa's son Jayasiṁha, the *vaṁśâvali* of No. 5 repeats the statement of Mr. Forbes's Ahmadâbâd plate that he conquered 'the lord of Avantî, (and) Varvaraka;' while Nos. 3 and 6 to 10 insert Tribhuvanagaṇḍa between the two names, and No. 4 shows an erroneous displacement of the names. The first fact is well known. Who *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*, 'the hero of the three worlds,' was, I am not able to tell. Varvaraka deserves a passing remark. In the *Dvyâśrayakosha*,¶ Barbar is represented as a leader of Râkshasas who troubled the Brâhmaṇs at Śrîsthala-Siddhapura. Jayasiṁha conquered him, and granted him his life at the instance of his wife Piṅgalikâ. Afterwards Barbar gave valuable presents to Jayasiṁha, and "served him as other Rajputs did." Mr. Forbes* expresses his opinion that Barbar-Varvaraka was a name of the king of Mâlava whom Jayasiṁha conquered. He has been led to form this view by a mistake in the rendering of the compound *avantînâthavarvarakajishṇu*, the first two parts of which make a copulative, not a determinative compound, and which must therefore be translated as has been done above. The proof of the correctness of this interpretation is afforded by the fact that most of the new inscriptions insert Tribhuvanagaṇḍa between Avantînâtha and Varvaraka. The chroniclers also separate the subjugation of Barbar entirely from the expeditions against Mâlava. Someśvara (*Kîrtikaumudî*, ii. 38) gives the following notice of this event:—*smaśâne yâtudhânendraṁ baddhvâ barbarakâbhidham | siddharâjeti râjendur yo jajñe râjarâjishu* ||38||, "This moon among kings fettered the prince of goblins, Barbaraka, in a burial-place, and became known among the crowd of kings as Siddharâja."

The verse shows that within a hundred years after Jayasiṁha's death this story had become completely mythical. Instead of Śrîsthala we have a burial-ground as the scene of the fight, and the Râkshasa has been converted into a prince of goblins (*yâtudhâna*). The inscriptions, in placing the lord of Avantî, Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, and Varvaraka side by side, indicate clearly that they consider him a human foe. The account of the *Dvyâśraya* gives the same impression, in spite of the appellation 'the leader of the Râkshasas.' It seems to me most probable that Varvaraka belonged to one of the non-Aryan tribes who are settled in great numbers in northern Gujarât, and that he was either a Kolî or a Bhîḷḷ, or perhaps a Mêr. Such people are occasionally called Râkshasas on account of their cruelty and want of civilization.

Of the numerous important events of Kumârapâla's reign the inscriptions Nos. 3-10 mention only the victory over the lord of Śâkambharî (Sâmbhar), which is described at great length by the chroniclers. Regarding Ajayapâla, the next king, the chroniclers say little, as they were Jainas, whom the king hated as his uncle's friends and *protegés*. Our inscriptions say that he made tributary the *Sapâdalakshakshamâpâla*, *i.e.* the king of Śâkambharî. It would seem, therefore, that Kumârapâla's conquest had no lasting effects. His epithet *paramamâheśvara* or *mahâmâheśvara*, 'the ardent devotee of Śiva,' alludes to the reaction against Jainism which took place during his reign. He is said to have roasted Râmachandra, the pupil of Hemachandra, alive, and to have destroyed the Jaina temples and books. The only fact noted by the chroniclers regarding the reign of his successor Mûlarâja II., the struggle with the Musalmâns, is confirmed by our inscriptions, as he is called "(the king) who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjanakas, who are difficult to conquer." Garjanaka is a Sanskrit word coined to represent Ghaznavî, and intended to give to the latter an etymological meaning, viz. 'the roarer.' Merutunga uses it or Gajjanaka in several passages and in the same sense. Someśvara (*Kîrtik.* II. 57) says of Mûlarâja II. that

¶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp. 235, 265. *Barbaraka* is the reading of grant No. 10, and it ought to be noted that Nos. 3-9 make no distinction between *va* and *ba*. *Barbaraka* may therefore be the correct form.

* *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 66, 116.

he conquered the lord of the Turushkas. Mr. Forbes has already correctly pointed out the invasion to which allusion is made.†

For the next reign, that of Bhîmadeva II. or Bholo Bhîm, the inscriptions are of the utmost importance. The Gujarâtî chroniclers accessible to Mr Forbes say very little regarding him, and those now available do not add much more. The hearts of Merutunga and Someśvara were not with Bhîma. The sovereign of Aṇhilvâḍ interested them no longer. They turned their attention to the father of the future ruler of Gujarât, Râṇâ Vîradhavala of Dhavalagṛiha or Ḍholkâ, and to his two great Jaina ministers, Vastupâla and Tejapâla. Mr. Forbes has therefore been obliged to trust for his history chiefly to the *Prithirâj râsâu*, attributed to Chand, and to the late Muhammadan writers, who, as he himself points out in the case of the former, are not accurate. Chand kills Bhîmadeva off at an early period of his reign, some time before 1193 A.D. Mr. Forbes places his death in 1215 A.D. It is difficult to understand how he could do so, as he repeatedly quotes the Abû inscription dated 1231 A.D., which mentions Bhîmadeva as lord paramount, and as Merutunga in the *Prabhandhachintâmaṇi* says quite plainly, सं॰ १२३५ पूर्वं वर्षं ६३ श्रीभीमदेवेन राज्यं कृतम् ||, "Bhîmadeva reigned *sixty-three years* from S. 1235 Vikrama," *i.e.* until 1298, or 1241-42 A.D. Bhîmadeva's inscriptions fully agree with Merutunga. His last grant, No. 9 of our collection, is dated 1296 Vikrama, and the grant of his successor Tribhuvanapâla in 1299 Vikrama, or 1242-43 A.D. Of actual historical facts connected with Bhîmadeva's reign, Merutunga reports in the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* only an attempted invasion of Gujarât by Sohaḍa, *i.e.* Subhaṭavarman of Mâlava, which was averted by a timely epigram of the *Pradhâna*,‡ and the destruction (*bhanga*) of Gûrjaradeśa by Sohaḍa's son Arjunadeva, who in his own inscriptions boasts of this exploit. Further he says that Râṇâ Vîradhavala's father, Lavaṇaprasâda of Vyâghrapallî or Vâghel, was Bhîma's *major domus* (*râjyachintâkârî*). At this point he turns aside to the history of the Vâghelâs and of their Jaina *mantrîs*. In the *Vichâraśreṇî* he merely notices Bhîma's accession in 1235, and adds drily, *tato gajjanakarâjyam*, "Then follows the rule of the Gajjanakas," *i.e.* of the Musalmâns. After inserting a Prakrit verse he proceeds to enumerate the Vâghelâ kings. Someśvara (*Kîrtik.* II. 59-61) treats Bhîmadeva still worse. He says :—

drutam unmûlite tatra dhâtrâ kalpadrumânkure |
ujjagâmânujanmâsya śrîbhîma iti bhûpatiḥ || 59 ||
bhîmasenena bhîmoyaṁ bhûpatir na kadâchana |
bakâpakâriṇâ tulyo râjahaṁsadamakshamaḥ || 60 ||
mantribhir mâṇḍalîkaiś cha balavadbhiḥ -śanaiḥśanaiḥ ||
bâlasya bhûmipâlasya tasya râjyam vyabhajyata || 61 ||

(59.) "After the Creator had swiftly uprooted that shoot of the tree of paradise (Mûlarâja II.), his younger brother, called Śrî Bhîma, became king.

(60.) "That prince was never equal to Bhîmasena, the destroyer of the (Âsura) Baka, (nor) able to tame the swan-like kings (his enemies).

(61.) "The kingdom of that young§ ruler was gradually divided between the powerful ministers and provincial chiefs (of Gujarât)."

After these disparaging remarks, Someśvara turns, like Merutunga, to the history of the Vâghelâs.

In direct opposition to the chroniclers, the inscriptions prove Bhîmadeva to have been by no means a contemptible ruler. In our land-grants he receives the titles *abhinavasiddharâja*, 'the new Siddharâja' (the old being Jayasiṁha), *Nârâyaṇâvatâra*, 'an incarnation of Vishṇu,' and *saptamachakravartin*, 'the seventh wheel-king.' These epithets occur not only in his own inscriptions, but also in those of Jayantasiṁha (No. 4), and of Tribhuvanapâla (No. 10). The inscriptions prove also that he held the greater part of Gujarât north of the Sâbharmatî, which formed the original kingdom of Mûlarâja I., and that his power was acknowledged by the chieftains of Chandrâvatî and Âbû, in southern Rajputana. Three of our grants (Nos. 6, 8, and 9) dispose of villages situated in the Vardhipathaka, the Vaḍhiâr zillâ.|| No. 3 mentions the Agaṁbhûtâ or Gaṁbhûtâpathaka as one of his provinces, No. 5 the Châlîsâpathaka, and No. 7 the Vâlauyapathaka. Again, in the Âbû inscription

† *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 207, and Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. II. p. 294.

‡ Forbes, *loc. cit.* p. 208.

§ The Sanskrit word *bâla* may also be rendered 'foolish,' and I am inclined to consider it a translation of Bhîma's Gujarâtî nickname *bholo*, 'arrogant, foolish.'

|| See above, and below note to the grant of Mûlarâja I.

No. XVI.¶ (Wilson), dated Saṁvat 1265, or 1208-9 A.D., Bhîmadeva is mentioned as lord paramount of Âbû, and he occupies the same position in the Âbû inscription No. IV,* which is dated twenty-two years later, in A.D. 1230-31. At the same time the inscriptions prove also that his rule was not without "thorns." Our grant No. 4 was issued by a Chaulukya ruler, Jayantasiṁha, who describes himself in the following terms:—*The great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayantasiṁha, a new Siddharâja who rules in the royal city of Aṇahilapura, who is possessed of the whole series of honorific titles, such as "he who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Umâ," "he who has become the self-chosen husband of royal Fortune," "he who is a sun of exceedingly marvellous fierceness," "he who is resplendent on account of his having extended the paradise-creeper-like Chaulukya race," "he who is the great boar (able) to raise the earth that has sunk into the ocean of evil times," "he who is the only cloud (able) to cause to grow the seed-like Gûrjara country, that has been burnt up by the fire of misfortune," "he who is the hero (who conquers) through one body* (ekânga) *(his own) only (not as other kings through a* [chaturanga] *four-bodied army).*" This vainglorious passage is preceded by the usual *vaṁśâvali*, beginning with Mûlarâja I. and ending with Bhîmadeva II. But after naming the latter and giving his titles, and just before the enumeration of Jayantasiṁha's own titles, follow the significant words *tadanantaram sthâne*, "*after him (Bhîma)* in (his) *place.*" Considering these statements, and the further assertion, in the preamble to the grant, that Jayantasiṁha ruled over the Vardhipathaka and the Agaṁbhûtâ or Gaṁbhûta pathaka, it is evident that he was a usurper who supplanted Bhîma for a time. As one of Bhîma's own grants (No. 5) is dated in 1283 Vikrama and from Aṇahilapâṭaka, it follows that Jayantasiṁha, who dates his grant in 1280 Vikrama, must have been ejected by the rightful owner soon after issuing the grant. But it is by no means probable that 1280 was the first year of his reign, and it must not be forgotten that the last known grant of Bhîma, issued before 1280, is Mr. Forbes's Ahmadâbâd plate of 1266 Vikrama.

While it is thus evident that Bhîmadeva maintained himself, though amidst difficulties and struggles, in the northern portion of the Chaulukya kingdom, it is no less certain that he lost the southern and south-western portion, the country between the Sâbharmatî and the Narmadâ, as well as the Ḍholkâ and Ḍhanḍhûkâ districts to the Vâghelâs. The very man whom Merutunga calls his *pradhâna*, Lavaṇaprasâda, appears to have forsaken his liege lord, and to have founded a Vâghelâ kingdom at Ḍholkâ, which, shortly after Bhîmadeva's death, absorbed the northern possessions of the elder branch of the Solankîs. The fact of the rebellion is not clearly stated by the chroniclers. According to the habits of their kind, they smooth the difficulty over by making Lavaṇaprasâda have a vision or dream in which he is commanded to restore the fortune of Gujarât and of its princely house. The oldest and most authentic version of this story is found in Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî* II. 62-115, the author of which states that he himself was called by Lavaṇaprasâda to hear the relation of the dream and to explain it. An abstract of the fifty verses, which contain also all the information which Someśvara gives regarding his patron's ancestors, may find here a place. After giving (II. vv. 59-61) the short notice of Bhîmadeva which has been quoted above, he goes on as follows;—

"Now there was one Arnorâja who belonged to another branch of the Chaulukya race.† That royal saint was unable to bear the destruction of the country. He began to cleanse the kingdom of 'thorns,' and gained great victories and immortal fame in the three worlds.‡ His son is the illustrious Lâvaṇyaprasâda, a warrior of the greatest bravery. He slew the chief of Naḍûla (Nâṇḍol, in Marvâḍ). In his well-ordered kingdom thieves are unknown; he himself takes only their glory from hostile kings. Rebellious Sâmantas are unable to check him. Before him the ruler of Mâlava, who had come to invade the country, turned back; and the *southern* king also, when opposed by him, gave up the idea of war.§

¶ *As. Res.* vol. XVI. pp. 299-301.

* *Ibid.* p. 289.

† *i.e.* the Vyâghrapallî or Vâghelâ family,—see Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 198.

‡ V. II. 62-66.

§ *Kîrtik.* II. 67-75.—The king of Mâlava alluded to was no doubt Subhaṭavarman, who, according to Merutunga, was turned back by an epigram of Bhîma's *pradhâna*.

His son, the illustrious Vîradhavala, has gained splendid victories in battle. He resembles his father so closely that he reflects, as it were, his image in a mirror. These two, the father and the son, make the family unconquerable.|| Now it happened once that Lavaṇaprasâda awoke at the end of the night, and at once sent for his *purohita*, Someśvaradeva¶ by name, the son of Kumâra, as he wished to tell to that *śishṭa** a dream which he had had during the night. The priest came, made his obeisance, gave his blessing to the chiefs, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavaṇaprasâda, who was attended by his son Vîra, began to narrate as follows† :—'It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Śiva and worshipped the god, who appeared visibly before my eyes. Then, after I had finished my worship and was sunk in pious meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced maid, beautiful like Râkâ, dressed in white garments, anointed with white unguents, and holding a chaplet in her white hands. Wondering, I asked her who she was and why she came. Then she addressed me thus:—"O hero, know that I am the Fortune of the Gûrjara kings, who is sorely tormented by crowds of enemies. Alas! those Gûrjara princes are slain who were able to destroy their foes, in whose arms I used to rest. The young or foolish wheel-king‡ who now reigns in their stead is unable to subdue the armies of his enemies. His *mantrîs* and *maṇḍalikas* possess neither wisdom nor valour. They even raise their eyes to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife. The *purohita* (*sauvastika*) Âmaśarman is dead, who used to protect me. Gone is the son of Munjâla,§ who humbled rebellious Rajputs. Pratâpamalla the Râṭhor is no longer, who could not bear even the smell of a hostile elephant. My own people have brought me so low, excepting always Jagaddeva, who kept the enemy from entering the capital.|| No lights shine now at night in the capital of Gûrjara-land; it resounds with the howl of the jackal; its walls are broken. Therefore do thou, together with thy son Vîradhavala, rescue me and save the country." After the goddess had spoken thus,' Lavaṇaprasâda continued, 'she threw her garland on this chair and vanished together with my dream. Now tell me what this means.'¶

"Hereupon Someśvara addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rajputs, since Fortune wooed him of her own accord, and he exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers. Then Lavaṇaprasâda appointed Vîradhavala 'to save* the country,' and *he* began to consider whom he should appoint his *mantrî*. But when the morning came the three companions rose in order to do what was to be done."

This story, which is told with additions and numerous embellishments by the later chroniclers Râjaśekhara and Harshagaṇi, means, if translated into plain English, that for a time Lavaṇaprasâda, and perhaps also Vîradhavala, served Bhîmadeva, but that later, either disgusted with his arrogance and folly, or in despair of overcoming his numerous enemies, they separated from him, and took what they could lay hold of. A remnant of regard for his rightful king probably prevented Someśvara from giving the naked truth, and moved him to introduce the Gûrjararâjalakshmî as *dea ex machinâ*. If Someśvara does not misrepresent his own position at Lavaṇaprasâda's court, he probably was not without influence on the latter's course of action. It is also probable that the same feeling prevents him from mentioning any hostile engagements which, no doubt, occurred between the two Ḍholkâ chiefs and Bhîmadeva. Throughout the remainder of his work he speaks of Vîradhavala as of an independent prince, who owned allegiance to nobody, and ignores the king of Pâṭhan entirely. The same line is adopted in the inscriptions of Vîradhavala's two ministers Vastupâla and Tejapâla, who, as Someśvara states in the third canto of the *Kîrtikaumudî*, were engaged shortly after the occurrence described above.

The *southern* king must have been either the Yâdava Singhaṇa or his father. The *Kîrtikaumudî*, as well as Vîsaladeva's grant No. 11, shows that in the 13th century Gujarât was repeatedly attacked by its southern neighbour.

|| *Kîrtik*. II. 76-82.

¶ The author himself.

* *śishṭa* = *phalajña*, 'a person who knows the results (of actions, &c.)'

† *Kîrtik*. II. 82-86.

‡ *Kîrt*. II. 84:—*Yo vartate samprati chakravartî padatrabâlaḥ* |; Bhîma, the *saptamachakravartî*, is meant.

§ See Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 109.

|| Here I have left out one verse (100), which seems to me corrupt. It mentions a *purohita* Kumâra.

¶ *Kîrt*. II. 92-107.

* This must be taken as the abdication of Lavaṇaprasâda, as in the later parts of the *Kîrtikaumudî* Vîradhavala always appears as ruler.

Neither in the Âbû nor in the Girnâr inscriptions of the two brothers is Bhîmadeva mentioned with a single word, though another Âbû inscription of the same time acknowledges him as lord paramount.† On the other hand Lavaṇaprasâda and Vîradhavala are given the titles *mahârâja* and *mahârâjâdhirâja*. The time of Lavaṇaprasâda's defection can be fixed approximately from Vastupâla's Girnâr inscriptions. There‡ Vastupâla says that he transacted the 'business with the seal' in Gujarât since 1276 Vikrama (1219-20 A.D.). The portions of the Chaulukya kingdom which Lavaṇaprasâda and Vîradhavala 'saved' were, besides the Ḍholkâ and Ḍhanḍhûka districts, Khambay, Lâṭa, and Godhrâ, which are mentioned by Someśvara as subject to Virâdhavala. The Chaulukya conquests in the Kâṭhiâvâḍ peninsula fell to the local chieftains, who again became free, as they had been before the time of Jayasiṁha. The *Prabandhakosha* mentions especially the chief of Vaḍhvâṇ as having become independent and engaging in war with Vîradhavala. If Chand's and the Muhammadan accounts of events referring to Bhîmadeva's reign are added to the notes given above, it will be possible to give a tolerably accurate outline of the history of Bhîmadeva's reign. But I defer this for another opportunity, when I shall give a short history of the whole Solankî period.

All the Gujarâtî chroniclers close the list of the Chaulukya kings of the main line with Bhîmadeva. If grant No. 10 now furnishes the name of an additional king, Tribhuvanapâla, who held Aṇhilvaḍ 1299 Vikrama, after Bhîmadeva's death, and declares himself to be 'meditating on his feet,' *i. e.* to be his lawful successor, the most probable solution of the difficulty is that this ruler maintained himself only for a short time, and was not generally acknowledged as king of Gujarât. In favour of this view Merutunga's statement, from the *Vichâraśreṇi*, may be adduced, according to which Vîsaladeva the son of Vîradhavala succeeded to the throne of Aṇhilvâḍ in 1300 Vikrama, or 1243-44 A.D., as the first Chaulukya king of the Vâghelâ branch. Merutunga's dates have been proved to be correct in so many cases which appeared at first sight rather doubtful that I have no hesitation in accepting them as long as they are not proved to be wrong by very strong evidence.

As regards the history of Vîsaladeva Vâghelâ of Aṇhilvâḍ, Râjaśekhara and Harshagaṇi state that his father Vîradhavala died at Ḍholkâ not long before his great minister. As the latter's death occurred in 1297 Vikrama (1240 A.D.), the Râṇâ's career must have come to an end either in 1295 or 1296 Vikrama, *i.e.* between 1238 and 1240 A.D. Vîradhavala had two sons, Vîramadeva and Vîsaladeva. The former, who, as the elder, was the rightful heir to the *gâdî*, had given offence both to his father and to Vastupâla by ill-treating a Vâṇiâ, and had been banished to Vîramagrâma, the modern Vîramgâm. On the news of his father's mortal illness he came to Ḍholkâ and tried to assert his right. But Vastupâla was too strong for him. He secured Vîsaladeva's succession, and forced Vîrama to fly from the city. Vîrama then tried an appeal to arms. Being defeated, he went to his father-in-law Udayasiṁha, chief of Jâbâli, and was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupâla, who, like a true Hindu *mantrî*, made it his first care to remove "the thorns" from the kingdom. If Vastupâla hoped to keep Vîsaladeva in dependence, and to retain the great influence which he possessed during his father's reign, he was disappointed. The new Râṇâ appointed a Brâhmaṇ called Nâgaḍa§ as his prime minister, and left to the two brothers some minor offices only.‖ They suffered many indignities, and had been nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal by 'the snake in the pot' (*ghaṭasarpa*) in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation. Their old friend Someśvara saved them by a timely epigram. Not long after, another incident occurred which had nearly driven Vastupâla into open rebellion against his new master. The king's maternal uncle, called Siṁha, gave a blow to the *gorjî* or *yati* who was Vastupâla's spiritual guide. The proud minister avenged it by causing one of his Rajput servants to accost Siṁha in a seemingly friendly manner and to cut off his

† Wilson, No. II. *As. Res.* vol. XVI. p. 239.

‡ See J. Burgess, inscription from Kâṭhîâvâḍ No. 16, l. 4: ७६ वर्षपूर्वं गूर्जरमण्डले धवलक्ककप्रमुखनगरेषु मुद्राव्यापारान् व्यापृण्वता. Mr. Limaye, the translator, has made a sad mess of this passage.

§ Mentioned as minister in grant No. 11, Pl. I. l. 7.

‖ Harshagaṇi says that the change in the ministry did not occur at once, but that Vîsaladeva, before it happened, was rescued by the brothers from an invasion made by Narasiṁha, king of Ḍâhala, *i.e.* Tripura-Tivera, and that he was afterwards corrupted by his uncle Siṁha.

hand. After performing this feat the bravo carried the bleeding member to Vastupâla, who displayed it in front of his palace. The mutilation of their chief roused all the J e ṭ h v â Rajputs, Siṁha's clansmen, and they vowed to slay the *mantrî* with his family. The latter made preparations to resist both the Jeṭhvâs and the Râṇâ, "abandoning the hope of life." While matters were thus in a critical state, S o m e ś v a r a again interposed and brought about a reconciliation. After these events the chroniclers lose sight of V î s a l a d e v a, and we hear nothing more of him than that he became, as stated above, king of Gujarât in 1300 Vikrama. It is very probable that the reunion of all the Chaulukya possessions in his hand did not take place peaceably. Probably he ousted T r i b h u v a n a p â l a by force of arms. Grant No. 11 proves that he took up his residence at A ṇ h i l v â ḍ. It also shows that he was not allowed to rest on his laurels, but had to defend his new possessions against numerous and various foes. S i n g h a ṇ a, the Yâdava of Devagiri, who ruled until 1247-48 A.D.,¶ had already unsuccessfully assailed Vîradhavala, as we learn from Someśvara, *Kîrtik.* IV. If V î s a l a d e v a boasts that he "dried up the ocean of his army," that means, probably, that he successfully resisted another invasion. The ruler of M â l a v a was one of the hereditary foes of Gujarât, who probably tried another invasion. Vîsaladeva's contemporary in Mâlava was P û r ṇ a m a l l a.* The king of M e d a p â ṭ a appears for the first time in this grant as an enemy of the Solankîs. M e d a p â ṭ a is the Sanskrit form of M e v â ḍ.† The word means etymologically 'the country of the M e d a s.' the M ê r s of modern times, who still inhabit the Arâvali hills, on the boundary of M e v â ḍ. Perhaps the T e j a s i ṁ h a mentioned in the Âbû inscription, which gives the pedigree of the Gohels down to 1285-86, was the opponent alluded to. Another interesting fact recorded in our grant is that V î s a l a d e v a was the successful competitor at a *svayaṁvara* for the hand of the daughter of the king of the Karnâṭa country. I suppose the latter must have been one of the B a l l â l a-Y â d a v a s of D v â r a s a m u d r a. Our grant is dated in 1317 Vikrama, or 1260-61 A.D.: and this agrees with the statement of Merutunga in the *Vichâraśreṇî* that Vîsaladeva reigned until 1318 Vikrama, 1261-62 A.D. According to the same authority his three successors ruled as follows:—

A r j u n a d e v a 1318 to 1331 V.=1261-62 to 1274-75 A.D.

S â r a n g a d e v a 1331 to 1353 V.=1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.

K a r ṇ a (ghelo) 1353 to 1360 = 1296-27 to 1303-4.

We have inscriptions of A r j u n a d e v a at Somanâtha Pâṭhaṇ dated 1264-65 A.D.‡ and in Kachh dated 1328 Vikrama, or 1271-72 A.D.,§ and of S â r a n g a d e v a, in the temple of Vastupâla at Âbû, dated 1294 A.D. These dates agree, therefore, with Merutunga's statement. The final annexation of Gujarât by the Muhammadans in 1304 is well known.

No. 1. ||

Plate I.

(1) ९ राजावलीपूर्व्वम् ॥ राजहंस इव विमलोभयपक्षः । कमलयोनिरि-
(2) व विततकमलाश्रयः । विष्णुरिव विक्रमाक्रांतभूतलः । त्र्यम्बक इव विहिताच-
(3) लाश्रयः । शतमख इव विबुधानंदजनकः । कल्पपृक्ष इव वांछितार्त्थफलप्रा¶
(4) दः । मेरुरिव सर्व्वदा मध्यस्थः । तोयधिरिव बहुसत्वांश्रयः । जलद इव सर्व्वसत्वा-
(5) नुकंपी । सुरेंद्रद्विप इव सदा दानतोयार्द्रीकृतकरः । चौलुकिकांन्वयो महारा-
(6) जाधिराजश्रीमूलराजः । महाराजाधिराजश्रीराजिसुतः । निजभुजोपार्जितसारस्व-
(7) तमण्डलो श्रीमोढेरकीयार्द्धाष्टमेषु कम्बोइकाग्रामे समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्म-

¶ See Fleet, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. p. 6.

* Prinsep, *Essays.* vol. II. p. 252.

† See also *As. Res.* vol. XVI. p. 292, where inscription X. gives the *vaṁśâvali* of the Gohels of Udepur, or M e d a p â ṭ a. The word occurs frequently in Jaina works, in the sense given above.

‡ Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 276.

§ Atmârâm K. Dvivedi, *Kachhdeśno Itihâs*, p. 18.

|| Measurements 7 inches by 10 inches. Characters ancient Kâyastha Devanâgarî. Preservation good. Photolithograph made after painting the plates in black and white.

¶ L. 3, the letters on the plate look like °जनन:; but, I think, only because the right side-stroke of the क has been obliterated. Read वृक्षः. L. 5, dele *Anusvâra* over का.

(8) णोत्तरान् तन्निवासिजनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं । यथा । श्रीमदणहिलपाट-
(9) कस्थानावस्थितैरस्माभिः सूर्य्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि श्रीस्थलके प्राचीसरस्वतीवारिणि*
(10) [स्नात्वा] तृदशपतिं रुद्रमहालयदेवमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदल-
(11) गतजललवतरल प्राणितव्यमाकलय्यं । अदृष्ठफलमंगीकृत्य च । मातापित्रोरात्मन-

Plate II.

(1) श्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । उपरिलिखितग्रामोयं स्वसीमापर्यन्तः स्वकाष्ठतृणोदकोपे-
(2) तः स्वगोचरसहितः सदण्डदशापराधो वर्द्धिविषये मण्डल्यां स्थापितश्रीमूलनाथदे-
(3) वाय शासनेनोदकपूंर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः । इति मत्वा । तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीय-†
(4) मानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादि सर्व्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वदाऽस्मै समुपने-
(5) तव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तध-
(6) र्म्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षाष्ठिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
(7) र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राज-
(8) भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरें-
(9) द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवां[तप्रति]मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
(10) दीत ॥ लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थजेज्ज—— सुतकांचणनेति ॥ ७ ॥ सम्वत् १०४३
(11) माघ वदि १५ रवौ श्रीमूलराजस्य ॥

No. 1.—Translation.

Om! First the pedigree of the king.‡

He who resembles a royal swan, since both sides (*of his family, paksha*) are spotless, just as both wings (*paksha*) of the bird,—who resembles Brahmâ, since he is the abode of great prosperity (*kamalâśraya*), just as the god reclines on a large lotus (*kamalâśraya*),—who resembles Vishṇu, since he has conquered the earth by his prowess (*vikramâkrântabhûtala*), just as the god measured the earth with one step (*vikramâkrântabhûtala*),—who resembles Tryambaka, since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on Mount (*Kailâsa*)§,—who resembles Indra, since he gladdens wise men (*vibudha*), just as the god gladdens the wise deities (*vibudha*),—who resembles the tree of paradise, since he fulfils the desires (*of his dependents*),—who resembles Mount Meru, since he is always impartial (*madhyastha*), just as the mountain always stands in the centre (*of the universe, madhyastha*),—who resembles the ocean, since he is the abode of great courage (*sattvâśraya*), just as the sea is the abode of many creatures (*sattvâśraya*),—who resembles a cloud, as he takes compassion on all beings,—who resembles the elephant of the king of the gods, since his hand is always moist with libations (poured out in confirmation) of gifts (*dânatoyârdrîkṛitakara*), just as the trunk of Airâvata is always moist with the ichor (*flowing from his temples, dânatoyârdrîkṛitakara*),—the king of kings, the illustrious Mûlarâja, the son of the king of kings the illustrious Râji,—who belongs to the Chaulukika family,—who has conquered with his own arm the province watered by the Sarasvatî, (*thus*) addresses all royal servants, and all people, Brahmans and others, dwelling in the *Ardhâshṭama* of Moḍhera, in the village of Kamboikâ:||

Be it known to you that, while residing in (*my*) capital, the famous Aṇahilapâṭaka, after having bathed on the day of an eclipse of the sun at Śrîsthalaka in the water of the eastern Sarasvatî, having worshipped the lord of the gods, the deity of the Rudramahâ-

* L. 8, the sign under न in °त्तरान् looks like a च; but I think it is intended for the *Vîrâma*. L. 10, read त्रिदशपतिं. L. 11, read तरलं; dele *Anusvâra* over °य्य; read अदृष्ट.

† L. 3, dele *Anusvâra* over पू°. L. 6, read षष्टिं. L. 7, read भुक्ता. L. 10, read कांचणेन.

‡ I take *râjâvalîpûrvam* as a compound. It is probably a translation of the Gujarâtî phrase राजावली पेहेलां. Similarly Merutunga uses वर्षपूर्वं, a literal translation of Gujarâtî वरस पेहेलां, instead of वर्षादारभ्य.

§ Regarding the explanation of the allusion see above.

|| Now Kamboî, situated north-west of Moḍhera, in the Gaikvâḍî Uttara Mahâls.



laya,¶ having pondered on the worthlessness of the world, having considered that life is unstable as a drop of water lying on a lotus-leaf, and fully understood the rewards of spiritual merit, I have given, confirming the gift by an edict and a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, the above-mentioned village up to its boundaries, together with its wood, grass, and water, together with the right of pasturing cattle, and with the right of (*inflicting*) fines and (*deciding cases arising out*) of the ten flaws, to the illustrious Mûlanâthadeva,* that is established at Maṇḍalî, in the Varddhi zilla.† Knowing this, the people dwelling there shall obediently give to this (*deity*) everything according to custom, viz. the share of produce, taxes, gold, and the like; and future kings, whether they belong to our family or be strangers, knowing that the reward for the merit acquired by such (*gifts of land*) is common (*to all kings*), should agree to and protect this our religious gift. Wherefore the divine Vyâsa has declared. . . . . . . This grant has been written by Kâñchaṇa, the son of Kâyastha, Je. . . Saṁvat 1043, on the 15th day of the dark half of Mâgha, on a Sunday. (*The signature*) of the illustrious Mûlarâja.

No. 2.‡

Plate I.

(1) ९ विक्रम सम्वत् १०८६ कार्त्तिक शुदि १५ अद्येह श्रीमदणहिल-
(2) पाटके समस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभी-
(3) मदेवः स्वभुज्यमानकच्छमंडलांतःपातिघडहडिकाद्वादश-
(4) के मसूरग्रामें समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्निवा-
(5) सिजनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा अद्य कार्त्ति-
(6) कीपर्व्वणि भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य कंच्छमंडलमध्यव-
(7) र्त्तिनवणीसकस्थानविर्ग्गताय आचार्यमंगलशिवसुता-
(8) य भट्टारक आजपालाय सहिरण्यभागः सदंडदसापराध§
(9) सर्व्वादायसमेत उपरिलिखितमसूरग्रामः शासनेनोद-
(10) कपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तो यस्य पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि घडहडिकाग्रा-
(11) मो दक्षिणस्यां ऐकयिकाग्रामः पश्चिमायां धरवद्रिकाग्राम
(12) उत्तरस्यां प्रझारिकाग्राम इति चतुराघाटोप-

Plate II.

(1) लक्षितं मसूरग्रामं मत्वा तन्निवासिभिर्यथादीय-
(2) मानभागभोगादि सर्व्वं सर्व्वदा आज्ञाश्रवण-
(3) विधेयैर्भूत्वाऽस्मै आजपालाय समुपनेतव्यं सामा-
(4) न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वुध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभो-¶
(5) क्तृभिरस्मप्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पाल-

¶ This is apparently the etymon of the modern name of Mûlaraja's temple at Siddhapura, *Rudramâlâ*. It means 'the palace of Rudra, *i.e.* Śiva.'

* At a late visit to Mâṇḍal I inquired in vain for any trace of this once famous temple, and the monastery attached to it, which occurs so frequently in the grants. Nobody had ever heard that such a temple had existed. An ingenious *vahivanchâ* or bard at last suggested that the temple might have stood near a well called *Molu-kâ-kûâ*, about two miles east of Mâṇḍal, and that *Molu* might be a corruption of Mûlarâja. I should say that it meant 'brackish.' I believe that the temple stood on the south side of the *talâo*, where many sculptured stones lie about.

† Varddhi is a synonym of Vaḍhiâr, the ancient and also modern name of the country adjacent to the Ran of Kachh from Râdhanpur to Jhinjhuvâdâ. The word Vaḍhiâr represents Sanskrit *Vṛiddhikâra*, not *Vardhi*.

‡ Measurements of the plates 9 inches by 7 inches. Characters modern Brâhmaṇical Devanâgarî, frequently mixed with the ancient forms of *ḍa*, *na*, *da*, *dha*, *bha*, *sya*. Preservation good. Transcript, made under my supervision, by Nârâyaṇa Śâstrî.

§ L. 8, read °दशापराधः. L. 10, insert आघाटाः. L. 11, °वद्रि° in धरवद्रिका doubtful.

¶ L. 4, read बुद्धास्मद्वं°. L. 5, read °स्मत्प्रद°.

(6) नीयश्च उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन षष्ठिं वर्षसहश्राणि*
(7) स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्ये-
(8) व नरकं वसेत् लिखितमिदं कांयस्छकांचनसुते[न]
(9) वटेश्वरेण दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहिकश्रीचंड-
(10) शर्म्मा इति मंगल महाश्री: श्रीभीमदेवस्य
(11) स्वरजी स्थापीत

No. 2.—*Abstract.*

I. Preamble.—In Saṁvat 1086 Vikrama, on the 15th day of the bright half of Kârttika, the king of kings, Bhîmadeva, who resides in Aṇahilapâṭaka, addresses all officials and inhabitants of Masûra, situated in the *Dvâdaśa* of Ghaḍahaḍikâ, in the province of Kachha, and announces the following grant :—

II. Grantee.—Bhaṭṭâraka Ajapâla,† son of Âchârya Mangalaśiva, an emigrant from Navaṇîsaka, situated in Kachha.

III. Object granted.—The village of Masûra,‡ bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the village of Ghaḍahaḍikâ,
(*b*) *South* by the village of Aikayikâ,
(*c*) *West* by the village of Dharavaḍikâ,
(*d*) *North* by the village of Prajharikâ.

IV. Officials.—Writer of the grant: Vaṭeśvara, son of Kânchana,§ a Kâyastha. Dûtaka: the minister of peace and war, Chaṇḍaśarman.

No. 3.||

Plate I.

(1) ५ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावली[विरा]जितपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
(2) मूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातपर-
(3) मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
(4) परमेश्वरश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्ण-
(5) देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरावन्तीनाथात्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वरकजिष्णुसिद्धच-
(6) क्रवर्त्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-
(7) सादप्रौढप्रतापस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादा-
(8) नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्प्परूपकंदर्प्प- ¶
(9) कलिकालनिष्कलंकावतारितरामराज्यकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेव-
(10) पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वराहवपराभूतदुर्ज्जयगर्ज्जनकाधिरा-
(11) जश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वराभिनवसिद्धराज-
(12) श्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानगंभूतापथकान्तःपातिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नि-
(13) युक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंव-
(14) त्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु तृषष्टि उत्तरेषु लौ० श्रावणमासशुक्लपक्षाद्वितीयायां रविवारेऽत्रांकतो-

* L. 6, read षष्टिं °सहस्राणि. L. 8, read नरके.° L. 11. The letters in this line are modern and a later addition. I think the sentence is a note referring to the pawning of the plate with the Vâṇiâ in whose possession it was found, and it means "Svarjî, *i.e.* Sûrijî, the priest or Brâhmaṇ, has deposited it (in my house)."

† Descendants of this Bhaṭṭâraka exist to this day in Kachh, as Mr. D. Khakar informs me.

‡ Neither this nor any of the other villages mentioned can be traced on the map.

§ See grant No. 1.

|| Measurements 11 inches by 12½. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation good. The plates had been heated, to remove the rust, before coming into my hands. Transcripts of this and following grants made, under my own and Vâmanâchârya Jhalkîkar's supervision, by Nârâyaṇa Śâstrî. Mistakes in Sandhi occurring in this and the other plates have not been corrected in the notes, as they are too numerous.

¶ L. 8, read रूपकं° L. 12, perhaps °नागंभूत्वा or °भूवा°; letters half destroyed. L. 14, read त्रिषष्टि°.

(15) पि संवत्[१२]६३ श्रावण शुदि २ रवावस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां तिथावद्येह श्रीमद-*
(16) [णहिलपाट]केऽद्यैव व्यतीपातपार्व्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसा-
(17) रासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलय्यैहिकमामुष्मिकं
(18) च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये इंदिलाग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः स-
(19) वृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सदंडदशापराधः काष्टतृणोदकोपेतः सर्व्वादा-

Plate II.

(1) यसमेतः पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं चाहु० राण० समरसीहसुताराज्ञीश्रीलीला-
(2) देव्या करीराग्राममालकतरिग्रामयोरंतराले निष्पादितलीलापुरे कारितश्रीभीमेश्वर-
(3) देवश्रीलीलेश्वरदेवप्रपासत्रागारेभ्यः शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ ग्रामस्या-
(4) स्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि देउलवाडाग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि काल्हरीग्रामसीमा । प-
(5) श्चिमायां दिशि शेषदेवतिग्रामसीमा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि घारीयावलिग्रामसीमा ॥ एवममी-
(6) भिराघाटैरुपलक्षितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभो-
(7) गकरहिरण्यादि सर्व्वं सर्वदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा एभ्यः श्रीभीमेश्वरदेवश्रीलीले-
(8) श्वरदेवप्रपासत्रागारेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैर-
(9) न्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भग-
(10) वता व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिं वर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥ आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव न-†
(11) रके वसेत् १ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवा-
(12) निप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । २ [स्वदत्तां प]रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां ।
(13) स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा [पितृभिः सह मज्जति] । ३ वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
(14) भिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ४ दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो-
(15) भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः।
(16) लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतमहाक्षपटलिक ठ० श्रीकुमरसुत ठ० वोसरिणा
(17) दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहिक ठ० श्रीसू‾ ‾इति

श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

No. 3.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vaṁśâvali.‡

1. Mûlarâja I.
2. Châmuṇḍarâja.
3. Durlabharâja.
4. Bhîmadeva I.
5. Karṇadeva, Trailokyamalla.
6. Jayasiṁhadeva, conqueror of the lord of Avantî, of Tribhuvanagaṇḍa and of Varvaraka, wheel-king of the Siddhas.
7. Kumârapâladeva, conqueror in battle of the king of Śâkambharî.
8. Ajayapâladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva, who made the Sapâdalaksha king tributary.
9. Mûlârâja II., who conquered the ruler of the Garjjanakas in battle.
10. Bhîmadeva, a second Siddharâja.

(b) Bhîmadeva, who rules at Aṇahillapâṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Agaṁbhûtâ or Gambhûtâ

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* L. 15, the first two figures of the date १२ have been destroyed. L. 16, read °पर्वणि. L. 17, read °कामुष्मिकं. L. 19, read काष्ठ°.

† L. 10, read सहस्राणि. L. 11, read निर्माल्यवां°. L. 12, read तप्रतिमानि;—वसुंधरां. L. 17. The इति at the end of this and Bhima's other inscriptions shows the ancient forms of the letters ॐ ३

‡ All the kings mentioned receive in this and the following grants the titles *mahârâjâdhirâja parameśvara*, and *paramabhaṭṭâraka*, and various other epithets, which declare them to be possessed of high virtues, and worshippers of Śiva.

P a t h a k a, dating on Sunday, the second day of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, 1263 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of I n d i l â, bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the village of D e ü l a v â ḍ â,
(*b*) *South* by the village of K â l h a r î,§
(*c*) *West* by the village of Ś e s h a d e v a t i,
(*d*) *North* by the village of G h â r î y â v a l i.

III. Grantee.—The temples of B h î m e ś v a r a and L î l e ś v a r a, built by queen L î l â d e v î, daughter of R â ṇ â S a m a r a s i ṁ h a, C h a h u m â n a, at L î l â p u r a, between the villages of K a r î r â and M â l a k a t a r i, to the drinking-fountain and almshouse (situated in the same place).

IV. Officers.—Writer of the grant: *Mahâkshapaṭalika, i.e.* the chief registrar Ṭhakur V o s a r i n,‖ son of Ṭhakur K u m â r a, a Kâyastha.

2. Dûtaka: the minister of peace and war Ṭhakur Sûdha (?).

No. 4. ¶

Plate I.

(1) ণং । स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्वम् समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम– –भट्टा-रक] उमापतिवरलब्ध-

(2) प्रसादप्रौढप्रतापादित्यचौलुक्यकुल[कमल] ----नानेकसंग्रामनि -----श्रीमन्मूलराजदेवपादानु-ध्यातमहारा-

(3) जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्य लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादा-नुध्यातम-

(4) हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादसंपादितराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवर ------ श्री-

(5) वल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापा-- ----न्तःश्रीदुर्ल्ल-

(6) भराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापतिमिं- ¶ रारि-

(7) राजभीमश्रीमद्भीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसाद [प्रा-प्तरा-]

(8) ज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरकामिनीकंदर्प्पत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभ-ट्टारकउमा-

(9) पतिवरलब्धप्रसादावाप्तराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरअत्यद्भुतप्रतापमार्त्तंडचौलुक्यकु[ल]तिलकात्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वर-[क]जिष्णु-

(10) अवंतीनाथसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराज[परमे]श्वरपरमभट्टारकउमा-पतिव-

(11) रलब्धप्रसादसंपादितराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरात्यद्भुतप्रतापभास्वानुचौलुक्यकुलकल्पद्रुमाविचारचतुरानत-रणांगणवि-

(12) निर्ज्जितशाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमा-तिवर-

§ Probably K â l r î, on the road from Viramgâm to Pâṭhan.

‖ Perhaps a mistake for *Kesarin.*

¶ Measurements 14 inches by 15 inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Plates badly damaged by rust, and by attempts to clean them by exposure to heat.

¶ L. 6, the last three letters are doubtful. L. 11, read भास्वान्. L. 12, read शाकंभरी.

(13) लब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापादित्यकलिकालनिष्कलंकावतारितरामराज्यआज्ञा ऽ जापालश्रीअजयपालदेव-पादानुध्यात-

(14) महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापबालार्क्कआहवपराभूतदुर्ज्ज-यगर्ज्जनका-

(15) धिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराज[परमेश्वर]परमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसाद- ----ना-

(16) रायणावतारश्रीभीमदेवतदनंतरं स्छाने महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-साद-*

(17) संपादितराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरअत्यद्भुतप्रतापमार्तंडचौलुक्यकुलकल्पवल्लीविस्तारणदीप्तसदुःसमयजल-

(18) धिजलमग्नमेदिनीमंडलोद्धरणमहावराहदुर्द्दैवदावानलनिर्द्दग्धगूर्ज्जरधराबीजप्ररोहैकपर्ज्जन्यएकांग-वीरेत्या-

(19) दिसमस्तविरदावलीसमुपेतश्रीमदणहिलपुरराजधानीअधिष्ठितअभिनवसिद्धराजश्रीमज्जयंतसिंहदेवो

(20) वर्द्धिपथकेगंभूतापथके चत्तन्नियुक्तविषयाधिकारिणो बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ।। अस्यां तिथौ संवत्सरमास-

(21) पक्षवारयुक्तायां गतसंवत्सरद्वादशवर्षशतेषु अशीत्युत्तरेषु पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयायां तिथौ भौमवारे

(22) संजातउत्तरागतसूर्यसंक्रमपर्वणि अंकतोऽपि सम्वत् १२८० वर्षे पौष शुदि ३ भौमेऽद्येह संजात-[उत्त] रानय-

Plate II.

(1) नपर्वणि स्नात्वा शुचिर्भूत्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां वीक्ष्य नलिनी-दलगत-†

(2) जललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलिज्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्म[नश्च पुण्ययशो]भिवृद्ध-

(3) ये पूर्वपुरुषाणां स्वर्गस्थितये वर्ध्विपथके सांपावाडाग्रामः पूर्वं पलमानदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं तथागं भूतापथके शेष-

(4) देवतिग्राममध्यात् डोडियापाटकसत्कभूमिखंड १ उभयमेतत् पूर्व्वस्छदेवदायब्रह्मदायवार्ज्जितं अस्यामेव भू-

(5) मौ सोलुं० राणकआना उ० लूणपसाकेन स्वीयमातृसलखणदेविनामके कारितसलखणपुरे श्री[आन]लेश्वरदे-

(6) वश्रीसलखणेश्वरदेवाभ्यां शासनोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ।। सांपावाडाग्रामस्याघाटा यथा ।। पूर्वस्यां भट्टाश्री-

(7) शेषदेवतमूभौ सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां फींचडीग्रामहांसलपुरग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमायां ———द्रे—ऊ-

(8) ग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां राणेलोयग्रामखांभिलग्रामद० आधीवाडाग्रामाणां भट्टाश्रीशेष-देवतभूमौ च

(9) सीमा । तथा डोडियापाटकभूमिखंडैकस्याघाटाः ।। पूर्वस्यां इटिलाग्रामकाल्हरीग्रामवाहिचरग्रा-माणां सीमायां

* L. 16, read श्रीभीमदेवः. L. 17, दीप्तसुदुः. L. 18, °वीरे° indistinct. L. 19, read विरुदा°. L. 20, read च तन्नि°.

† L. 1, वीक्ष्य indistinct. L. 2, read °माकलय्य. L. 3, read वर्द्धि°. L. 5, read °देवी. L. 6, भट्टा indistinct.

(10) सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां फींचडीग्रामसीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमायां भट्टाश्रीशेषदेवतभूमौ सीमा । उत्त-
रस्यां डोडियापाटकम-

(11) ध्यन्यभूमौ संति छसानवहपानीये तथा भट्टाश्रीशेषदेवतभूमौ च सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरुप-
लक्षित: स्वसी-‡

(12) मापर्यंत: सवृक्षमालाकुल: सहिरण्यभागभोगासदंडदशापराध: सकाष्टतृणोदकोपेत: नवनिधान-
सहित आभ्यां

(13) देवाभ्यां आचंद्रार्ककालं यावतद्वोक्तव्य: । यथा दीषमानकराहिरण्यादि सर्वं सर्वदाज्ञाश्रवणवि-
धायीभूत्वाऽमुकाभ्यां देवा-

(14) भ्यां समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तदेवदा-
योऽयमड-

(15) मंनुमंतव्य: पालनीयश्च । केनापि कदापि शासनमिदं न परिपंथनीयं ॥ यत उक्तं च व्यासेन ॥
षष्ठिर्वर्षसहश्राणि

(16) स्वर्गो तिष्टति भूमिद: । प्याछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ १ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभि: सगरा[दिभि:]यस्यय-

(17) स्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ २ अस्मद्वंशे च यो राजा ऽन्योमे——————स्तस्या-
हंकारमम्रो————————————

(18) येत् ॥ ३ भो भूपा जन्मन: पुण्यमस्यां किमपि मामकं । सर्वेषां——म——————।४।
——मिदं ऊचे

(19) कालजातीयव्रा० महंश्रीआशादित्यसूनु——————————————————
——————श्रीस्तंयं

(20) क: ल ॥

(21) श्रीमजयसिंहदेवस्य

No. 4.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vaṁśâvalî.

1. Mûlarâja I., the unique sun, causing to blossom the lotus-field of the Chaulukya race.

2. Châmuṇḍarâja.

3. Vallabharâja.

4. Durlabharâja.

5. Bhîmadeva I.

6. Karṇadeva, Trailokyamalla.

7. Jayasiṁhadeva, conqueror of Tribhuvanagaṇḍa (and) Varvara(ka), the lord of Avantî,§ the wheel-king of the Siddhas, (called also) Ekângavîra.

8. Kumârapâla, conqueror in battle of the king of Śâkambharî.

9. Ajayapâla.

10. Mûlarâja II., conqueror in battle of the king of the Garjjanakas.

11 Bhîma, an incarnation of Nârâyaṇa. *After him in (his) place,*

12. Jayantasiṁha, ruler of Aṇahilapâṭaka, a new Siddharâja.

(b) Jayantasiṁha addresses the officials of Vardhi Pathaka and Agambhûtâ or Gambhûtâ Pathaka, on Tuesday, the third day of the bright half of Pausha, S. 1280 Vikrama, the day of the winter solstice, and announces the following grant :—

II. Objects granted.—(1) The village of Sâmpâvâḍâ in Varphi Pathaka, bounded—

‡ L. 11, first sign ध्य unintelligible,—perhaps for ठे. Read सतिष्ठमान°. L. 12, read वृक्ष°—; भोग: स°; काष्ठ°:. L. 13, read यावद्भो°;—दीय°;—विधेयीभू°. L. 14, भ्या समुप. Dele last letter of line. L. 15, dele first letter of line. Read षष्टिं;—सहस्राणि. L. 16, read तिष्ठति;—आच्छेत्ता. L. 21, read श्रीमज्ज.

§ This epithet seems to have got into the wrong line.

(*a*) *East* by the land of Ś e s h a d e v a t a,

(*b*) *South* by the villages of P h î ṁ c h a ḍ î|| and H â ṁ s a l a p u r a,

(*c*) *West* by

(*d*) *North* by the villages of R â ṇ e l o y a, K h â m b h i l a,¶ Â d h i v â ḍ â, and the land of B h a ṭ ṭ â r a k a Śrî Ś e s h a d e v a t a.

(2) A piece of land in S ê s h a d e v a t i, in the G a m b h û t â or A g a ṁ b h û t â P a t h a k a, bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the villages of I ṭ i l â K â l h a r î and V a h i c h a r a,*

(*b*) *South* by the village of P h î ṁ c h a ḍ î,

(*c*) *West* by the land of B h a ṭ ṭ â r a k a Ś r î Ś e s h a d e v a t a,

(*d*) *North* by D o ḍ h i y â p a k a.

III. Grantee.—The (temples of) Â n a l e ś v a r a and S a l a k h a ṇ e ś v a r a, built by S o l u n k î Râṇâ Ânâo Lûṇapasâka for the spiritual benefit of his mother S a l a k h a ṇ a d e v î in S a l a k h a ṇ a p u r a.

No. 5.†

Plate I.

(1) । ५ । स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
(2) श्वरपरमभट्टारकचौलुक्यकुलकमलिनीविकासनै[कमार्त्तंडश्री]मूलराज-
(3) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टार[क]श्रीचामुंड[राज]-
(4) [देव]पादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीवल्लभ[राज]-
(5) [देव]पादानुध्यातमहाराजा[धि]राज[पर]मे[श्वर]परमभट्टारकश्रीदुर्ल्लभरा[ज]-
(6) [दे]वपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमद्भी[मदेव]-
(7) पादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण-
(8) देवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज अवन्तीनाथवर्व्वरक-
(9) जिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर[मे]-
(10) श्वरपरमभट्टारकपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमत्कुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहारा-
(11) जाधिराज[पर]मेश्वरपरमभट्टारकहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापाल-
(12) श्रीअजयदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम्लेछतमोनिचयच्छन्न[मही]-
(13) वलयप्रद्योतनबालार्कमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-
(14) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक अभिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद्भीमदे-
(15) वः स्वभुज्यमानचालीसापथकांतर्वर्त्तिनः समस्तराजपुरूषान् ब्रा[ह्मणोत्त]रांस्तानि‡
(16) युक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदां[श्च बोधय]त्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमादि-

Plate II.

द्वितीयम् २.

(1) [त्यो]त्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु त्रि[अ]शीति उत्तरेषु लौकि[ककार्त्तिकपूर्णि]मायां गुरूवा-
(2) रेऽत्रांकतोऽपि संवत् १२८३ वर्षे लौकि॰कार्त्तिक शुदि १५ गुराव[द्येह]श्रीमदणहिलपा-
(3) टकेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षपूर्व्विकायां तिथौ स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसा-
(4) रासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलिज्य ऐहिकाऽ[मुष्मि]-§
(5) कं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नताउलीग्रामः स्वसीमाप[र्यन्तः स-]

|| See below, note 11 to abstract of No. 6, p. 203.

¶ Probably Kambeyl of the Quarter-Master General's map, on the borders of the Gaikvâḍî territory, east of Munjpur, in the Râdhanpur state.

* Probably Kâlrî and Becherâjî, on the road from Viramgâm to Pâṭhaṇ.

† Measurements 9½ inches by 11½ inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation good, a few patches peeled off.

‡ L. 15, read स्तानि.

§ L. 4, read माकलय्य.

(6) वृक्षमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतसहिरण्यभागभोगसदंडोदशापराधः सर्व[दानी]¶
(7) समेतो नवनिधानसहित पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्ज मंडल्यां श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवा-
(8) य नित्यपूजार्थं तथा मठस्य नैत्यतपोधनानां भोजनार्थं च स्छानपतिः वेदगर्भराशेः शास-
(9) नोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ ग्रामस्यास्य आघाटा यथा पूर्व्वस्यां ओंकरा --अवया ------
(10) ग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां अवयाणिजचुयांतिजग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमा-
(11) यां वडसरतलपदभूमिसीमायां सीमा । उत्तरतश्च ओंकुरालग्रामसीमासंलग्नवडसर[सी]मा-
(12) [यां] सीमा । एवममीभिराघाटैरूपलक्षितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिभिर्जनपदैर्यथादी-
(13) यमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रव[णविधेयै]र्भूत्वा अमुष्मै भट्टारकाय समुप[ने]त-
(14) [व्यं] सामान्यं चैतत् पुण्यफलं मत्वा अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्त[देवदा]
(15) [योऽयम]नुमंतव्यः। पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षाष्ठिवर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्टति [भूमिदः] ।
(16) आछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ।१ अस्मद्वंशज --------
(17) करभमोऽस्मि मम दत्तं न लोपयेत् ।२ लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्छान्वयप्रसूत ठ०सा-
(18) [ति]कुमारसुत आक्षपटलि० सोमसीहेन । दूतकोऽत्र महासांधि ठ० श्रीवहुदेव इति

श्रीमद्भीमदेवस्य

No. 5.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) Vaṁśâvali.

(1) Mûlarâja I., the unique sun causing to blossom the lotus-field-like Chaulukya race.

(2) Châmuṇḍarâja.

(3) Vallabharâja.

(4) Durlabharâja.

(5) Bhîmadeva I.

(6) Karṇadeva, Trailokyamalla.

(7) Jayasiṁhadeva, conqueror of the lord of Avantî and of Varvaraka, wheel-king of the Siddhas.

(8) Kumârapâladeva, the ardent devotee of Śiva.

(9) Ajayadeva, who made the Sâpâdalaksha king tributary.

(10) Mûlarâja II., who conquered the ruler of the Garjjana, a morning sun illuminating the earth.

(11) Bhîmadeva II., a new Siddharâja, the seventh wheel-king.

(*b*) Bhîmadeva II., who resides in Aṇahillapâṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Châlîsâ Pathaka, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, 1283 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of Natâulî, bounded—

(*a*) To the east by Omkara.........and Avayâ.........

(*b*) To the south by the villages of Avayâṇija and Chuyântija,

(*c*) To the west by the Talapada land of Vaḍasara,

(*d*) To the north by the villages of Omkurâla and Vaḍasara.

III. Grantee.—The temple of Mûleśvara (at Mâṇḍal), and the ascetics of the monastery attached thereto, for daily worship and maintenance, the Sthânapati Vedagarbharâśi, (the superior of the Mâṇḍal monastery) being the trustee.

IV. Officials.—The writer of the grant: Âkshapaṭalika Somasîha, son of (Sâti)kumâra, a Kâyastha. Dûtaka: the minister for peace and war, Ṭhakura Vahudeva.

¶ L. 6, read °काष्ठ°; °पेतः; भोगः सदंडद°. L. 7, read सहितः; वर्ज्जं. L. 8, read नित्यं त°; °पतेः. L. 15, read षष्टिं; सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति.

*No. 6.**

Plate I.

(1) ५। स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम्मभट्टारकचौलुक्यकु-
(2) लकमलविकासनैकमार्तंडश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानु-
(3) ध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातम-
(4) हाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहा-
(5) राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमपरमभट्टारकावंतीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वरकाजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीज-†
(6) यसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जित-
(7) शाकंभ[री]भूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहे-
(8) श्वरहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजाहवपराभूत-
(9) दुर्ज्जयगर्ज्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकाभि-
(10) नवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्तिश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानवर्द्धिपथकांतवार्त्तिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान्
(11) ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्विक्रमादि-
त्योत्पा-
(12) दितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु सप्ताशीत्युत्तरेषु आषाढमासीयशुक्लाष्टम्यां शुक्रवारेऽत्रांकतोऽपि सं-
(13) वत् १२८७ वर्षे आषाढशुदि ८ शुक्रेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां तिथावद्येह श्रीमद-
णहिल-
(14) पाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्च्य संसारासारतां विंचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजल-
(15) लवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलिज्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभि-
(16) वृद्धये देवाऊग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यंत सवृक्षमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोदकोपेत सहिरण्यभागभो-
(17) गसदंडो दशापराधसर्व्वादायसमेतो नवनिधानसहित पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं तथा - -
(18) मानपत्रकु - - - तिपत्रभराप्राति द्र १ दाणीयां पलश तथा मूलमंडिल्यां - - - का - - -
प्रति द्र १ तथा
(19) मूलगंडि - - - - प्रति द्र १ भाट्टयकं प्रति द्र० ॥ दाणीयां पत्रशतं० ॥ उष्ट्रभरा प्रतिद्र १
दाणीयां पत्र-
(20) शत १ मूली - - - - भरा प्रति द्र १ दाणीयां पत्रशत १ जलदभरा प्रतिद्र १ दाणीयां-
पत्रशत १ एवमेत-
(21) त् सलखणपुरे सोलुं० राणा० आनाऊ लूणापसाकेन कारितश्री आनलेश्वरदेवश्रीसलखणेश्वरदे-
(22) वयोर्नित्यनैमित्तिकादिपूजार्थं तथा सत्रागारे ब्राह्मणानां भोजनार्थं च मंडल्यां श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवम-
(23) ठेत्यस्थानपतिवेदगर्भराशये शासनोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ ग्रामस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां
(24) हांसलपुरग्रामसीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां फींचडीग्रामपाद्रे गृहाणां सन्निधौ संतिष्टमानग्राम-
(25) स्यास्य सीमायां तथाहानीयाणीग्रामसीमायां च सीमा । पाश्चिमायां मेंढराग्रामसीमायां सीमा।
(26) उत्तरस्यां सूरयजग्रामसांपावाडाग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरुपलक्षितं ग्रा-
(27) ममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमान[दानी]भागप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽ
(28) मुष्मै [तपोधनाय] समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत् पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि
(29) भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भगवता व्या-

* Dimensions 14 inches by 15 inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation, badly damaged.

† L. 5, dele one परम° before भट्टारक°. L. 15, read °माकलय्य. L. 16, देवाऊ doubtful. Read पर्यंतः; काष्ठ°; dele one दको°. L. 17, read सदंडद°; सहितः. L. 24, read संतिष्ठमान°.

Plate II.

(1) सेन ॥ षष्ठिं वर्षसहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्टति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंताच तान्येव नरकं‡

(2) वसेत् ॥ १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च वसुं[धरां]स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२।

(3) वंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पाः प्रजायंते भूमिदानापहारकाः ।३ वहुभिर्वसु-

(4) धा भुक्ता [राजभिः स]गरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ४ दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवें-

(5) द्रान् भूयेभूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः।५।

(6) लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्छान्वयप्रसूत ठ० सातिकुमारसुत महाक्षपटलिक ठ० श्रीसोमसिंहेन ॥

(7) दूतकोऽत्र महासांधि ठ० श्रीवहुदेव इति

श्रीभीमदेवस्य ।

(8) तथा सलखण[पुरी]वास्तव्य: वाणिक्व्यवहारिय — — — — — प्रभृति — — — लोकस्य — — हट्टकरण- —

(9) शुक्लमंडपिकाप्रौढ — — — — आरिशतपथकेषु सलखणपुरीयमठ — — वीठिकया काण — — सं-

(10) चरतः संजातः — — — — — — — यथा ॥ समस्तकणानाभृतचेटिय — तिश्रुद्धपुणय — — —

(11) भृतचाऊयां — — — — — प्रति तथा दानी — — द्र २ घृततैलभृत वे — — — — — — तथा-

(12) भृतचा —— क — — — ति तथा दाने द्र ४ तथा कणचोपटभृतवाहनमध्ये — — — — — —

(13) क ४ त — — — — — — — य ॥ अजम्बा मेथी आंमला बेहेडा वा- — — — — — — — — — — — —

(14) सिका — — दानं न ग्राह्यं॥ तथा कणभृत — — — ६ वरवली — — — — — — — — — — — — —

(15) भीसेटप्रति द्र १२ तथा कणभृतपत्र — — — — — — — — — — — — तथा तभृतपत्राणि — —

(16) द्र १ तथा सेडसरसश्रीपथकयोः समस्त — — रे — — वणभृतवेठीयावा — — प्रतिक्र — — रा दा-

(17) ने द्र १ तथा भृतचात्रयावा — — तं प्रति तथा दाने — — तथा मांजिष्ट । त्रपुक हिंग भारं प्रति वृद्धदाने द्र १

(18) पट्टसूत्र । हिंगुल । प्रवालक । श्रीखंड । कर्पूर । कस्तूरी । हंगु । कुंकुम । अगुरू । त — — त ॥

(19) मालपत्र । जाइफल । जाइवत्री । लमसी । कापड । नालिकेर । हरडां । बेहेडां — — — क्रन्म ॥

(20) खांडु । गुल । साकर । मरिच । दांत । मरूमांसि । मडुवस । सवाही । कासी — — — — — — । ताव्या । का-

(21) श्यालोह । वथलोह । साकुरुड । मीण । ज — । चीत्राहल । खज्जुंर । खारिक । वस्त — — — [प्र]भृतिस-

(22) मसुक्तयाणकागांध्रुवमुखेन मूलेकास्येदपाटीप्रमाणेन पूर्णदानात् दानस्य धर्म्मं प्रति मु-

(23) कि द्र १ अनया रीत्या दानं ग्राह्यं ॥ संजातधुरादामपट्टकस्य पथकोत्तारपरीस्थापने पट्टकं प्र-

(24) ति द्र १६४ मार्गे । हिठियकप्रातीसारक — भिरधिकं किमपि न ग्राह्यं । राजः वीसलसत्क-

(25) कणाय — प्रभृतचाउयावाहन १ वेडीयावाहन १ उपरितनरीत्या क्षेपायांक्षेपायां प्रसा-

(26) देन भोक्तव्यं । इमां छेदपाटीं व्यतिक्रम्य यः कोऽपि वर्णसंकरं कुरुते तस्मात् छिन्तिर्म्मोक्षा ॥ यस्याः । स्वे — — — प्रमाणेन पालनीयः भोक्तव्यं च ॥

No. 6.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(*a*) *Vaṁśâvalî* agrees with No. 5 of S. 1283 Vikrama, except that the description of Jayasiṁha is according to No. 3 of 1263.

(*b*) Bhîmadeva II., who resides at

‡ L. 1, read षष्टिं; सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति; नरके. L. 3, विंध्या°.

A ṇ a h i l l a p â ṭ a k a, addresses the officials and inhabitants of V a r d h i P a t h a k a on Friday, the 8th day of the bright half of Âshâḍha of S. 1287 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—(1) The village of D e v â û (?)§ bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the village of H â ṁ s a l a p u r a,

(*b*) *South* by the villages of P h i m c h a ḍ î and H â n î y â n î,

(*c*) *West* by the village of M e ḍ h u r â,

(*d*) *North* by the villages of S û r a y a j a and S â p â v â ḍ â.

(2) And various taxes in land and money.

III. Grantees.—The temples of Â n a l e ś v a r a and S a l a k h a ṇ e ś v a r a, built by the S o l u n k î Râṇâ Ânâ Ṭha(kura) Lûṇapasâka in S a l a k h a ṇ a p u r a, to defray the expenses of the temple service, and to feed Brahmans, the trustee being the superior of the monastery of M û l e ś v a r a d e v a in M a ṇ ḍ a l î.

IV. Officials.—The writer and D û t a k a are the same as in No. 5.

V. Postscript.—The postscript, which is considerably mutilated, apparently contains some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the Vâṇiâs of S a l a k h a ṇ a p u r a. I regret that I have no means of ascertaining the meaning of all the technical terms in ancient Gujarâtî which it contains.

No. 7.¶

Plate I.

(1) ५ ॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभ-
(2) ट्टारकचौलुक्यकुलकमलविकासनैकमार्त्तंडश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-
(3) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
(4) रकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेव-
(5) पादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरमे-
(6) श्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-
(7) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकावन्तीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीज-
(8) यसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजउमापतिवरलब्धप्र-
(9) सादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभू-
(10) पालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
(11) ममाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्प्परूपकंदर्प्पहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्री
(12) अजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकाहवपराभूत-
(13) दुर्ज्जयगर्ज्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप-
(14) रमभट्टारकाभिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानवालौय-
(15) पथकांतर्व्वर्त्तिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तान्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनप-
(16) दांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वा-
(17) दशसु अष्टाशीत्युत्तरेषु भाद्रपदमासीयशुक्लप्रतिपदायां सोमवारेऽत्रांकतोपि
(18) संवत् १२८८ वर्षे भाद्रवाशुदि १ सोमेऽस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां तिथा-
(19) वद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य
(20) सं[सारासारतां]विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाक-
(21) [लिज्य]ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्ध-
(22) ये— — — — — — — [सीमापर्यं]तः सवृक्षमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपे-*

§ The village given is not to be traced on the Quarter-Master General's map. Hâṁsalapura is the village of that name in the north-west corner of the Vîramgâm Tâlukâ. To the north lies 'Sooruj,' the Surâyaj of the grant. South-west I find Punchar, which I identify with Phîmchaḍî.

¶ Dimensions 11½ inches by 14 inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation good except in the lower parts of the plates.

* L. 22, read °काष्ठ°.

Plate II.

(1) तं सहि[रण्य]भागभोग सदंडदशापराधसर्व्वादायसमेतो नवनिधानसहित:†
(2) पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं सलखणपुरेत्यश्रीआनलेश्वरश्रीसलखणे-
(3) श्वरदेवयो: मठस्थानपतिवेदगर्भराशेर्मठेस्मिन् भट्टारकाणां भोजनाय स-
(4) त्रा[गारा]र्थं तथैतदीयसुतसोमेश्वरस्य ग्रामस्यास्य मध्यात् भूमिहल २० विंशतिहला-
(5) ¯भूमी च शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभि: प्रदत्तं ॥ ग्रामस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां सांप-
(6) राग्रामछत्राहरूग्रामयो: सीमायां सीमा ॥ दक्षिणस्यां गुंठावाडाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । प-
(7) श्चिमायां राणावाडाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां उंदिराग्रामआंगणवाडाग्रामयो: सी-
(8) मायां सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरुपलक्षितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथा-
(9) दीयमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं
(10) चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोयमनुमं-
(11) [त]व्य: । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्टति भूमिद:।
(12) आछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत । १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्य वसुंधरां। स वि-
(13) ष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि: सह मज्जति । २ वंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: । कृष्ण-
(14) सर्पा: प्रजायंते भूमिदानापहारका: । ३ दत्वा भूमिं भाविन: पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयोभूयो या-
(15) चते रामभद्र: । सामान्योयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भि: । ४
(16) बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ५ लि-
(17) खितमिदं शासनं कायस्थात्ययप्रसूत ठ० सातिकुमारसुत महाक्षपटलिक ठ० सोम-
(18) सिंहेन । दूतकोऽत्र महासांधि ठ० श्रीवहुदेव इति

श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

No. 7.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(*a*) *Vaṁśâvali.* Agrees with No. 5 of 1283 Vikrama, except that the descriptions of Jayasiṁha and Mûlarâja II. are literally the same as in No. 3 of 1263 Vikrama.

(*b*) Bhîmadeva II., who resides in Aṇahillapâṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of Vâlauya Pathaka on Monday, the Pratipad of the bright half of Bhâdrapada of 1288 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Grantees and Purpose.—The temples of Ânaleśvara and Salakhaṇeśvara in Salakhaṇapura, (and) the superior of the monastery (there), Vedagarbharâśi, as well as his son Someśvara, for the maintenance of the Bhaṭṭârakas and the alms-house.

III. Object granted.—The village of . . . . . and twenty *ploughs* of land in the village (for Someśvara), the village being bounded—

(*a*) To the east by the villages of Sâmparâ and Chhatâhâra (?),

(*b*) To the south by the village of Guṇṭhâvâḍâ,

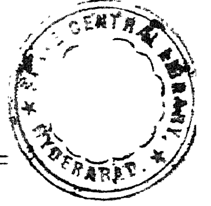
(*c*) To the west by the village of Râṇâvâḍâ.

(*d*) To the north by the villages of Undirâ and Âṅgaṇavâḍâ.

IV. Officials.—The writer, Mahâkshapaṭalika Ṭhakura Somasiṁha, of Ṭhakura Sâtikumâra, a Kâyastha.

Dûtaka: the minister for peace and war, Ṭhâkura Vahudeva.

† L. 1, त: स°; भोग: स°; °राध:; सहित:. L. 6, छत्राहार doubtful. L. 11, read सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति. L. 12, read नरके वसेत्.—हरेत. L. 17, read °स्थान्वय.



No. 8.‡

Plate I.

(1) ९॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-
(2) भट्टारकचौलुक्यकुलकमलविकासैनैकमार्तंडश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-
(3) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-
(4) रपरमभट्टारकश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपा-
(5) दानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्व-
(6) रपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपर-
(7) मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजअवंतीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वरकजिष्णु[सिद्धच]क्रवर्त्तिश्री-
(8) जयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा[रकउमा]प[ति]वर-
(9) लब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगण[वि]निर्जितशा-
(10) कंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
(11) रकपरमाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्परूपकंदर्प्पहेलाकरदीकृतस[पा]दलक्षक्ष्मा- §
(12) पालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजम्ले-
(13) च्छतमोनिचयच्छन्नमहीवलयप्रद्योतनबालार्क आहवपराभूतदुर्जयगर्ज्जनकाधि-
(14) राजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकाभिनव-
(15) सिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुष्यमानवर्द्धिपथकांतःपातिनः समस्तरा-
(16) जपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तान्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं
(17) यथा ॥ [श्रीमत्]विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु पंचनवत्युत्तरेषु मा-
(18) र्गमासीयशुक्लचतुर्द्दश्यां गुरुवारेऽत्रांकतोऽपि संवत् १२९५ वर्षे मार्गे शुदि १४ गु-
(19) रावस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां तिथावद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके स्ना-
(20) त्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदल-
(21) गतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलिज्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं च फ[ल]मंगीकृ- ॥
(22) त्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये भोजुयाग्रामस्छाने संजातस[लखण]पुरं स्व-
(23) सीमापर्यंतं सवृक्षमालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतं सहिरण्यभागभो[गं सदं]डद-
(24) शापराधसर्वादायसमेतं नवनिधानसहितं पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायव ॥
(25) र्ज्जं तथा घूसडीग्रामे गो[ह]णसरसान्निधौ पल्लडिका —— ण ईशानको-
(26) महाराज्ञीश्रीसूमलदेव्या [श्च]

Plate II.

(1) णे भूमिहलद्वयेन संजातवाटिका १ एवमे ---- सोलं० राणा° । लूणप-
(2) सासुतराण० वीरमेन घूसडीग्रामे कारितश्रीवीरमेश्वरदेव तथा श्रीसूमलेश्व-¶
(3) रदेवयो[र्नि]त्यं नैवेद्यांगभोगपंचोपचारपूजार्थं मठाधिपतिराजकुलश्रीवेदगर्भ-
(4) राश[ये] शासनोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ पुरस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां नीलछीग्रा-
(5) मसीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां घूसडीग्रामसीमायां सीमा ॥ पश्चिमायां कालीयाणाग्रा-
(6) मडुचाणाग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ उत्तरस्यां त्रिहटिग्रामकुषलोडग्रामयोः सीमा-

‡ Dimensions 11½ inches by 14½ inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation, slightly damaged.

§ L. 11, read परममाहेश्वर°; रूप. L. 15, read स्वभु-ज्यमान°. L. 21, माकलय्य. L. 23, read °कुलं; काष्ट°; L. 24, read राधं स°;

¶ L. 2, read वीरमेण.

(7) यां सीमा ॥ पल्लडिकाया आघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां द्वारवतीसत्कपल्लडिका तथा राजमार्ग्ग-
(8) श्च ॥ दक्षिणस्यां तडागिका तथा राजक्षेत्रं च । पाश्चिमायां श्रीलिम्बादित्यक्षेत्रं ॥ उत्तरस्यां भो-
(9) जुयाग्राममार्ग्गः ॥ वाटिकाया आघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वदक्षिणपाश्चिमउत्तरप्रभृतिषु दि-
(10) क्षु निक्षिप्तस्वीयस्वीयआघाटेषु सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरूपलक्षितं स्छानकत्रयमे-
(11) नमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधे-*
(12) यैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै मठपतये समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैर-
(13) न्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तदेवदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च भग-
(14) वता व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिं वर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्टति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्ये-
(15) व नरकं वसेत । १ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरीत वसुंधरां ॥ स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-
(16) भिः सह मज्जति । २ वंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजा-
(17) यंते भूमिदानापहारकाः । ३ दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयोभूयो याचते रा-
(18) मभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । ४ बहुभिर्वसु-
(19) धा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ५ लिखित-
(20) मिदं शासनं कायस्छान्वयप्रसूत ठ० सातिकुमारसुतमहाक्षपटलिक ठ० श्रीसो-
(21) मसिंहेन । दूतकोऽत्रमहासांधि ठ० श्रीवयजलदेव इति ॥

श्रीमद्भीमदेवस्य ॥

No. 8.—*Abstract.*

I. Preamble.—(*a*) *Vaṁśâvalî* agrees with No. 7 of 1288, except that Mûlarâja II. is described as (*resembling*) the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the Mlechhas.

(*b*) Bhîmadeva II. addresses the officials and inhabitants of Vardhipathaka on Thursday, the 14th day of the bright half of Mârga of 1295 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—(1) . . . pura, erected on the site of the village of Bhojuyâ.

(2) A *palladikâ* in the village of Ghûsadî near Gohaṇasara.

(3) A garden measuring two *ploughs* in the north-eastern part of . . . sâṇa.

. . . . pura, being bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the village of Nîlachhî,

(*b*) *South* by the village of Ghûsaḍî,

(*c*) *West* by the village of Maḍuchâṇâ.

(*d*) *North* by the villages Trihaṭi and Kushaloḍa.

Boundaries of the *palladikâ*:—

(*a*) *East* the *palladikâ* of Dvâravatîsatka,

(*b*) *South* by the king's highroad,

(*c*) *West* by a little tank and the king's field,

(*d*) *North* by the road to Bhojuyâ.

III. Grantee.—The temples of Vîrameśvara, built by Râṇâ Vîrama, son of Râṇâ Lûṇapasâ, in Ghûsaḍî, and of Sûmaleśvara, for the purpose of defraying the expenditure of the worship, the trustee being the superior of the monastery, Râjakula Vedagarbharâśi.

IV. Officials.—Writer, as above in No. 7 of 1288 Vikrama.

Dûtaka: the minister for peace and war, Ṭhakura Vayajaladeva.

N.B.—The first plate is signed in line 26 by Sûmaladevî, one of Bhîmadeva's queens.

No. 9.†

Plate I.

(1) । ५. ॥ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप-
(2) रमभट्टारकचौलुक्यकुलकमलविकासनैकमार्त्तंडश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातम-
(3) हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-

* L. 11, read मेतदव°. L. 14, षष्टिं सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति. L. 15, read नरके वसेत्; हरेत.

† Dimensions 13 inches by 15 inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî.

(4) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजप-
(5) रमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-
(6) रपरमभट्टारकश्रीभीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-
(7) त्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकअव-
(8) न्तीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडवर्व्वरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-
(9) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मी-
(10) स्वयंवरस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानु-
(11) ध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहामाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्प्परू-
(12) पकंदर्प्पहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहारा-
(13) जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम्लेच्छतमोनिचयच्छन्नमहीवलयप्रद्योतनबाला-
(14) र्कश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकउमापति-
(15) वरलब्धप्रसादप्राप्तराज्यप्रौढप्रतापलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरवामकरनिविडनिवे[शित]कार्म्मु-
(16) कविनिर्म्मुक्तनिसितशरव्रातव्यापादितानेकवैरिनिकरम्बकरंबितभुजा ‡ – – – अ-
(17) भिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानवर्द्धिपथकांतर्व्वर्तिनः ।
(18) समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु व संं-
(19) विदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु षट्नवत्युत्तरे-
(20) षु मार्ग्गमासीयकृष्णचतुर्द्दश्यां रविवारेऽत्रांऽकतोऽपि ॥ विक्रम संवत् १२९६ वर्षे मा-
(21) र्ग्गवदि-१४-रवावद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिम-
(22) भ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलय्य
(23) ऐहिकमामुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये राजसीया ॥
(24) महाराज्ञीश्रीसूमलदेव्याश्च

Plate II.

(1) [णा]ग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यंतः सवृक्षमालाकुलकाष्ठतृणोदकोपेतः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सदं-
(2) डो दशापराध सर्व्वादायसमेतो नवनिधानसहितः पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं §
(3) घूसडीग्रामे सोलुं०राण०श्रीलूणपसासुत०राण०वीरमेण कारितश्रीवीरमेश्वरदेवश्री-
(4) सूमलेश्वरदेवयोर्न्नित्यपूजानेवेद्यअंगभोगार्थं स्थानपतिश्रीवेदगर्भराशये शास-
(5) नोदकोदकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः ॥ ग्रामस्यास्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां ठढवसणरीवडी-
(6) ग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां लघु०ऊभडाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमायां मंडल्याः सी-
(7) मायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां सहजवसणदालउद्रग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरु-
(8) पलक्षितं ग्राममेनमवगम्य तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञा-
(9) श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै तपोधनाय समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चेतत् पुण्यफलं मत्वाऽस्मद्वं-
(10) शजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं
(11) च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्टति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च ता-
(12) न्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ १ इह हि जलदलीलाचंचले जीवलोके तृणलवलघुसारे सर्व्वे-
(13) संसारसौख्ये । अपहरतु दुराशः शासनं देवतानां नरकगहनगर्त्तावर्त्तपातोत्सुको
(14) यः ॥ २ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवांतिप्रतिमा-
(15) नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ ३ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥

‡ L. 16, read निशित°; निकुरुम्ब°.

§ L. 2, read डदश°; °धः. L. 4, नैवेद्यांग°. L. 5, dele दको°. L. 9, read चैतत्. L. 11, read षष्टिं°; सहस्राणि; तिष्ठति. L. 12, नरके. L. 14, read वान्त°.

(16) यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ४ वंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।¶
(17) कृष्णसर्प्पाः प्रजायंते भूमिदानापहारकाः ॥ ५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरीत वसुंधरां । स वि-
(18) ष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ ६ दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयोभूयो याच-
(19) ते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वेस्वे काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ ७ लिखित-
(20) मिदं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतदंड ० सातिकुमारसुत ० महाक्षपटालिक ० ठ ० श्रीसोमसिंहेन ॥

दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्राहिक ० ठ ० श्रीवयजलदेव इति

श्रीमद्भीमदेवस्य ।

No. 9.—Abstract.

I. Preamble.—(a) *Vaṁśâvalî* agrees with the preceding No. 8 of S. 1295 V., except that the 9th king Ajayapâla receives the additional epithet *mahâmâheśvara*, or '*the ardent devotee of Śiva.*'

(b) Bhîmadeva II., who resides in Aṇahillapâṭaka, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Vardhipathaka on Sunday, the 14th of the dark half of 1296 Vikrama, and announces the following grant:—

II. Object granted.—The village of Râjayasîyaṇî,* bounded—

(a) *East* by the villages of Ṭheṭhavasaṇa and Rîvaḍî,

(b) *South* by Little Ubhaḍâ,

(c) *West* by Maṇḍalî,

(d) *North* by the villages of Sahajavasaṇa and Dâlauḍḍa.

III. Grantees.—The temples of Vîrameśvara and Sûmaleśvara, built by Râṇâ Vîrama, son of the Solunkî Râṇâ Luṇapasâ in Ghûsaḍî to defray the expense of the worship, the trustee being the superior of the monastery, Râjakula Vedagarbharâśi.

IV. Officials.—The *writer* is the same as in Nos. 7 and 8.

Dûtaka: the same as in No. 8.

N.B.—The first plate is signed *Mahârâjñîśrîsûmaladevyâścha*, 'and (a grant) of queen Sûmaladevî.'

No. 10.†

Plate I.

(1) ७ स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत्समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकचौलुक्यकु-
(2) लकमलविकासनैकमार्त्तंडश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचामुंडराज-
(3) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर-
(4) मेश्वरश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद्भीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहा-
(5) राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्णदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभ-
(6) ट्टारकअवन्तीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडबर्बरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीजयासिंहदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजा-
(7) धिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकस्वभुजविक्रमरणांगणविनिर्ज्जितशाकंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपाल-
(8) देवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहामाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहुदंडदर्प्परूप-
(9) कंदर्प्पहेलाकरदीकृतसपादलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपर-
(10) मेश्वरआहवपराभूतदुर्ज्जयगर्ज्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिराजप-
(11) रमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकअभिनवसिद्धराजसप्तमचक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद्भीमदेवपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधि-
(12) राजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसौर्योदार्यगांभीर्यादिगुणालंकृतश्रीत्रिभुवनपालदेवः स्वभुज्यमा- ‡
(13) नावंषयपथकदंडाहीपथकयोरन्तर्व्वर्त्तिनः समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियुक्ताधिकारिणो
(14) जनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु नव-

¶ L. 16, read विंध्या°. L. 17, read हरेत. L. 18, read °ष्ठायां.

* The village is called Rakhiâṇâ, tâlukâ Vîramgâm, on the Revenue Survey map, where Ṭheṭhavasuṇa appears as Ḍheḍâsan, Rivaḍî as Ribdî, Laghu Ûbhaḍa as Ubhaḍâ Nânâ, and Dâlauḍḍa as Dâloḍ. Sahajavasaṇa is not to be traced.

† Dimensions 11 inches by 13½ inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî. Preservation good.

‡ L. 12, read शौर्यो°.

(15) नवत्युत्तरेषु चैत्रमासीयशुक्लषष्ठ्यां सोमवारेऽत्रांऽकतोऽपि संवत् १२९९ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि ६ सोमेऽ-
(16) स्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षवारपूर्व्विकायां सां० लौ० फागुणमासीयअमावाश्यायां संजातसूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि§
(17) संकल्पितात् तिथावद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसा-
(18) रासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं प्राणितव्यमाकलय्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगी-
(19) कृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये भांषरग्रामराजपुरिग्रामौ स्वसीमा[पर्यन्तौसवृक्ष]
(20) मालाकुलकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतौ सहिरण्यभागभोगसदंडौ दशापराधौ [सर्व्वादायस]

Plate II.

(1) मेतौ नवनिधानसहितौ पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं राणा०श्रीलुणपसा— — — माऊल-
(2) तलपदे स्वीयमातृ०राज्ञीश्रीसलखणदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ कारितसत्रागारे कार्प्पटिकानां भोजनार्थं शास-¶ नोदकपूर्व्व-
(3) मस्माभिः प्रदत्तौ ॥ भांषरग्रामस्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां कुरलीग्रामदासयजग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां
(4) कुरलीग्रामत्रिभग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमायां अरठउरग्रामउंझाग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां
(5) उंझाग्रामदासयजग्रामकाम्बलीग्रामाणां सीमायां सीमा ॥ राजपुरिग्रामस्याघाटा यथा ॥ पूर्व्वस्यां कूलाव [सण]
(6) ग्रामडांगरौआग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । आग्नेयकोणे चंडावसणग्रामइंद्रावडग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा ।
(7) दक्षिणस्यां आहीराणाग्रामसीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमायां सिरसाविनंदावसणग्रामयोः सीमाया सीमा । वायव्य-
(8) कोणे उंटऊयासिरसाविग्रामयोः सीमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां नंदावसणग्रामसीमायां सीमा । ईशानको-
(9) णे कुईयलग्रामसीमायां सीमा ॥ एवममीभिराघाटैरुपलक्षितौ ग्रामावेताववगम्य तन्निवासिजन-
(10) पदैर्यथादीयमानदानीभोगप्रभृतिकं सदाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वाऽमुष्मै सत्रागाराय समु[प]नेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
(11) न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः । पालनीय-
(12) श्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिर्वर्षसहश्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आछेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं व-
(13) सेत् ॥ १ याता यांति महीभुजः क्षितिमिमां यास्यंति भुक्त्वाऽखिलां नो याता न च-याति यास्यति न वा केनाऽ-
(14) पि सार्द्धं धरा । यत्किंचिद्भुवि तद्विनाशि सकलं कीर्त्तिः परं स्थायिनी मत्वैवं वसुधाधिपाः पर-कृता लोप्या न
(15) सत्कीर्त्तयः ॥ २ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ ३ ॥
(16) लिखितमिदं शासनं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतदंड०सातिकुमारसुत आक्षपटलिक ठ० सोमसिंहेन ॥ छ ॥
(17) दूतकोऽत्र ठ० श्रीवयजलदेव इति शासनमिदं मांडल्यां श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवम[भ्यर्च्य]
(18) स्थानपतिश्रीवेदगर्भराशेः समर्प्पितमिति ततोऽनेन तथैतदीयसंतानपरंपरयाऽपि आचंद्रार्कं अन-
(19) योर्ग्रामयोरायपदं सत्रागारेऽस्मिन् उपयुक्तं कार्यं ॥ कल्याणमस्तु साधूनां ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ अनयोर्ग्रा-

§ L. 16, read फाल्गु°; °मावास्यायां. L. 20, read काष्ट°; दंडद°.

¶ L. 2, read देवी°; श्रेयोर्थं. L. 12, read षष्टिं व; सहस्राणि; नरके°.

([20]) मयोः सीमायां तांबुलिकवणिज्यारकपथिकप्रभृतीनां मध्यात् यः कोपि चौरैर्गृह्यते तस्य प्र-
([21]) तिकार अनयोर्ग्रामयोः सत्कभोत्कारपाश्चात् प्रतीति-*
([22]) लभ्या ॥ ऊद्धलागभागो नहि ॥
श्रीत्रिभुवनपालदेवस्य

No. 10.—*Abstract*.

I. Preamble.—(*a*). *Vaṁśâvali* agrees for the first eleven kings, from Mûlarâja I. to Bhîmadeva II., with the preceding grant No. 9, of S. 1296 Vikrama; the additional king is

12. T r i b h u v a n a p â l a d e v a.

(*b*) T r i b h u v a n a p â l a, who resides at A ṇ a h i l l a p â ṭ a k a, addresses the officials and inhabitants of the V i s h a y a and D a ṇ d â h î Pathakas on Monday, the sixth day of the bright half of Chaitra of 1299 Vikrama, and announces the following grant, which he had vowed on the new moon of Phâlguṇa (of the same year), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

II. Objects granted.—1. The village of B h â ṁ s h a r a,† bounded—

(*a*) *East* by the villages of K u r a l î and D â s a y a j a,

(*b*) *South* by the villages of K u r a l î and T r i b h a,

(*c*) *West* by the villages of A r a ṭ h a u r a and U n j h â,

(*d*) *North* by the villages of U n j h â, D â s a y a j a and K â m b a l î.

(2) The village of R â j a p u r i, bounded—

(*a*) *East* by U l â v a(s a ṇ a) and D â n g a r a u â,

(*b*) *South-east* by the villages of C h a ṇ ḍ â v a s a ṇ a and I n d r â v â ḍ â,

(*c*) *South* by the village of Â h î r â ṇ â,

(*d*) *West* by the villages of S i r a s â v i and N a n d â v a s a ṇ a,

(*e*) *North-west* by the villages of U ṇ t a û y â and S i r a s â v i,

(*f*) *North* by the village of N a n d â v a s a ṇ a,

(*g*) *North-east* by the village of K u î l a y a.

III. Purpose of Grant.—To feed the religious mendicants (*kârpaṭika*) at the almshouse built by Râṇâ Luṇapasâû in the Talapada of Mâûla, for the spiritual benefit of his mother, queen S a l a k h a ṇ a d e v î.

IV. Officials.—The writer and *dûtaka* are the same as in No. 9, Bhîmadeva's grant of 1296.

V. Postscript.—A postscript states that this *śâsana* has been made over to Sthânapati, the illustrious V e d a g a r b h a r â ś i (the superior of the Śaiva monastery at Maṇḍalî), and that he and his successors have been made trustees. A further postscript adds the proviso that the possessors of the two villages are responsible for robberies committed within their boundaries.

No. 11.‡

Plate I.

([1]) ॥७०॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमद्विक्रमकालातीतसप्तदशाधिकत्रयोदशशातिकसंवत्सरे लौकिकज्येष्टमासस्य §
([2]) कृष्णपक्षचतुर्थ्यां तिथौ गुरावद्येह श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके समस्तराजावलीविराजितपरमेश्वरपरम-
([3]) भट्टारक उमापतिवरलब्धप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापचौलुक्यकुलकमलिनीकलिकाविकाशमार्त्तंडसिंघण-
([4]) सैन्यसमुद्रसंशोषणवडवानलमालवाधीशमानमर्दनमेदपाटकदेशकलुषराज्यवल्लीकंदोच्छे[द]-
([5]) नकुद्दालकल्पकर्ण्णाटराजजलधितनयास्वयंवरपुरूषोत्तमभुजबलभीम अभिनवसिद्धराज अप-
([6]) रार्जुनेत्यादिसकलबिरदावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वीसलदेवकल्याणविजयिराज्ये
([7]) तदनुशासनानुवर्त्तिनि महामात्यश्रीनागडे श्रीश्रीकरणादिसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयतीत्येवं
([8]) काले प्रवर्त्तमाने अस्यैव परमप्रभोः श्रीमहाराजस्य प्रसादपत्तलायां वर्द्धिपथके भुज्यमानमंडल्यां
([9]) जयश्रीनिर्भरालिंगितशरीरः महामंडलेश्वरराणकश्रीसामतसिंहदेवः नगरपौरान् अन्यानपि स-
([10]) र्वे[न]धिकृत्य सर्वेषां विदितं पत्रशासनं म्रयच्छति यथा ॥ यन्मया महादानोदकप्रक्षालितवामे-
तरकरत-

* L. 21, read °तिकारेन°; भोक्तृपार्श्वात्.

† The Quarter-Master General's map gives of all the villages mentioned only Unjhâ, south of Sidhpur and Uttohr, which appears to be Araṭhaura.

‡ Measurements of plates 11 inches by $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Characters Jaina-Devanâgarî.

§ L. 1, read ज्येष्ठमासस्य. L. 6, read बिरुदा°. L. 9, read सामन्तसिंह. L. 10, read प्रयच्छति.

(11) लेन परमधार्मिकेन भूत्वा तीर्थपुण्योदकैः स्नात्वा सुक्लवाससी परिधाय चराचरत्रिभुवनगुरुं भग-वन्तं

(12) भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विचिंत्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं जीवितव्यं यौवन-मीश्व-¶

(13) र्यं चावगम्य ऐहिकं पारत्रिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पितामहराणकश्रीलूणपसाजदेवश्रेयोर्थं आशापल्यां

(14) पूर्वसंकल्पितसत्रे अपूर्व अष्टौ ब्राह्मणान् भोजायितुं तथा तत्रत्यप्रपाभरापनार्थं च तथा मंडल्यां स्वपि-

(15) तुः राणकश्रीसंग्रामसिंहदेवश्रेयसे अपूर्वद्वादशसंख्यकान् ब्राह्मणान् राजान्नपानव्यंजनतांबूला-

(16) दिसर्वोपस्करसहितभोजनं भोजयितुं तथा कन्यागतापरपक्षे चतुर्दशब्रह्मपुरीयकब्राह्मणानां पंचद-

(17) शदिनानां श्राद्धे सदक्षिणा निर्वापाः तथा सदैवामावास्यायाममावास्यायां अमीषामपि ब्राह्मणानां अनुप्र-

(18) पाव्या सदक्षिणा पंच निर्वापाः तथा पारायणोपविष्टकपिलावर्त्तब्राह्मणानां निर्वापा तथा प्रपाभ-रापनार्थं

(19) तथा बल्लालनारायणरूपनारायणदेवयोर्नित्यं पंचोपचारपूजानैवेद्यार्थं तथा विशेषपंचोपस्करपू-

Plate II.

(1) जानैवेद्यर्थं तथा पतितध्रुषितधर्मस्थानानामद्धरणार्थं वैशाषीपर्वणि अस्मिन्नेव पथके संतिष्टमान-*

(2) मेहूणाभिधानग्रामे कस्य तथा मंडल्यां भूमिहल ६ तथा हाट १२ तथा रिणसीहवसणग्रामेग्रेंपलमा-

(3) नभूमिहल ६ तथा लुंडावसणेत्यवाटिका १ तथा रूपापुरेत्यवाटिका १ तथा आशापल्यां शुल्क-मंडपिका-

(4) यां दिनं प्रति द्र १ त्रृम्मैकः करदपल्लडिका १ एतेषां समस्तानामुत्सर्गं कृत्वा श्रीमूलेश्वरदेवीय-मठपतिम-

(5) हामुनींद्रराजकुलश्रीविष्वामित्रस्य निर्वाहणार्थं शासनं समपितं । मेहूणाग्रामस्याघाटा यथा । पूर्वस्यां दि-

(6) शि चून्नरिग्रामसुहासडाग्रामरउनीग्रामत्रषाणं सीमायां सीमा । दक्षणस्यां दिशि षांडिहाग्रामना-लोडाग्राम-

(7) योः सीमायां सीमा । पश्चिमस्यां दिशि दूधुखाग्रामसमायां सीमा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि नायकाग्रा-मसीमायां सीमा

(8) एवमादिचतुराघाटोपलक्षितस्वसीमापर्यंत सवृक्षमालाकुल नवनिधानसहित सहिरण्यभागभोगदा-

(9) नीसहितः सदंडदशापराधसहित सकाष्टतृणोदकोपेतः सर्वादायसमतः देवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जितः

(10) ग्रामोयं तथा मंडल्याः भूमी तथा वाटिके तथा हट्टानि आशापल्याः पल्लडिकाप्रभृति एतत्सर्व्वं आचंद्राक्र याव-

(11) त् राजकुलश्रीविश्वामित्रराशिना तथैतदीयचेल्लकपरंपरया निर्वाहनीयं । अस्मत्प्रदत्तमिति परि-क्षाय स-

(12) र्व्वसामान्यं चैतत् अल्पफलं मत्वा अस्मद्वंशजैः अन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरनुमंतव्यं पालनीयं च । यथा दाता श्रे-

¶ L. 12, read °मैश्व°. L. 18, read सदक्षिणाः; निर्वापाः.

* L. 1, read °नैवेद्यार्थं; ध्रुषित or perhaps दूषित; °मुद्धरणार्थं; वैशाखी; संतिष्ठ°. L. 2, perhaps ग्रामेग्रे. L. 4, read द्रम्मैकः, *i.e.* एक दाम. L. 5, read विश्वामित्रस्य; समर्पितं. L. 6, read त्रयाणां; दक्षिणस्यां. L. 8, read °पर्यन्तः; °कुलः; °सहितः; L. 9, read सहितः; काष्ठ; समेतः; L. 10, read °चंद्रार्कं. L. 11, read परीक्ष्य.

(13) योभाक् तथा पालकश्चापि । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि : सगरादिभि : । यस्यय-

(14) स्य यदा भूमी तस्यतस्य तदा फलं । १ षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥ अच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव न-†

(15) रकं वसेत् ॥ २ वंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णसप्पा प्रजायंते दत्तदायापहारका: ॥ ३ त-

(16) डागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुद्ध्यति ॥ ४ ॥

(17) दूतकोऽत्र महासंधिविग्रहिक ठ० श्रीश्रीधरः ॥ लिखितमिदं महाक्षपटलिकमहं० श्रीगोविंदेन

श्रीः

अपरार्जुनमहाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीमद्वीसलदेवस्य

No. 11.—*Abstract.*

I. Preamble.—In the 1317th year of the Vikrama era, on the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Jyeshṭha, on a Thursday, while the supreme ruler, supreme lord, the illustrious Vîsaladeva, the great king of kings,—who is made illustrious by the whole line of kings (his ancestors),—who obtained grace in consequence of a boon given by the husband of Umâ,—who is endowed with exceeding valour, who is (*as it were*) a sun (*able*) to open the buds of the lotus-field of the Chaulukya,—who is a volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Singhaṇa,—who crushed the lord of Mâlava, who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent government of the Medapâṭaka country,—who resembled Purushottama since he was chosen as husband by the daughter of the king of Karṇâta (just as Purushottama was elected by Lakshmî the daughter of the ocean),—who is adorned by numerous honorific titles, such as 'a (*second*) Bhîma by the strength of his arm, the new Siddharâja, and a second Arjuna,'—ruled auspiciously and victoriously at Śrîmat Aṇahillapâṭaka, and while his obedient prime minister, the illustrious Nâgaḍa, held‡ all the great offices, viz. that of secretary and the rest, the great provincial chief Râṇâ Sâmantasiṁha, who rules in Maṇḍalî, situated in Vardhipathaka, the favoured district of the above-mentioned supreme lord, gives the following grant:—

II. Grantees and Purpose.—For the spiritual welfare of the donor's grandfather, Râṇâ Lûṇapasâja, to feed in Âśâpallî, at a formerly instituted *sattra*, eight new Brahmans,§ and to keep the drinking-fountain there filled (Pl. I. l. 14).

2. For the spiritual welfare of the donor's father, Râṇâ Saṁgrâmasiṁha, to provide a complete dinner of royal food and drink, with condiments, betel, &c., at Maṇḍalî to eight new Brahmans; to provide for fourteen Brahmans of Brahmapura, at the Panchadaśadina Śrâddha, during the dark half of the month when the sun stands in the constellation of Virgo,|| alms and *dakshiṇâ;* and also to provide for the same Brahmans on every new moon alms and *dakshiṇâ*, and also alms for those Brahmans of the Kapilâvarta,¶ who have sat down to recite the whole Veda, and to keep the drinking-fountain filled (Pl. I. ll. 15-18).

3. To provide daily food-offerings and the expenses of the service in the temples of Ballâlanârâyaṇa and Rûpanârâyaṇa, and to repair dilapidated temples. (Pl. I. l. 19, Pl. II. l. 1.)

III. Objects granted.—(*a*) In the village of Mehûṇâ *six ploughs* of land, twelve shops in Maṇḍalî, and 6 ploughs of land in the village of Riṇasîhavasaṇa.

(*b*) A garden in Luṇḍâvasaṇa.

(*c*) A garden in Rûpâpura.

(*d*) A *palladikâ* with a daily tax of one *dâm.**

All this was made over for management to the superior of Śrîmûleśvaradeva's monastery (at Mânḍal), the great lord of ascetics, Râjakula Viśvâmitra. (Pl II. ll. 2-5.)

† L. 14, read षष्टिं व°; आच्छेत्ता. L. 15, read नरके; विंध्या°, सर्पाः.

‡ *Paripanthayati*, loc. sing. pres. part., is used in all the Western inscriptions of the 12th and 13th century in the sense of 'holding.'

§ *Apûrva*, 'new,' means that the Brahmans had not been fed before and were not to be fed again, a new batch taking their place.

|| *i. e.* the Mahâlayaśrâddha during Blâdrapada Badi.

¶ The coast of the Bharûch districts.

* I am unable to explain the word *palladikâ*. The text has द्र १ त्रिम्मैकः which, I think, can only stand for द्रम्म एक, 'one *dâm.*'

Boundaries :—

(1) Of M e h û n â—

(*a*) *East* the villages of C h u n n a r î, S u h â s a ḍ â, and R a u n î,

(*b*) *South* the villages of S h â n ḍ i k â and N â l o d â,

(*c*) *West* the village of D û d h u k h â,

(*d*) *North* the village of N â y a k â.

IV. Officers.—D û t a k a : the minister of peace and war (of the Râṇâ) Ṭhakur Śrîdhara; the writer of the grant is Mahâkshapaṭalika Mahaṅ G o v i n d a.

PEDIGREE OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF AṆHILVÂḌ.

A.—Main line.

- I. **Mûlarâja I.**, son of king **Râji** S. 998—1053 or 941-42—996-97 A.D. [S. 1043]
  - II. **Châmuṇḍarâja**, S. 1053—1066 : A.D. 997-98—1009-10
    - III. **Vallabharâja**, S. 1066, A.D. 1097-98
    - IV. **Durlabharâja** S. 1066—1078 A.D. 1010—1021-22
    - **Nâgadeva**
      - V. **Bhîmadeva I.** [S. 1086 and (10)93] S. 1078—1120 A.D. 1021-22—1063-64
        - VI. **Karṇa I.** S. 1120—1150 A.D. 1063-64—1093-94
          - VII. **Jayasiṁha, Siddharâja** S. 1150—1199 A.D. 1093-94—1143-44
        - **Haripâla**
          - **Tribhuvanapâla**
            - VIII. **Kumârapâla** S. 1190—1230 [S. 1207, 1213] A.D. 1143-44—1173-74
            - **Mahîpâla**
              - IX. **Ajayapâla** S. 1230—1233 A.D. 1173-74—1176-77
                - X. **Mûlarâja II.** S. 1233—1235 A.D. 1176-77—1178
                - XI. **Bhîmadeva II.** S. 1235—1298 A.D. 1178—1241-2 [S. 1263, 65, 66, 83, 87, 88, 95, 96]
                  - XII. **Tribhuvanapâla** [S. 1299] S. 1298—1300 A.D. 1241-42—1243-44

B.—Vyâghrapallî or Vâghelâ branch.

- Dhavala, married to Kumârapâla's mother's sister
  - Arṇorâja
    - Lavaṇaprasâda, chief of Ḍholkâ
      - Vîradhavala, Râṇâ of Ḍholkâ Independent since S. 1276—1295 (?) A.D. 1219-20—1238-39 (?)
        - XIII. **Vîsaladeva** [S. 1317] **Râṇâ** from 1238-39 S. 1300—1318 king of Aṇhilvâḍ A.D. 1243-44—1261-62
          - XIV. **Arjunadeva** S. 1318—1331 [S. 1318, 1328] A.D. 1261-62—1274-75
            - XV. **Sârangadeva** S. 1331—1353 [S. 1350] A.D. 1274-75—1296
              - XVI. **Karṇadeva II.** S. 1353—1360 A.D. 1296—1304.

Note.—The dates have been taken for the reigns of the kings of the main line from the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, and agree with those of Mr. Forbes, given in the *Râs Mâlâ*, except in the cases of Bhîmadeva I., Karṇadeva I., and Bhîmadeva II. They agree with those of the *Vichâraśreṇî* for the reigns of Durlabharâja and of his successors, not for the earlier ones, which have been thrown into utter confusion by a transposition of Châmuṇḍarâja among the Châpotkaṭas. The origin of this error probably was a clerical mistake by which Châmuṇḍarâja's name had been left out, and afterwards been marked on the margin with an erroneous mark of reference in the text. Later copyists and correctors then entered Châmuṇḍa in the wrong place, and altered the dates so as to agree. The Government copy of the *Vichâraśreṇî* says, fol. 6*b*, l. 12, to fol. 7*a*, l. 7:—*tad anu saṁva.* 821 *varsha vaiśâkha śudi 2-some somachâudavaṁsotpannaḥ śrîvanarâjaḥ śrî aṇahilapuram asthâpayat tatra cha* 60 *varshâṇi râjyam abhukta; tatputreṇa yogarâjena nava varsha 9 râjyaṁ kṛit(a)m; tataḥ saṁvat* 891 (!) *varshopavishṭaśrîratnâdityena varsha* 3 *râjyaṁ kritam || tato vairasiṁhasya râjyaṁ varsha* 11 *tataḥ saṁ.* 903 *upa° tatsuta kshemarâjasya râjyaṁ cha* 13 944 *varshopavishṭa suta* CHÂMUNDA*râva* 28 *tataḥ saṁ.* 981 || *varshop° suta ghâghaḍasya râjyam cha* || 28 || 998 *varshopavita sutaptarâjyaṁ cha* || 9 *itthaṁ evaṁ* 1018 *itthaṁ châvaḍâvaṁśeshṭabhiḥ* 196 *varsha râjyaṁ kṛitaṁ* || *tad anu saṁ.* 1018 *varshe chaulukyavaṁśopavishṭasya dauhitra śrîmûlarâjyaṁ* 35 *tataḥ* || *saṁ.* 1052 *varshopavishṭa* SUTA VALLABHA*râjarâjyaṁ.* v. 14 *tataḥ saṁ.* 1066 *varshe bhrâtri durlabharâjarâjyaṁ varsha* 12, etc. The *Vichâraśreṇî* gives the following exact dates for (1) Jayasiṁha, death S. 1199. Kârttika sudi 3; (2) Kumârapâla, abhisheka Mârgaśira sudi 4, S. 1199, death Pausha sudi 12, S. 1229; (3) Ajayapâla, death Phâlguna sudi 12, S. 1232; (4) Mûlarâja II., death Chaitra sudi 4, S. 1234.—The dates for the kings of the Vâghelâ branch have been taken from the *Vichâraśreṇî*. The connection of their first ancestor, Dhavala, with the main line is not clear. But he also must have been a Chaulukya, as his descendants always bear this family name in the inscriptions.

MISCELLANEA.

BARISÂL GUNS, &c.

In a manual of *The District of Bâkarganj* by Mr. Beveridge, the country round the mouth of the Ganges, and its peculiarities, are described. In one passage he refers to a phenomenon in one of the islands out in the Bay of Bengal.

"I questioned Khela Mag about the curious phenomenon known by the name of the Barisâl guns. He said that he heard them often in the beginning of the rains. He described the sound as being exactly like that of the discharge of a cannon, and said it appeared to have no connection with the tide, and that the noise was quite different from that of the 'Bore,' or of the coming in of the breakers. The noises appeared to come from the north, south, and south-west. The statement that they sometimes come from the north is important, for hitherto we have supposed that no one ever got to the south of them. It is because that they are always heard from the south that the natives poetically represent them as caused by the shutting and opening of Râvaṇa's gate in Ceylon." Mr. Beveridge adds (p. 168), "The conclusion, therefore, which I come to, is that the sounds are atmospheric, and in some way connected with electricity."

At p. 164 of vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Horne, in his account of Himâlayan villages, mentions the extraordinary and imposing sounds heard in the early morning amongst the mighty peaks,—not ascribable, he thinks, to avalanches, and which the natives cannot account for.

The town of Koimbatûr, in Madras, is backed on the west by a semicircle of lofty mountains, cleft in the centre of the arc by a lower pass, down the high slope above which, on the south, a white streak of water is seen descending. This is the source of the Śirivâṇî, an affluent of the Bhavâṇî river, which skirts and drains the southern watershed of the Nîlgiris. The Śirivâṇî waterfall issues from a remarkable pool or rock-basin, quite 4000 feet high on the mountain side, and called by the jungle people Muttukulam, 'Pearl-foot.' The people have a great awe of this pool, and can hardly be persuaded to approach it, declaring that extraordinary and tremendous noises are at times heard to issue from it, and roll cracking amongst the mountains. It is declared to be bottomless, and certainly the longest bamboo obtainable could find no bottom.

In a book of South American travel published a few years ago, there was an account of a tremendous and terrifying noise proceeding for three days from the interior of the vast Guiana forest-wilderness: there was no earthquake or volcanic phenomena to account for it, and the Indians could suggest no cause or explanation.

Whether Mr. Beveridge's suggestion of atmospheric causes and electricity will account for these mighty and mysterious voices from ocean, mountains, and forest is a question for natural philosophers to determine.

M. J. W.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from page* 42.)

XV.—*Gold treasure-trove in Madras.*

IN vol. II. of Col. Yule's edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*, pp. 305-311, there is an account of the once famous port of Kail, in Tinnivelly, near the extreme southern cape of the Peninsula. In Marco Polo's time it belonged to Aslar, the eldest of five brother-kings who ruled the regions of the south. "At this city," says Marco, "touch all ships that come from the west —from Hormos, Aden, and Arabia." Its site is ascertained to have been on the Tâmraparni river, at a spot now one and a half miles from its mouth,—of old probably nearer the sea, on a back-water, whence its name (*kâyal* in Tamil = a backwater); and ruins of old fortifications, temples, wells, tanks, everywhere for three or four miles along the coast, attest its ancient wealth and importance, while the whole plain for a mile and a half inland is covered with mounds, tiles, and broken pottery, amongst which pieces of china-ware are not uncommon. Diggings in those mounds would probably discover much of antiquarian interest. Except the above-mentioned vestiges, the great and populous city has disappeared from the face of the earth, its name surviving only in tradition, and its site till of late uncertain. Tutacorin, a few miles further up, is now the rising and frequented port.

Between two and three years ago a remarkable discovery of gold coin was made in the tract once occupied by the ancient port. Some coolies, whilst digging a water-channel at some distance inland, dug up a large globular metal vessel, the lips of the mouth of which had been turned down and beaten together so as to close the opening completely. The vessel contained gold coins to the amount, it is believed, of *some thousands*—principally, it would seem, Muhammadan; but the treasure was instantly divided amongst the finders, and almost the whole of it melted down! The energetic Collector of the province, Mr. R. K. Puckle, from whom I received the account, as soon as the news of the find oozed out and reached him, used all means of encouragement and persuasion to induce the people to bring him any of the coins, offering a reward for them beside their intrinsic value as gold; but this only increased the fear of the ignorant finders, and of the whole great treasure only about thirty pieces were rescued, in a manner showing how insuperable popular suspicions are in such an affair. On approaching a village where it was thought there might be some of the coins, a little girl was seen running away from it carrying a small earthen *châṭṭi*, and happening to fall in her haste the *châṭṭi* broke and thirty coins rolled out, which appear to have been all that escaped the melting-pot. It would be unsafe to estimate from this scanty remnant the general character of the whole great hoard, which there is reason to believe did amount to thousands, all gold, but the few that escaped were of Muhammadan coinage, except one piece of Johanna of Naples (A.D. 1343-82); from this it may be concluded that Spanish, Portuguese, and Venetian broad pieces, such as were wont to be used in the old traffic with the East, were not wanting in the hoard. Could but the circumstances be told in which this remarkable golden treasure was amassed, concealed, and lost, what a strange story might be revealed!

Of other golden finds in Madras territories, a large quantity of Roman gold coins was found in 1787 near Nellûr, under the remains of a small Hindu temple; there were many coins of Trajan, and several as fresh and beautiful as if just from the mint. (See *As. Res.* vol. II. p. 332.) Five pieces of the Emperors were dug up at Karur, in Koimbatûr, in 1806; and in the same district I have twice known small *châṭṭis* containing several hundreds of the minute spangle-like Hindu coins, popularly called 'Shânâr cash,' with which all Southern India seems sown (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 191), to have been turned up in ploughing. I remember, too, when the right of excavating and searching for coin in the extensive old mud fort at Dhârâpuram, in Koimbatûr, was rented out and farmed—an item in the district accounts—gold coins were said to be found there frequently. A potful of Roman aurei is also reported to have been found near Solapûr in 1840: only a few were preserved. In Asia, as in Europe, the amount of treasure-trove preserved has ever been lamentably small in proportion to the amount discovered.

The hoard in Tinnivelli was discovered in December 1872; its probable value is estimated at a lâkh of rupees. The labourers divided the spoil, but the Tahsildâr succeeded in recovering Rs. 8,000 worth of coin and ingots; the rest was quickly melted down, and all traces of it lost. Of the coins 31 were obtained for Government, and are now in the Madras Museum. The inscriptions on the whole of the coins are in Arabic or Kufic, with one exception,—a coin of Peter of Aragon, (*not* Johanna of Castile), the legend on which is in Latin in old Gothic characters, and reads thus:—

"Summa potestas est in Deo.
P. Dei gra. Aragon. sigil. re." surrounding a shield.
"Ps. Cost. Dei gra. Aragon. sigil. reg:."
In the field an eagle.

The P. referred to is Pedro III., king of Aragon, who began to reign A.D. 1276.

He concluded a treaty with a Sultân of the Mamluk Bahrite dynasty, and hence probably the coin found its way to Egypt, and so to India.

The coins bearing Arabic characters belong to four dynasties,—the Khalifs, Atabegs, Ayubite, and Mamluk Bahrite. The coins in Kufic characters have not been deciphered.

The greatest gold-find recorded in Madras happened in 1851, when a vast treasure was discovered on a hill near Koṭṭâyam, ten miles east of Kannanur: the native discoverers for a long time maintained the strictest secrecy; the purity of the gold attracted the jewellers and wealthy men, and nearly all were melted down for ornaments. No less than five cooly-loads of gold coins are said to have been taken from this spot. Eighty or ninety coins came into the possession of the Râja of Travancore, and a larger number was obtained by General Cullen, the Resident. Not one reached the Madras Museum. The coins were of the following reigns:—Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, Drusus.*

MATHURÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.

The Pâli inscriptions, of which rubbings and transcripts are herewith sent, have been collected within the last few years from different spots in and about the city of Mathurâ. The stones upon which they are engraved are as yet in my own possession, but will eventually be transferred to a local museum, which is now in course of erection. The building was commenced more than twenty years ago by Mr. Mark Thornhill, the then Collector of the district, who intended it as a rest-house for natives of rank on their occasional visits to the station. After some Rs. 50,000, raised by local subscription, had been expended, the work was interrupted by the Mutiny, and never resumed till 1874, when Sir John Strachey, the most liberal supporter of art and science that the North-West has ever had at its head, warmly encouraged the idea of its conversion into a museum, and subsequently sanctioned a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,500 from provincial funds. The central court was last year raised by the addition of an attic, and covered in with a stone vault. In this (so far as constructional peculiarities are concerned) I have reproduced the roof of the now ruined temple of Harideva at Govardhan, an interesting specimen of the eclectic style that prevailed in the reign of the emperor Akbar, and which so recently as 1872 was in almost perfect preservation. The cost of these additions was Rs. 5,366. A portico is now being added at an estimated outlay of Rs. 8,494; and when the openings that were broken through the walls by Mr. Thornhill's whimsical successor, with the express object of disfiguring his predecessor's design, have been closed in with tracery, the whole will present a most beautiful and elaborate specimen of the architecture of Mathurâ in the nineteenth century.†

Though the cost of the building has been so considerable, it is only of small dimensions, the whole surface of the stone being covered with geometric and flowered patterns of the most artistic character. It is therefore intended to

* From *Catalogue of Coins in the Government Museum, Madras.*

† I have been able to carry out so many architectural works since I have been at Mathurâ that probably in after years native tradition will associate with my name everything that was built about this period. I wish, therefore, to place on record that I am not responsible for the design of the portico. It is in itself very beautiful work, but it is quite out of place in the open air, on the side of a dusty road.

make it not a general, but simply an architectural and antiquarian museum, and I hope to be able to arrange in it, in chronological series, specimens of all the different styles that have prevailed in the neighbourhood, from the reign of the Indo-Skythian Kanishka, in the century immediately before Christ, down to the present day, which (as before said) will be illustrated in perfection by the building itself.

It cannot be denied that it was high time for some such institution to be established: for in an ancient city like Mathurâ interesting relics of the past, even when no definite search is being made for them, are constantly cropping up; and, unless there is some easily accessible place to which they can be consigned for custody, they run an imminent risk of being no sooner found than destroyed. Inscriptions in particular, despite their exceptional value in the eyes of the antiquary, are more likely to perish than anything else, since they have no beauty to recommend them to the ordinary observer. Thus a pillar, the whole surface of which is said to have been covered with writing, was found in 1860, in making a road on the site of the old city wall. There was no one on the spot at the time who could read it, and the thrifty engineer, thinking such a fine large block of stone ought not to be wasted, had it neatly squared and made into a buttress for a bridge. A base of a pillar, No. 3 in the present series, was dug up about the same time, and, after being plastered and whitewashed was imbedded by the Collector in a gatepost he was then building in front of the Tahsili. There I re-discovered it only two years ago, when the gateway was pulled down to improve the approach to the museum. Similarly No. 11 had been set up by a subordinate in the Public Works Department to protect a culvert on the high-road through cantonments. I have therefore thought it better to provide at once for some record of the present series, without waiting for an opportunity—that might never occur—to decipher them more completely; since a civilian's stay in a district is always a matter of much uncertainty, and if I were transferred before the museum was ready for their reception they would probably soon be lost sight of altogether.

No. 1 is from a small fragment of stone recently found in the compound of the Magistrate's court-house. This would seem to have been the site of an extensive Buddhist monastery: for in 1860, when the foundations of the new building were being laid, a number of large statues, bases of pillars, rails, and other sculptures were unearthed. The greater part were sent to the Agra museum, and the others dispersed in various quarters. The little stone of which I am now writing had probably been thrown aside as of no value. It reads thus:—

. . . *shkasya râjya saṁvatsare* 28, *Hemant* 3 (or 4) *di* . . .

which might be translated "On the. . . day of the third (*or* fourth) winter month in the 28th year of the reign of."

The king commemorated was probably Kanishka; for the end of the tail of the *n* is just visible, and other inscriptions of his were found on the same spot. If, however, for *râjya* be read *râjye*, it would be necessary to translate "in the 28th year [of some unspecified era] in the reign of." And this is perhaps preferable, for although a reign may well have lasted twenty-eight years,—the number here given,—in other parallel inscriptions the figures run too high to be so interpreted.

No. 2 is from the base of a large seated figure of Buddha, in red sandstone, of which only the crossed legs remain. This I dug up in one of what are called the Chaubâra mounds, near the Sonkh road, at the junction of the boundaries of the township of Mathurâ and the villages of Bâkirpur and Giridharpur. Both these settlements are of comparatively recent date, and the site seems to have been the very centre of the old Buddhist city. The left hand of the figure had rested on the left thigh, the right being probably raised in an attitude of admonition. Another mutilated figure of similar character, but without inscription, was found on the same spot, and I mention the fact since these are the only specimens I have with the hands in this position; in all the others they are crossed over the feet. The inscription begins *Mahârâjasya Deva-putrasya Huvishkasya saṁ*, 33 *gri*. 1 *di*. 8 *bhikshusya* . . *hasya* . . *takasya* . . . . . *Buddhasya*.

The remainder is more or less uncertain. General Cunningham took the word ending in *takasya* to be *Tripitakasya*. If really so, the inscription would be specially valuable as probably fixing the site of the *stûpas* of the *Abhidharma*, the *Sûtra*, and the *Vinaya* (collectively

called *Tripitaka*), which are mentioned by both the Chinese pilgrims as being at Mathurâ.

No. 3 is from the base of a pillar found at the same place as No. 1. It is cut in bold clear letters which are for the most part decipherable, as follows :—

Ayam kumbhaka dânam bhikshunam Suriyasya Buddha-rakshitasya cha prahitakânam. Anantyam (?) *deyam dharmma pa . . . nam. Sarvaśa prahitakânam arya dakshitaye bhavatu.*

The purport of which would be : "This pillar is the gift of the mendicants Surya and Buddharakshita, *prahitakas*. A religious donation in perpetuity. May it be in every way a blessing to the *prahitakas!*"

I observe that Prof. Kern, in his "Notes on the Junnar Inscriptions" (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 40), questions the probability of a *bhikshu* being ever a donor, since (as he says) monks have nothing to give away, all to receive. But in this place the reading is unmistakably clear, nor is the fact really at all inconsistent with Hindu usage. In the Mathurâ district I can point to two large masonry tanks, costing each some thousands of rupees, which have been constructed by mendicant *bairâgis* out of alms that they had in a long course of years begged for the purpose. The word *prahitaka*, if I am right in so reading it, is of doubtful signification. It might mean either 'messenger' or 'committee-man,' a commissioner or a commissionaire.

No. 4 is from the mound called the Kankâlî tîlâ. It is cut on the upper part of a broken slab which has an ornamental border round the edge, but otherwise presents a plain surface. The obverse of the stone is more elaborately carved, and resembles the spandril of a doorway, with a vine-leaf scroll, and in the jamb the model of a triumphal column supporting the figure of an elephant on a bell capital that is surmounted by winged lions. The upper portions of two such pillars as that here represented are in existence, the one at Sankisa, the other in my own collection with the date *Huvishka Saṁ.* 39 on the abacus : it has been figured in vol. II. of Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports.* The first letter in the inscription at the back of this curious slab belongs to a word that has been destroyed : it is followed by the name of the donor in the genitive case, *Mugali-putas.* This would seem to be a distinctively Buddhist appellation, and therefore worthy of remark, since most of the sculptures found in this *tîlâ* are of Jaina type.

No. 5 is from the base of a small headless seated nude figure of white stone, and, to judge from the style of the sculpture and the ill-formed letters, is of no very great antiquity. Under it is a row of six standing figures, three on either side of a central *chakra.* Nothing is recorded in the inscription beyond the date; but this is given both in words and figures, as follows :—

Saṁvatsare sapta panyâse 57 *Hemanta tritiye divase trayadase. Asya purvayam :*

that is to say, "In the year fifty-seven (57), on the thirteenth day of the third winter month." It had been built up into a mud wall in the Manoharpur quarter of the city, and my attention was first called to it by General Cunningham. It is curious in two ways : *first,* because it definitely fixes, beyond any possibility of doubt, the value of the symbol representing 50; *secondly,* if the date is really the year 57 of the same era as that employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka, it is the earliest unmistakably Jaina figure yet found in this neighbourhood. I cannot, however, believe but that it is comparatively modern, and if so it affords a strong confirmation of a theory originally broached, I believe, by Mr. Thomas. He suggests that the Indo-Skythians using the era of the Seleucidæ, which commenced in the 1st of October 312 B.C., gave only the year of the century, omitting the century itself, in the same way as we write '77 for 1877. The theory is corroborated by the fact that only one of the Mathurâ inscriptions as yet found gives a date higher than a hundred, viz. 135 ; and this particular inscription probably belongs to an entirely different series : for in it the division of the year is not into the three seasons of Grîshma, Varshâ, and Hemanta, but according to the Hindu calendar still in use, the month quoted being Paushya. It is, however, very doubtful whether the era of the Seleucidæ is the one intended ; it might with equal or even greater probability be the Kaśmîrian era employed by Kalhaṇa in the last three books of his *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, and still in use among the Brâhmaṇs of that country. It is otherwise called the era of the Saptarshîs, and dates from the secular procession of Ursa Major, Chaitra Sudi 1 of

MATHURÂ INSCRIPTIONS. I.

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the 26th year of the Kali-yuga, 3076 B.C.* It is known to be a fact, and is not a mere hypothesis, that when this era is used the hundreds are generally omitted. The chronological difficulties involved in these inscriptions seem, therefore, almost to defy solution: the order in which the kings, whose names are mentioned, succeeded one another is uncertain: the era may commence either in October 312 B.C. or in March 3076 B.C.; and the century of the era is never expressed. It has occurred to me that the phrase *asya purvayam*, which is of such very frequent occurrence, and has never been satisfactorily explained, may possibly refer to this suppression of the first figures of the date.

No. 6 is from a broken Buddhist rail found at the same place as No. 2. The front is carved with a single female figure, unusually well executed, and at the back were three bas-reliefs, the lowest of which has been lost. The inscription is a single line between the upper and middle groups, and, as it ends with the word *dânam*, apparently records only the donor's name, though what the name is I cannot exactly determine.

No. 7 is from the base of a seated Buddha of very early character, with drapery falling over the body in a multiplicity of small folds. I recovered it from the bed of the Jamunâ, where it was being used by the *dhobîs* as a washing-stone. The letters are so worn that the only words I am able to decipher are *Daya-dharmma* and *Buddha* in the first line, and at the end of the second *sarvva* and again *Buddha.*

No. 8 is from the base of a small seated figure with a group below it as in No. 5. It was found at the Kankâli tîlâ. Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra reads it thus:—

Siddhajîvikasya datta-bhikshusya vihârasya,

and translates, "Of the monastery of Datta-bhikshu, who had accomplished the object of existence." I should prefer to render, "May it prosper! The gift of Jîvika, a mendicant; for the monastery."

No. 9 is from the base of a very large seated figure carved in red sandstone, of which nothing but the feet remain. It begins *Varsha-mâse* 2 *divas* 6, "On the sixth day of the second month of the rains." The remainder is too much defaced for me to make out.

No. 10 is from below a small seated nude figure, carved in *white* stone, a material which ordinarily indicates a more modern date. The inscription is in three portions, and gives the Samvat year in Nâgarî figures as 1134. It was found at the Kankâli tîlâ, which would thus seem to have been popularly frequented as a religious site for a period extending continuously over more than a thousand years. Either the Jains succeeded the Buddhists, in the same way as Protestants have taken the place of Catholics in our English cathedrals, or the two rival sects may have existed together, like Greek and Latin Christians in the holy places at Jerusalem.

No. 11, under the feet of a large seated Buddha in red sandstone, reads thus:—

Mahârâjasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya rajya sam 50 *He.* 3 *di.* 2.

It is valuable as an undoubted early example of the same symbol for 50, as is seen in No. 5.

All these readings are tentative and imperfect. Even so they supply matter for interesting speculation. But if, as I hope, they are supplemented and corrected, much more will, no doubt, be elicited from them.

Mathurâ, February 2, 1877.

THE STORY OF KHAMBA AND THOIBÎ: A MANIPURI TALE.

TRANSLATED BY G. H. DAMANT, OFFG. POLITICAL AGENT, MANIPUR.

In the country of Manipur there is a village called Mayâng Imphâl, where there was a king called Yai Thongnâl. He had three sons, the eldest called Hauram Halba, the second Hauram Ningai, and the youngest Hauram Tol. When their father died the three brothers quarrelled as to which should be king; but the youngest gained the throne, and the second brother, Hauram Ningai, fled to a village called Moirang, where the king, Songlel Lâlthâba, succoured him, and he married a wife there and begot Pachelba, who begot Purelba, who slew five tigers in Tarbung.

Songlel Lâlthâba, the king of Moirang, begot Kekhoi Lâlthâba, who had two sons, Jârakong Yâmba and Chingkhutol Haiba; the

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 28.—Ed.

eldest, Jârathong Yâmba, afterwards became king, and the second, Chingkhutol Haiba, was Jubrâja.

King Jarathong Yâmba, deeming that Purelba had become famous by having killed the tigers, gave him his own wife, Gnângko Reima Yareltom Pokpi, and he married her and begot a daughter called Khamnu and a son called Khamba. As the king of Moirang had a great liking for Purelba, he gave him the lands of Nongtholba, Lonoirakpa, and Khada Halba, and also the salt well at Tarbung and the Nâgâ villages of Laisang and Khâram Lairel; he also received a tribute of pepper from the Nâgas. Purelba had formed a friendship with Thonglel Athoba, Nongbâl Chouba Asingba, and Kabui Sâlâng Maiba Khâringnang Chumba. When Khamba was born his three friends told him that it would be well to go to the king and ask him to give the child a name. The king told them to wait a little, and after some consideration came back and said, "As I have made you wait, let us call your son Khamba."* The father was pleased with it, and gave a *chei, i.e.* two *tolâs*, of gold.

Now the king Jârathong Yâmba and the Jubrâja Chingkhutol Haiba had no children, although the king had fifteen wives and the Jubrâja eleven, so they went and worshipped the god Thângjing, but still the king had no child. However, Langmailing Thojamu Sangnanil Khurambi, the first wife of the Jubrâja, bore a daughter. The king was very much pleased, and said, "As I have no child, this daughter of my brother's will be celebrated above all others: let us therefore call her *Thoibî* (*i.e.* 'famous').

One day after this, as Purelba was returning from the palace he fell ill, and called his two friends Thonglel and Chouba, and said to them, "My friends, I am very ill and about to die, therefore I wish to speak to you. My friend Chouba, you have a son, Phairoichâmba Selungbahal, and I have a daughter, Khamnu; do you therefore make her your daughter and marry her to your son." So saying he called the child and gave her away; she was then five years old. Then he said to Thonglel, "You, my friend, although you have nine wives, have no child; therefore take my children, Khamnu and Khamba, for your own, and also take all my clothes, turban, *dao*, spear, hunting dress, war dress, necklaces and ornaments, and if you hear of any one ill-treating my children protect them like a father; and do you, my friend Chouba, acting like a mother, protect their land and wood, and guard them should any one make them slaves or seize their cattle; and do you, Thonglel, be a father to them." With these words Purelba died.

After this Khamba gradually began to sit and walk, and when Khamnu was old enough to nurse her little brother her mother died, and Thonglel and Chouba came and burnt her body, and Thonglel said to Khamnu and Khamba, "My children, come to my house and I will be your father; you have none else left to care for you." But Khamnu refused to leave her father's house, and Thonglel then told her that her father on his deathbed had entrusted all his property to him; and, as it would be spoiled if it remained there, he took it all away with him. When he reached home he said to his wife, Thungselbi, "In case I die, fall ill, or forget it, you remember that this property all belongs to my friend Purelba and his wife." But afterwards, through the miraculous power of a god, he forgot all about it, and so did the children. In the meantime Khamnu used to support her little brother by begging.

One day, by the mercy of God, Khamnu went to beg at the house of Ningollâkpa of Moirang, and it happened that Thoibî had come there to play at *kâng*,† and was eating with the other ladies of the royal family. When Khamnu came up, the servant at the door would not let her enter, saying that the ladies were at dinner; but just at that moment Thoibî came out to bathe, and seeing Khamnu asked who she was. Khamnu replied that she had come to beg, and that her name was Khamnu, and she was the daughter of a Kumal.‡ Thoibî felt pity for her, and asked her where she lived, and why she came to beg, and whether she had no father, mother, or brother. Khamnu said she had no father or mother, but supported one

* The Manipuri word *khamba* means 'to restrain, to make to stop.'

† This is a game something like skittles on a small scale. The *kâng* is the seed of a large kind of creeper called *gîla* in Bengal; it is propelled by the finger at a number of pins set in a row. It is principally played by the Manipuri women.

‡ The Manipurîs are said to be derived from four tribes—Moirang, Luang, Kumal, and Meithei; they have now all assumed the name Meithei, which tribe seems to have conquered the rest.

young brother, and she lived in the quarter of Chingai. Thoibî pitying her, replied, "Let you and me be friends and eat together;" and she took her among the other royal ladies and made her eat, and gave her rice and vegetables for her brother, and had it well cooked, and told her to take home with her all the rice, fish, and salt that was left; and it was as much as she could carry. Thoibî then asked her brother's name, and Khamnu told her it was Khamba. Thoibî then said, "Sister, all the royal ladies are going to-morrow to fish in the Logtâk (a lake in the south of Manipur); come with me and steer my boat; but it is not proper that you should come among so many people with such ragged clothes; stop a little." And she sent her servant Senu into the house and brought a *dhutî*, *chadar*, and *pagrî* for Khamba, and a *phanek* and *chadar*§ for Khamnu, and gave her some *sel*|| as well.

Khamnu returned home and gave the rice and clothes to her brother. Khamba, finding the food very good, asked her where she had got it, and she told him how she had formed a friendship with Thoibî, who had given her the food and clothes, and invited her to steer her boat next day when she went a-fishing; and she told Khamba to stay at home and guard the house. Early next morning the ladies of the royal family, with Thoibî and Khamnu, went down to the Logtâk, and cast their nets and caught many fish.

Towards evening Khamba, thinking that he might meet Thoibî, determined to go to the lake, so he took a boat and fortunately came to the very place where his sister and Thoibî were. Directly he and Thoibî met they fell in love with each other, and she asked Khamnu if she knew who he was. The girl replied that he was her own brother, and turned to him and asked him why he had come. He said she had been a long time returning, so he had come to meet her. His sister said she would follow, and he returned home. Thoibî, Khamnu, and the rest followed, and Thoibî gave Khamnu a great quantity of fish for herself and her brother to eat.

Now Thoibî had been very much pleased with Khamba, and could not forget him, so she told Khamnu she would pay her a visit at her own house, and then went away, and they all went each to his own house. In the evening Thoibî took her servant Senu with her to carry some food, and went to Khamba's house. Khamnu saw her coming and saluted her, and Thoibî asked her how she and her brother managed to live. She replied that through their poverty they were forced to live by begging. Thoibî replied, "Your house does not look like the house of poor people, but seems to belong to some great officer: tell me the truth." Khamnu said, "My father was an officer under the king of Kumal,—so I have heard my father and mother say." Thoibî was secretly rejoiced to hear that, and said, "It is very late, we cannot go alone; tell your brother to see us home." So Khamba went with them and on the way he and Thoibî agreed that they would be betrothed, and took an oath to be faithful to each other, and Khamba came back after seeing Thoibî home.

Some time after this the two divisions of the village of Moirang played a match at hockey¶; Kongyâmba was captain of the lower division, and Khamba of the upper division. Previous to this, Khamba had not been renowned among the people, but God made him victorious at hockey, and he defeated Kongyâmba, and all the people of the upper division were glad; and after this his father's friend Nongbâl Chouba introduced him to all as the son of Purelba.

In a short time afterwards all the people assembled and obtained leave from the king to hold a festival* in honour of the god Thâng-jing, and Kongyâmba was appointed to collect flowers to decorate the lower division of the village, and Khamba to do the same for the upper division, and Nongbâl Chouba then introduced him to the king. Early next morning Kongyâmba and Khamba went to pick flowers, as the festival was to be held on the following

§ The dress of a Manipuri woman consists of a skirt called *phanek*, worn straight across the breast under the armpits, a jacket called *phurit*, and a *chadar*; the two latter are often dispensed with.

|| A small brown corn used in Manipur; about 450 go to the rupee.

¶ Hockey is the great national game of the Manipurîs, whether on foot or horseback; it is played by all classes, from the Râja downwards. Even now to be a good hockey-player is a sure way of rising to notice in the state.

* This festival is called Laiharouba, and is still commonly held; it is a remnant of paganism which has not succumbed to the Hinduism now prevailing in the country. The god in whose honour the festival is held is placed in the midst, and all the men and women, both married and unmarried, dance round it gaily decked with flowers, songs are sung, and the village fiddlers attend. There appears to be very little idea of religious worship in it.

day. Kongyâmba told Khamba to go up the mountain, and he would remain where he was; and Kongyâmba picked *haukeroi*† flowers, but Khamba climbed a tree and gathered *mellai*‡ flowers, and when they had done so they both returned home. And Thonglel, his father's friend, called Khamba and gave him all his father's clothes and ornaments, and also taught him to dance. When the king and all the people were assembled for the festival, Kongyâmba presented flowers to the deity and the king, and distributed the rest among the people, and Khamba did the same; and the king, seeing that the flowers he had brought were out of season, gave Khamba a reward. After that the boys and girls danced, and the king made Khamba and Thoibî dance together, and all the people talked of their beauty. When the festival was over, the king and others made obeisance to the deity, which was taken away, and they all returned home.

After some time it happened that wrestling and running matches were held, and Kongyâmba was chosen captain of the lower village, and Khamba of the upper village; there were fifteen competitors on either side, and the starting point was at Kwâkta. Khamba won the race. Khamba and Kongyâmba then wrestled together, and Khamba was victorious. In jumping, tossing the *caber*, and putting the stone he was also successful; and the king, saying he was the best man, gave him a present of clothes.

Some days after this the time came for the *maibi*§ to sit at the shrine of the god to consult the oracle. Now Kongyâmba determined to kill Khamba, so he disguised himself as the *maibi* and sat before the god, and told the king, "The god declares in a dream that if you can catch the bull which feeds at Ikop and offer it to him, your life will be long and your people happy." So the king assembled all his officers and people, and said, "If the bull which feeds at Ikop can be caught and offered to the god, my life will be long; is there any among you who can catch it?" As no one answered, Khamba came forward and saluted the king, and said he would undertake the task. The king was delighted to hear it, and said, "If you succeed, I will give you my niece Thoibî in marriage; but the bull feeds on the lands of the king of Kumal: we must send word to him." So he sent an officer named Thângarakpa, who told the king of Kumal about it, and he agreed to let them catch the bull, and proposed that his friend the king of Moirang and he should go together to see the sight.

So Thângarakpa returned, and the king ordered proclamation to be made, and the next day the king of Moirang and his people, and the king of Kumal and his people, all assembled, and the two kings sat on platforms to see the sight. Khamba came forward and saluted them, and said he was ready, and he and the bull had a great struggle. At last he threw the bull down, and bound him with a rope and brought him to the two kings. The king of Moirang was much pleased, and gave him a present of clothes and a gold necklace and bracelets. The king of Kumal asked whose son he was, and the other king replied, "He is of your family, for he is the son of Purelba." The king of Kumal said, "Then he is my cousin, for Purelba was my father's elder brother: treat him kindly." The other king said, "I have given him my niece Thoibî in marriage." And the king of Kumal replied, "Then you and I have become relations. Let us go now." So they both of them went away home, and the bull was offered to the god of Moirang.

In the course of time it was determined to hold a shooting match, and every one put on his best clothes. Kongyâmba was ordered to pick up the arrows shot by the king, and Khamba those of the Jubrâja. Now Thoibî had made a very handsome jacket, and when she heard that Khamba was to collect the arrows shot by her father she called her servant Senu and told her to give it to Khamba, and tell him to wear it next day at the festival. After she had done so, her father the Jubrâja asked her where the jacket was, as he wished to wear it, but she said she had sold it and could not give it him.

So the king and the people of Moirang went to the place where the archery match was held, and the king shot first, and Kongyâmba picked up his arrow and gave it back to him. Then the Jubrâja shot, and Khamba picked up his

† A kind of red coxcomb flower.

‡ *Mellai*, a kind of yellow and brown orchid; it flowers in October. It is one of the most handsome of the orchid tribe.

§ The *maibis* are a kind of priests, or rather priestesses: for they are generally, though not always, women. They preside at the different festivals, act as fortune-tellers, and pretend to some skill in medicine. They appear to have no connection with Hinduism, but belong to the old superstition.

arrow, but as he was giving it back the Jubrâja saw that he was wearing his daughter's jacket, and grew angry and said he would not give his daughter to him, but to Kongyâmba. So he called Kongyâmba and said to him, "I will give you my daughter Thoibî, and you may bring the fruits|| for the marriage in seventeen days to me." When Khamba's father's friends Thonglel and Chouba heard this, they came with Khamba and saluted the Jubrâja and said, "Do not, because you are angry, dismiss Khamba." But the Jubrâja answered, "The daughter I have reared I have given away, there is nothing left." The king was inwardly displeased to hear it, and retired to his palace, while the Jubrâja and all the people returned home.

The Jubrâja called Thoibî and told her that he had given her to Kongyâmba; but she secretly determined that she would not consent, and went to her mother, the first queen, and said, "My father has given me to Kongyâmba, and told me to marry him, against my will." The queen replied, "The king gave you to Khamba for having caught the bull; tell him to come and marry you." So she sent word to Khamba by her servant Senu. Early next morning Khamba took some fruit from his father's friend Kabui Senang Maiba, and carried it home with him. And the same morning Kongyâmba brought his fruit for the marriage, but as Thoibî did not love him she pretended to be ill, and he returned home. After this, by the queen's advice, Khamba brought his fruit, but Thoibî did not go with him, as the Jubrâja was angry and would not eat of the fruit that he had brought, so she put it aside carefully to give to her father when he was in a good humour. Meanwhile the Jubrâja went to hunt wild beasts at Tarbul, but was not successful, and as he was returning the god Thangjing inspired him with a great desire to eat some of Thoibî's fruit, and when he reached home he asked her for some. She prepared the fruit which Khamba had brought, and gave it to him. He said, "My daughter, this fruit is very good, where did you get it?" She replied, "It is the fruit which Khamba brought, and which you refused to eat." At that he grew very angry, and said, "What! have you given me the fruit which I refused to eat before?"

The Jubrâja thought in his heart that Khamba had made his daughter mad; so he determined to have him beaten, and sent a servant to call Kongyâmba secretly. Kongyâmba came and saluted him, and the Jubrâja took him aside and said, "Call Khamba to Khauri bâzâr and assemble your friends and relations to beat him, for he has bewitched my daughter, whom I gave to you." Kongyâmba was very glad, and went away and assembled all his friends and relations, and called Khamba, and took them all to Khauri bâzâr.

The Jubrâja took secretly one of the king's elephants called Gnângkhârakpa Saranghalba, and went to the same place and said to Khamba, "You have spoken softly to my daughter and made her mad; now if you will at once promise to give her up I will not beat you, but if you refuse, your grave shall be in this bâzâr." Khamba replied, "Jubrâja, even though you do not love me, yet when I caught the bull you and the king gave your daughter to me in the presence of all the people; and moreover she and I are betrothed, and have taken an oath to be faithful to each other, so I cannot give her up." The Jubrâja hearing this became very angry, and said he would kill him. Khamba said, "I will abide by the constancy of your daughter, and will never turn my face away from her."

The Jubrâja then told Kongyâmba to assemble his men to beat Khamba, and he and all his men came with a rush and attacked Khamba, and the latter girt up his clothes and attacked them in turn without turning his face away; but they were so many that they overcame him and beat him severely, and the dust rose in such clouds that their bodies could not be seen. There were thirty of them, so that he could not resist them. The Jubrâja became still more angry, and said, "If he acts like this in my presence I will kill him at once; bring the elephant." So the elephant was brought, and he ordered them to tie Khamba to its foot, and have him dragged up and down the bâzâr. So the men all seized Khamba, and were tying him to the elephant's foot.

Now, while this was going on, Thoibî was asleep, but the god came to her in a dream

|| It is customary in Manipur for the bridegroom, before the marriage, to bring a present of fruit and vegetables to the bride's house, which is taken by her relations. It appears to be considered equivalent to a formal offer of marriage. It is called *Haejing puba*.

and told her that Khamba was being killed in the bâzâr. She opened her eyes and wondered what it was, and then she called her servant Senu, and took a knife in her hand and went out. When the Jubrâja and the men who were tying Khamba to the elephant's foot saw her they all ran away.

Thoibî went up to the elephant and said to him, "Elephant, if you kill my lover, trample me underfoot and kill me too," and she took an oath to die under the elephant's feet. The elephant, seeing she was a good woman and had taken an oath, lowered his tusks to the ground and trumpeted; and she, seeing Khamba, asked the elephant to unloose the rope by which he was tied, and he did so, and she said to Khamba, "My dear, have you suffered all this for my sake?" and they both wept.

Meanwhile Khamba's sister Khamnu, and Phairoichâmba, and his father's friends Thonglel and Chouba, hearing the news, ran up from all sides. When they saw Khamba, Thonglel and Chouba both grew very angry, and said, "Bring Phairoichâmba with you and come to the palace." So they all went and found the Jubrâja sitting there. Thonglel said with anger, "Who has beaten my son?" Lairamba, with many followers, wearing his sword, spear, and shield, and all his war dress and ornaments, burst in; and the people, when they saw the numbers with him, and his angry looks, were all afraid. Thoibî told the king everything that had happened, and the king was much displeased when he heard that Khamba had been beaten, and went to his throne-room to give judgment in the matter. He decided that the Jubrâja was in fault, and forbade him to enter the palace again, and ordered all the men who had beaten Khamba to be themselves beaten. But when Kongyâmba was about to be beaten, Khamba saved him by saying that he was not in fault,—all the blame was with the Jubrâja. So Khamba and all the people returned home, and the king ordered them to take care that his servant Khamba did not die, and told the royal doctor to attend him, and Thonglel and Chouba to see that he had proper food while he was ill.

One day after this her father the Jubrâja said to Thoibî, "For five days I have been trying to persuade you to marry Kongyâmba; why do you still persist in refusing him?" Thoibî replied, "Both you and my uncle the king promised me to Khamba when he caught the bull, and I have taken an oath to be his slave; I will not live with Kongyâmba." At this answer the Jubrâja grew angry, and said, "If you do not obey me, your father, I will sell¶ you as a slave to my friend Tamurakpa at Kubbo,* and I will take the full price for you and spend it in feasting on fish." Thoibî answered, "Whatever my father says is right."

Early next morning the Jubrâja, saying he would make a slave of Thoibî, called five of his servants and gave them orders concerning her. And she, seeing that her father intended to carry out his purpose, sent her servant Senu to Khamba secretly to tell him about it,—how her father had made a slave of her, and five men were appointed to conduct her to Tamurakpa. So Khamba went and waited quietly in the road, with a bamboo stick in his hand, and when he saw Thoibî he said sadly, "I have nothing else to give you; take this stick and think of it as me." So he gave her the stick, and she went on her way, while he went sorrowfully home.

When Thoibî sat down to rest by the road-side, she broke the stick into two pieces at the point and called God to witness that if she were true and faithful the bamboo† should sprout, and she planted it there and it sprouted. After going a little further on the way she saw a large stone, and she said, "If I am chaste and have truly chosen Khamba, may this stone become soft;" and she put her foot on it, and the footprint was left. When she arrived at the house of Tamurakpa, the five servants told her that she was not really sold, but that her father had sent her there to frighten her, and they asked Tamurakpa to treat her kindly, and went away. Tamurakpa called his daughter Chângning Khombi, and told Thoibî to make friends with her and live there happily.

After three months' time the Jubrâja felt pity for his daughter, and called his five slaves and

¶ In Manipur a man's wife and children are his slaves, and he can sell them whenever he pleases, and this is often done. Only the other day I heard a Manipuri threaten to sell one of his sons as a slave because he preferred play to learning to read.

* The valley of Kubbo has now been ceded to Burmah; it formerly belonged to Manipur.

† The clump of bamboos which grew from the stick, and the stone with Thoibî's footprint, are still shown, as is Khamba's coat, which is kept at Moirang, the scene of the story. It is said to be of gigantic size.

told them to fetch her back, and next morning he sent for Kongyâmba and said to him, "To-day my daughter Thoibî will return from Tammu:§ do you wait for her in the road and try and persuade her to go to your house. If she refuses and escapes from you, say no more to me about her, for I will not give her again." Kongyâmba saluted gladly and went away, and his father and mother and all his relations waited in his house, expecting Thoibî to come. Meanwhile he mounted his horse and took two servants with him, and waited in the road for Thoibî to come. Now Senu, the servant of Thoibî's mother, heard the news and told Khamba secretly, and he told his sister Khamnu, but was undecided whether he should go to meet her or not. Meanwhile Tamurakpa told Thoibî that her father had sent for her, and she must go home, and he gave her some silk and other presents.

Now Thoibî, thinking Khamba would have heard the news, had made him a jacket and a full suit of clothes. Before she started she put on her ornaments and best clothes, and made obeisance to the household god of Tamurakpa, and prayed that she might be united to her lover; then she saluted Tamurakpa and his wife, and he blessed her and told her that her wish should be accomplished. And her friend Chângning Khombi gave her a present, and hoped she might succeed in her wish. So she set out with her father's five slaves, and met Kongyâmba in the road; and, as she did not love him, she was sorry for it, but he was very glad, and tried to persuade her to go with him by saying that her father had given her to him. Thoibî pretended to be glad outwardly, and sat down near him, but she put the stick which Khamba had given her between them, and thought of it as if it were Khamba himself, and determined to run away to him. At last she hit on a plan, and said she felt feverish. Kongyâmba asked how she could be cured, and she said that if she could mount a horse and ride it till she perspired she would be well. So Kongyâmba had his horse brought, and Thoibî put the saddle on her head, and saluted it, and saluted all the gods, and prayed that they would bring her to Khamba's house. She then mounted the horse and galloped him up and down, but when she was at some little distance she galloped away, and by the help of the gods, who loved her because she had saluted them, she arrived safely at Khamba's house. He and his sister Khamnu received her joyfully, and he let Kongyâmba's horse loose.

Meanwhile Kongyâmba, tracking the footprints of the horse, came to the front door and saw Thoibî in the verandah, and thinking that there would certainly be a quarrel he went away quietly, and told his father and mother how Khamba had taken Thoibî away and got the better of him. He said he would go next day to the king and demand justice. Meanwhile his family remained in the house.

Thoibî's servants brought all the things which Tamurakpa had given her to Khamba's house, and they all remained there that day, and word was sent to the Jubrâja that Thoibî was there.

Next day, early in the morning, all the officers of Moirang assembled before the king to decide the dispute between Khamba and Kongyâmba; but while it was being heard the news came that a man had been killed by a tiger at Khonentâk. Then the king said to Khamba and Kongyâmba, "This news has come while we are hearing your dispute, so whichever of you can kill the tiger shall have my niece, and let God be the witness." They both agreed, and all the people were witnesses thereto. So the people surrounded the tiger,|| and built a fence round the place where he was, and early the next morning the king and all the people went to see the sight. As Khamba was starting, Thoibî said to him, "If I am faithful and pure, you will certainly kill the tiger," and she saluted her god and remained at home. Khamba and Kongyâmba, each of them taking his weapons—spear and *dao*—and two servants, went to the place where the tiger was.

They saluted the king, and he gave *pân* to each of them, and told them to be careful not to be killed, and said if one was wounded the other was to protect him. The two friends then saluted the king and all the people, and went

§ A town in the Kubbo valley.

|| Tigers are caught in Manipur by surrounding the jungle in which they are lying by a net, outside of which a bamboo palisade is built, the whole place being closely surrounded by men armed with long, heavy spears; the tigers now-a-days are generally shot, but in former days it was customary to spear them.

into the enclosure; and the king and the people, holding their tiger-spears, waited to see the sight. As the two entered the tiger-net the people raised a shout. Khamba entered on the north side, and Kongyâmba on the south. Kongyâmba saw the tiger first and struck at it with his spear, but the tiger turned it aside with its paw and leaped up to seize him, and he, thinking the tiger would certainly bite him, caught it by the loins, and they both struggled together, but the tiger succeeded in biting Kongyâmba on the back of the neck. Khamba then came up, and the tiger seeing him went away, and he took Kongyâmba and gave him to his father to be taken care of. The king then ordered Khamba to go in again, and he went to the place where the tiger was, but when it saw him it ran away, and he chased it to strike it with his spear. The tiger ran round and round the enclosure, and the people shouted at the sight. Now, since Thoibî was faithful, through the might of the god to whom she had prayed, the tiger was afraid of Khamba, and could not turn its head towards him, and in its efforts to escape it caught hold of the platform where the king was, and a great number of people were assembled. Khamba came up and put his foot on the beast's tail, and when it turned to bite him he struck it in the open mouth with his spear and killed it. The people were all rejoiced, and presented the tiger to the king. Khamba's father's friends Thonglel and Chouba came to the spot, and the king was much pleased, and gave Thoibî to Khamba, and also gave him all the offices which his father held, together with a handsome present, and he and his people all went home. Kongyâmba was taken home, where he died. The Jubrâja was very glad, and Thoibî rejoiced when she heard the news, and Khamba went home a great man. Thoibî told Khamba he must be very tired, and gave him rice and vegetables of all sorts to eat, which she had cooked carefully, and as she was much pleased she attended on him with great devotion.

Early the next morning the Jubrâja took Thoibî home, and the king in his delight had a fine house built for Khamba, and looked for a lucky day for the marriage, and prepared everything that was required—slaves, horses, and cattle. On the appointed day the king and all the principal officers of Moirang went to the house of the Jubrâja to be present at the wedding, and Khamba with his father's friends Thonglel and Chouba, and his brother-in-law Pharoichâmba, all of them wearing their ornaments, gold bracelets and necklaces, came there too. And Thoibî came wearing a red *phanek* embroidered with flowers, and her dancing dress which was covered with bosses of gold and silver, jewels, and glass, so that it shone brightly; she wore gold bracelets and a gold necklace, and her chain of gold and coral fell down to her waist. The necklace on her bosom lighted up the place; round her throat was fastened a beautiful jacket, and she wore a transparent scarf all bright with bosses of gold. Her appearance was like running water, and the hair on her head was like fresh flowers. When Thoibî came forth to her wedding, her arms were like lotuses, her legs were as beautiful as the inside of the stalk of a plantain tree and were like an elephant's tusks, her foot was arched as if she wore a clog, her colour was like turmeric, and her complexion like a *champaka* flower;—she came forth like the full moon. All the people who had come to the marriage, when they saw Thoibî and Khamba, said they were beautiful like children of the gods, and were never tired of looking at them. When the marriage was over, the king and the Jubrâja conducted them to their own house, with all the presents they had collected, and they saluted the king and the Jubrâja, who blessed them and returned to the palace.

After this Khamba gave his sister Khamnu in marriage, and conducted her to her husband's house, and gave her many slaves; and Thoibî gave her servant Senu in marriage, and gave her slaves; and Thoibî and Khamba lived happily together in Moirang.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

In looking again over some of Mr. Fleet's valuable Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, my attention has been recalled to a note, appended to the introductory number of the series at vol. IV. p. 176, in which, on the faith of a report furnished by the late Mr. J. A. C. Boswell to the Madras Government, he gives some account of my collection

of old inscriptions, abounding in mistakes. Although hardly worth noticing, I consider that all inaccuracy should be avoided, as far as possible, even in trivial matters, and therefore beg to offer the following corrections.

I made two collections of inscriptions,—the first between 1826 and 1832 in the Dekhan, the second between 1848 and 1854 in the Northern Sirkârs. Each collection, when arranged and the most valuable ones selected, filled two folio volumes. Three copies were made of each: of the first or Dekhan set, one was presented to the Literary Society of Bombay, a second to the Literary Society of Madras, and the third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Judging from inquiries recently made, the first appears to have been lost.* The third is still preserved in Albemarle Street. The Telugu series was likewise transcribed three times, and copies presented to the Madras Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India Office Library. A copy of the Dekhan series, which I had retained for my own use, has since been presented to the library of the Edinburgh University, and is now on loan with Mr. Fleet, who makes such good use of it.

My first essays in palæography were begun in 1826, with the aid of Mundargi Raṅga Râo, a young Brâhman attached to my office by the late St. John Thackeray when I was appointed Second Assistant to the Principal Collector and Political Agent of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, in 1822. He was the son of Bhima Râo, a *mutâlika* of that Desâî of Ḍambal who was hanged over his own gateway by the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) in 1800, for firing on the British troops, at the same time that Râṇîbednûr and Hûli wer- sacked and given to the sword for the resistance offered to the march of the force sent to quell the insurrection of Dhondiâ Wahâg. After the death of the Desâî, Bhîma Râo, a man of enterprise and ability, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country, collected troops in the Peshwâ's name, and rose to considerable eminence. His career, ho vever, was cut short by Bâpû Gokhle, who was appointed Subhadâr of the Karṇâṭaka by Bâjî Râo, and by whom he was seized and put to death about 1810-11, leaving an infant son, Raṅga Râo, on whom Gokhle conferred the village of Mundargi with three others in *jâgir*.

Mr. Thackeray, being desirous of enlisting men of rank into the public service, invited Raṅga Râo to join his *kacherî*, and, when I joined the district, attached him to me as office *munshî*. He was about my own age, a fine, high-spirited, intelligent young man. We became great friends. He was well mounted and fond of sport. We shot and hunted together, and he entered into all my pursuits. When I first turned my attention to the inscribed stones so frequent in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, we tried hard to make out their contents, but at first without much success. He then remembered that a *gomâshtâ* in one of his *inâm* villages had the reputation of being a very learned man. He was summoned, and we found him to be an invaluable assistant. By our united efforts we gradually mastered the archaic characters. I began to collect copies of *śâsanams* by means first of one, afterwards of two copyists in my own service, carefully trained to the work of transcription. The Yêûr inscription let in a flood of light. We arranged our materials. Each inscription, of any value, by degrees fell into its place, and the result was embodied in the paper read to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1835, but which having been printed after my return to India, the following year, the proofs did not receive my corrections, and it thus contains several orthographical errors, especially of proper names.†

At Madras I held the subsidiary appointment of Canarese Translator to Government, which was almost a sinecure. The office establishment consisted of a *munshî* and an English writer. The former, Adaki Śubhâ Râo, I soon found to be an invaluable assistant in my antiquarian pursuits. He was an accomplished Sanskṛit, Canarese, and Telugu scholar, with a fair knowledge of Tamiḻ. He had also a turn for archæological research, which only needed stimulus, and he soon entered zealously into my views. I engaged a Brâhman named Râghappa as an itinerating copyist in my private service, with occasional assistance from one of Colonel Mackenzie's old collectors, named Baktavachaliya. The reduction of my materials and all my translations was made with the aid of Śubhâ Râo. Three folio volumes of these translates, with much other valuable MS. matter, drawings, &c., perished in a vessel laden with sugar, in which much of my baggage, books, &c. was despatched from Madras. The ship experienced a hurricane off the Isle of France, and shipped much salt water, melting the sugar, and getting at the tin-lined cases penetrated to their contents and entirely destroyed them.

Śubhâ Râo died shortly before I was appointed to Council, and Râghappa some time afterwards.

The names mentioned by Mr. Boswell had nothing whatever to do with my antiquarian labours. They were public servants in the Commissioner's

* The Madras set is now in the hands of Mr. Oppert, the Secretary Madras Literary Society, but its existence was unknown when the Madras Government authorized Mr. Boswell to collect all the rough copies of my transcripts he could discover!

† Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 343.—Ed.

office. Kâdambarî Jagannâthan was the office *munshî* or secretary. He is since dead. Vavilâla Śubhâ Râo was an English copyist, a very intelligent man, and now Tahasîldâr of the Yernagudam tâlukâ, in the Godâvarî district.‡ Chipuri Jayarâmadu was a mere copyist whom I engaged to transcribe and make fair copies for the three sets of my collection, prepared for distribution. Who Nâgappa Śâstrî may have been I cannot imagine, and suspect the name is meant for Râghappa.

My own copies of the Telugu collection for the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, with the original copper-plates and collections of facsimiles, fortunately came home safe.

The conclusion of my connection with my first assistant in archæological investigation was sad and tragical. Raṅga Râo died whilst I was at home on furlough. His son Bhîma Râo, a very fine, gentlemanlike lad, came to see me at Madras in 1843-44, and remained with me a twelvemonth. I have never seen a more promising youth—clever, well-disposed, and with the most kindly disposition. I tried, without success, to get him employed in Maisur or in some non-regulation district. The stringency of our rules affords small opening for native gentlemen in the public service. He returned to Mundargi disappointed. Afterwards, when the people of the Dekhan were disarmed, the measure was carried out with some harshness in his villages. He was vexed and chafed, and when the Mutiny broke out he joined his neighbour, the Nirgund chief, was driven into the fortress of Kopâldurg, and fell in the assault.

WALTER ELLIOT.

Wolfelee, Hawick, N. B., 26th April 1877.

VEDIC SANSKRIT.

Prof. Delbrück of Jena, who assisted Prof. Grassmann in his translation of the *Rig-Veda*, has published an essay on "Tenses in Old Sanskrit" (*Altindische Tempuslehre*). It contains a translation of many intricate passages from the *Rig-Veda* and some of the *Brâhmaṇas*, and marks a definite advance in our knowledge of Vedic Syntax. The essay forms the second number of a series published by Delbrück and Windisch under the title *Syntaktische Forschungen.—The Academy.*

"TÂZA BA TÂZA NAU BA NAU."

Sing me a lay, sweet bard, I sue; once and again, anew, anew!
Seek for me wine's heart-opening dew; once and again, anew, anew!
Close to some sweet and doll-like fair, sit thou apart with cheerful air:
Steal from that cheek the kiss that's due; once and again, anew, anew!
Sâki, who steps with silvery limb, now has recrossed my threshold's rim:
He shall my cup with wine imbrue; once and again, anew, anew!
How shall life's fruit by thee be won, if thou the wine-filled goblet shun?
Quaff: and in thought thy loved one view; once and again, anew, anew!
Ravishing-hearts, the friend I choose, eager to please me well doth use
Gauds and adornments, scent and hue; once and again, anew, anew!
Breeze of the morn that soon shall fleet
Hence to that Peri's blissful street,
Tell thou the tale of Hâfiz true;
Once and again, anew, anew!*

CHAMPA.

CHAMPA is a name which has been for a very long time applied to a portion of that region to which we give the name of Cochin-China, though the extent covered by the name has varied. It is from the Malays that western navigators adopted most of the geographical nomenclature of the Eastern Seas. And Crawfurd implies that the Malays gave the name of Champa to the whole of the most salient part of the Cambojan Peninsula, including a part of the coast of the Gulf of Siam, as well as part of the China Sea.† It is possible that this usually accurate writer has here made a slip. But in any case the most ancient use of the name would seem to extend it to the Gulf of Siam. For there is strong reason to believe that both the Zaba of Ptolemy, and the Çanf or Tsanf of the early Arab mariners, both of which are demonstrably to be placed westward of Cape Camboja, are only representative of the same name, Champa. It is a persistent tradition in modern Camboja that the Cham or Tsiam race, the proper people of Champa, did occupy the Cambojan soil before the arrival of the Khmers, who have held it, probably, at least since the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era; and M. Garnier, who gave great attention to these questions, has deduced from such data as exist, in the Chinese annals and elsewhere, that the ancient kingdom which the Chinese describe, under the name of Funan, as extending over all the peninsula east of the Gulf of Siam, was a kingdom of the Cham race.

‡ A recent communication from him informs me that he is Acting Daftardâr of the district, and that Jayarâmadu is employed as a peon in the Bapatla tâlukâ on Rs. 7 a month.

* From Bicknell's *Selections from the Poems of Hâfiz.* This well-known Persian song, however, is not by Hâfiz of Shîraz, though it is almost always included in his *Dîvân*. Conf. *Academy*, Sept. 30, 1876, p. 332.

† *Descriptive Dictionary*, "Indian Archipelago," *sub voce* Champa.

But in the mediæval narratives of Western authors (*e. g.* Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, John Marignolli, Rashid-ud-din) the name Champa applies to that region which is now sometimes called Cochin-China Proper, as distinguished from Tongking, viz. the protuberant S.E. coast of the peninsula in question, extending northward to 16° or 17° of latitude, the position of which on the route to China caused its shores to be well known to those voyaging to that country. This, or nearly this, was the kingdom called in the oldest Chinese annals Lin-i, and afterwards, till its extinction, Chenching. We hear of Chenching or Champa as being often at war with its neighbours, Tongking on the one side, and Chinla or Camboja on the other, and as for a time, at the end of the twelfth century, completely conquered by the latter. But it had recovered independence a century later, for Kublai Khân (1280-1290) had dealings in war and diplomacy with its king. According to Javanese annals, about the middle of the fifteenth century the queen of the principal sovereign of Java was a princess of Champa.

The precise historical relation of this ancient kingdom to the modern kingdom which we call Cochin-China is a little difficult to disentangle. But this southern kingdom of Chenching or Champa was conquered in 1471 by the king of Tongking or Anam, and has never since revived. For though there was for a long time subsequent to the date named, and down to 1802, a separation of Tongking and Southern Cochin-China into two distinct kingdoms, the latter was not a revival of Champa, both being ruled by dynasties of Anamite origin. And after the conquest the name of Champa seems to have become restricted to the districts adjoining the south-eastern curve or the coast, and eventually to that district immediately eastward of the Cambojan delta, a somewhat barren tract with fine natural harbours, now called by the Cochin-Chinese Binh-Thuân.

This continued to be occupied by the people called Chams or Tsiams, whose dominion we thus presume (as far as we can see light in these obscure histories) to have first extended over the whole peninsula (as Funan); then to have been limited to its eastern and south-eastern shores (Chenching); and lastly to have been restricted to a small tract of those shores (modern Champa or Binh-Thuân).

Here a principality of Champa long continued to subsist, the residence of the prince being at a place called Phanri, about 10 miles from the sea, and apparently near, if not identical with, the present Binh-Thuân. The Champas, his subjects, were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, well known over the Archipelago as rovers and seafaring people. This principality was often overrun by the Cochin-Chinese, but maintained itself in some shape of recalcitrant subjection to the latter till about 1820, when the Anamite king conquered it effectually, expelling the Champa prince and most of the people of the same race.

Name.—The name Champa is Indian, like the adjoining Camboja and countless other names in Indo-China, and was probably borrowed from that of an ancient Hindu state and city which stood upon the Ganges, near modern Bhâgalpûr. Hiwen-Thsang, the famous Chinese ecclesiastical traveller of the seventh century, makes mention both of the original Gangetic state (which he visited) and of the Indo-Chinese kingdom (which he knew only by hearsay), calling the latter Mahâ- (or "Great") Champa†,—an indication, perhaps, of its ample dominion, either then subsisting or traditional, an amplitude of dominion which nearly all states of Indo-China have enjoyed in turn. Hindu titles are also distinctly traceable in the corruptions of the old Chinese notices of the names of kings, and even in one mentioned by Marco Polo.

Ethnology and Religion.—The people are known in Camboja as Tsiams, to the Anamites as Loï Thuân, and Thieng. We do not know whether the former name has been taken from Champa, or the adoption of the Indian name Champa been suggested by the name of the people. They have been in great part driven into the mountains, or into the Cambojan and Siamese territory, where a number of them are settled near the Great Lake. There were also old settlements of them on the Cambojan coast, between latitude 11° and 12°. The people are said to exhibit, even in language, strong Malay affinities, and they have long professed Muhammadanism. *The books of their former religion,* they say, *came from Ceylon,* but they were converted to Islâm by no less a person than 'Ali himself. The statement in italics is interesting. For the Tongking people received their Buddhism, such as it is, from China; and this tradition marks Champa as the extreme flood-mark of that great tide of Buddhist missions and revival which went forth from Ceylon to the Indo-Chinese regions in an early century of our era, and which is generally connected with the name of Buddhaghosha.

Antiquities.—There have been many reports of the existence of monuments of Indian or Buddhist character in the Champa country; and Mr. Crawfurd saw an image of the Hindu god Gaṇeśa which was brought from that country to Singapore by a M. Diard in 1821. But there is, we believe,

† Julien, *Pélerins Bouddhistes,* III. 83.

nothing yet precisely known as to the monuments, and indeed the late M. Garnier doubted their existence. There are also said to be many Musalmân structures, such as minarets and tombs, with Arabic inscriptions.

The district of Champa, or Binh-Thuân, is one of those especially productive of eagle-wood or aloes-wood; and the *Tsanfi*, or aloes-wood of Champa, was one of the kinds in high repute with the old Arabs. The native name is *Kinam*. Ebony is also abundant.

Mediæval Notices.—Both these products are mentioned by Marco Polo, who visited Champa as a commissioner from Kublai Khân about 1285. It was also visited forty years later by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone. Both travellers notice as prominent facts the immense family of the king, and the great number of domestic elephants that were kept. Both circumstances are still characteristic of most of the Indo-Chinese states. (Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration;* Crawfurd, *Mission to Siam*, &c., and other works; Bastian, *Reise*, I. and IV.; Mouhot's *Travels ;* De Mailla, *H. Gen. de la Chine*, tom. XII.; Bishop Louis in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vols. VII. and VIII.; *Tableau de la Cochin-Chine*, &c. &c.) H. Y.*

BIJAPUR.

The admirers of Saracenic architecture will be glad to hear that the glories of Bijapur are probably not doomed to extinction. A project for making the city the head-quarters of the present Kaladgî collectorate is in favour with the authorities, and will, it may be hoped, be carried out within a few years. Many of the old civil buildings, ruined more by Marâṭhâ savagery than by time, will be repaired and re-inhabited; and the preservation of the great monuments will pass from the hands of the municipality into those of a competent scientific officer.

The local officers are all enthusiastic for the preservation of their splendid buildings; and if any one should object to the re-occupation of the Adil Shâhi palaces, it may well be answered that no government can afford to keep up as a mere curiosity the remains of so large a city. The *Arkilla*, or citadel, is already being cleared out; and the excavations have already revealed a number of beautiful Hindu or Jaina pillars with inscriptions, which are being carefully protected, and when read will probably contribute a good deal to the history of the pre-Muhammadan period in Karnâṭa. At present, however, plague, pestilence, and famine render the city of Bijapur no place for amateurs or idlers, and leave very little time for research at the disposal of the handful of local officers who dwell among the tombs, like Scriptural lunatics, and find it quite enough for them to attend to the living.

W. F. S.

KURUBHARS AND DOLMENS.

In the Kaladgî district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars. They bury their dead, and the other day I came across the tomb of one only four years old. It was a complete miniature dolmen about eighteen inches every way, composed of four stones, one at each side, one at the rear, and a capstone. The interior was occupied by two round stones about the size of a man's fist, painted red, the deceased reposing in his mother-earth below. No ancient dolmens are known in this (northern) part of the district, though they are, I believe, not uncommon in the tâlukâs on the Kṛishṇa river.

What is the meaning and derivation of Kurubhar, and is it the same word as Kurambâ, the name of a Nilgiri hill-tribe?† The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the Shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Bhiḷḷs.

In his *Rude Stone Monuments* (p. 476) Mr. Fergusson hazards a conjecture that the Kurambâs of the southern hills are the remnant of a great and widely spread race, who may have erected dolmens; and the fact now noted seems to point in the same direction.

W. F. S.

NOTES ON THE MUHARRAM FESTIVAL.

In connection with my Notes in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. page 79, a friend sends me the following:—

"I think that you may be interested to hear that all the practices you mention are followed here (Kolhâpur). That peculiar one of piercing the ears in front of the *tâbut* is in vogue here. It is also common for Marâṭhâs, even of the highest families, such as the Chief of Mudhol, to bind a thread of coloured worsted round their arms and call themselves Fakîrs for that day. They also declare that people jump into the burning pit and come out unscathed, but this I have not seen and will not swear to. You don't mention the institution of the Nâl‡ Sâheb, a horse-shoe or crescent on the top of a pole; have you not noticed it? Here the Nâl Sâheb is paraded about with music and

* Written by Col. Yule for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but omitted from it, and printed in the *Geog. Magazine*, March 1877, vol. IV. pp. 66-7.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 32, 108, 276; vol. III. pp. 95-6.

‡ The Nâl is the shoe and representative of Husain's charger, Zu'l Janna.—W. F. S.

dancing, till somebody goes into convulsions, and then they say that Nàl Sâheb has entered into his body."

W. F. S.

IS THE SULTAN THE KHALIF?

Mr. Neil B. E. Baillie writes—"The Prophet himself expressly declared that none could be the Imâm, or head of his religion, but an Arab of the tribe of Koreish. On the faith of that declaration his first successor was appointed, in preference to a candidate set up by the people of Madinah. Nay, all his other generally acknowledged successors down to the taking of Baghdad by the Tatars, and even those who were only partially acknowledged, such as the Khalifs of Spain, and those of the Fatemite and second Abbasside Dynasties, were all of the same tribe of Koreish. Further, if any one in the early ages of Muhammadanism had maintained 'that a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, he would have been denounced as a heretic, and a Karejil, or rebel to the whole Musalman community. The Turks are of Tatar origin, and their sovereign does not, I believe, pretend to be an Arab of any tribe, much less of the tribe of Koreish. How, then, can any true Muhammadan acknowledge him to be the head of his religion, and the successor of the Prophet, and at the same time profess to be a follower of that Prophet to whom he thus in a manner gives the lie?"

CHAMÂRS AND PANKÂS.

It was among the Chamârs of the Central Provinces, "the very first Âryan immigrants," a sturdy race of cultivators who are described as the busy bees of the community, that Ghâsi Dâs, a fair unlettered seer of visions, arose as a reformer. From the forest hamlet of Girod, where the Jonk falls into the Mahânadi, he disappeared for six months, but only to be seen descending from its rocky eminence, at the appointed time, with a message to his multitude of expectant followers. "Worship the one God—Satnâm, the True One—whose high-priest I am, and live as brothers," was his creed, and when he died—in 1850, at the good old age of eighty—his son succeeded him. In ten years that son became a victim to his zeal in promulgating the doctrine of the equality of Brâhmaṇ and Chamâr, but his fate only incensed the Satnâmis the more against Hindus, as in the parallel case of the Sikhs and Musalmâns. The grandchild of the founder of this faith is now high-priest; but the work of initiation, by placing a necklace of beads on the children when they are named, is done by the boy's uncle. The Satnâmis have neither temple nor rites, scriptures nor forms of devotion. To name the Satnâm and invoke his blessing, to visit the high-priest once a year and offer a gift, and to keep far from them graven images—these constitute their faith. Socially they differ little from the Hindus, who slander them, and differ among themselves only as to the lawfulness of tobacco. They are divided into smokers and non-smokers. Some years ago the settlement officer of Bilâspur reported of them that "there is no class more loyal and satisfied with our rule than this community, and if it should happen that, like the Kolhs, they are favourably impressed with missionary teaching, a time may come when they will be a source of strength to our government." A small Christian mission has been established among them.

The Pankâs are less known. Weavers, cultivators, and village watchmen, industrious and quiet because not claiming equality with the Hindus, who half acknowledge their sect, the Pankâs worship Kabîr, or the one God, who has often appeared incarnate on earth, and last of all in 1060 A.D., near Banâras, as a crying child struggling amid the leaves of the lotus in a tank. Before the weaver's wife who rescued it, the babe developed into a man, revealed himself as God, and accompanied her home. There he wrought miracles, and in the period of his incarnation, from 1060 to 1472, he became, what he is still, the weavers' God all over India, under the name of Kabîr Pant. There are to be in all forty-four such incarnations, ending with the reappearance of Kabîr himself on earth. The present apostle is only the eleventh in the list—Parghâtnâm Sâheb. He succeeded in 1856, and is supported by an order of priests, who, in white-peaked cloth cap, loose white tunic and loin-cloth, follow him in long procession two or four abreast, as he proceeds on his collecting tours. His head-quarters is Kâwardâ, in Bilâspur. Like all offshoots from Hinduism, Kabîr Pantism denounces caste, and finds in this its popularity. The Pankâs' change to this faith is preserved in this favourite doggrel—

Pâni se Pankâ bhai
Budan hua sharîr
Age jan meṅ Pankâ
Piche Dâs Kabîr.

From water sprang the Pankâ,
His face so bright and clear;
At life's early dawn a Pankâ
Now worships Dâs Kabîr.

Kabîrpanthis and Satnâmis resemble each other in many respects. They avoid meat and liquor, they marry usually at the age of puberty, they ordinarily celebrate their ceremonies through the agency of elders of their own caste, and they bury

their dead. As with the Sikhs, the comparatively pure and noble teaching of the founders of these sects soon degenerates, the converts from the higher Hindu castes insisting on certain distinctions. The salt, never very pure, soon loses its savour. Of the best as of the worst, of the Brahmo as of the Sikh, the Satnâmi and the Kabîr-Panti, it is true that neither the varying intuitions of all, nor the rapt ecstasy of one, can supply the place of that Name which is above every name, of the Logos in all the fulness of the meaning of that word.—*Friend of India, 30th April* 1874.

BOOK NOTICES.

KÂLIDÂSA'S "ÇAKUNTALÂ," edited by R. PISCHEL. 8vo. Kiel, 1877. (London: Trübner & Co.)

This new edition of a work already so well known makes an epoch in the study of Sanskṛit dramatic poetry, and thus the learned and most industrious Kiel professor's labours especially deserve mention here, as being of more than usual interest so far as India is concerned.

The *Śakuntalá* has always been much read in India, and, owing chiefly to Sir W. Jones's florid version, it has become the generally received type of a Sanskṛit play, except among scholars,* and is also commonly in use as a text-book. Considering its popularity, it is perhaps a matter for surprise that more has not been done to ascertain, if possible, the relative value of the several recensions current: for, like most Sanskṛit books, the text exists in several recensions. Sir W. Jones, as was natural, took the Bengâlî recension; but the recension current in the rest of North India, and which is generally known as the 'Nâgarî recension,' early supplanted the former in general esteem. Since then, a third recension, current in South India, has become known.† Prof. Pischel's chief object is to give a critical edition of the Bengâlî text, and hence to show that it is not a corrupt text, as is generally supposed, but that it is the best of all.

As regards the merits of Prof. Pischel's book as a critical edition there cannot be two opinions; it is in every way a masterpiece, done with great acuteness and regardlessness of labour. As such, its use should at once be made compulsory by candidates for the University and Government examinations. The old way of Sanskṛit study is now impossible, and, if the study of that language and literature is to be an effectual instrument of culture in the Indian educational scheme for the future, students must be made to follow improved methods. Much has been done in this way by the Calcutta University, and still more at Bombay; in the Madras Presidency it is difficult to regard what is done by students—and that is very little—otherwise than as a pure waste of time. From this point of view Prof. Pischel's edition deserves as warm a recognition from those occupied in teaching as it is sure to meet with from scholars. Educationalists, by encouraging such editions as this, could soon meet the arguments—at present nearly unanswerable—of those who would exclude Oriental languages from the colleges and schools of India; they would thus also, in all probability, excite among their pupils a more intelligent interest in Sanskṛit than is now displayed.

Prof. Pischel's second object is to show that the Bengâlî text of the *Śakuntalá* is the best one, and his edition is thus the necessary conclusion of his former treatises, *De Kalidasæ Çâkuntali recensionibus* and *Die Recensionen der Çakuntalá*. It is by no means so easy to pronounce an opinion on this part of his work as it is to recognize the great merits of his edition; the problem to be solved is one of exceptional complication and difficulty even in Sanskṛit literature. The general acceptance of the 'Nâgarî recension' was perhaps hasty, and Prof. Pischel has, by a minute consideration of the texts, elicited some new and important facts which entitle the Bengâlî recension to more consideration than it has hitherto met with. He has also compared the Nâgarî and South-Indian recensions of the *Vikramorvaśîyam*, and thus come to the same conclusion. It is thus obvious that his inferences deserve the most serious consideration. The results of his researches are that the Prâkṛit of the Drâviḍian (or South-Indian) and Nâgarî recensions is not Śauraseni, but a wild mixture of various dialects; also that "it is in South India that Sanskṛit dramas have been adulterated and abridged."

The first point must, as determined by so competent a scholar,‡ be accepted as an undoubted fact. Before admitting the second, I think it may reasonably be asked, On what principles, and to meet what views, were the adulterations and abridgments made in South India? So far as I have been able to consider the matter, I cannot find

* A better selection might have been made, for the story is poor, and the more sober estimate of the literary value of this play is not likely to differ much from what J. Mill wrote in 1817 (*Hist. of India*, bk. II. ch. 9).

† Prof. Pischel described this in 1873 in the Göttingen *Nachrichten*. When I drew his attention to this recension (*Aindra Grammarians*, pp. 80, 81) I was not aware of this fact; I can only apologize for my ignorance.

‡ It is hardly necessary to remind readers of Prof. Pischel's splendid edition of Hemachandra's *Prâkrit Grammar*.

any. Prâkṛit has been studied with great success in the Dekhaṉ and South India; Hemachandra and Trivikrama represent in this way the countries where the Nâgarî and South-Indian recensions have been current; why then should paṇḍits in those parts of India have adulterated the Prâkṛit passages in Kâlidâsa's text? Again, the botany of Kâlidâsa is strange to South India, where only a few of the many plants to which he alludes are known, but I cannot find even a single instance where the South-Indian text has been altered in this respect to suit that part of India. It also appears to me very unlikely that South-Indian paṇḍits ever wilfully falsified texts. It is now more than sixteen years since I first arrived in South India, and during this time I have been personally acquainted with most of the chief paṇḍits of the old school—now, alas! to be numbered on the fingers. None of the many I have known were capable of doing anything of the kind. During this period thousands of South Indian MSS. have passed through my hands, but I have never observed in them anything that would lead one to suspect that systematic and intentional falsifications had been carried on in South India. I must, without any prejudice, assert these facts, for I fear that Prof. Pischel's words may (unintentionally) wrong the paṇḍits of South India. It is remarkable also that the South-Indian commentators notice several differences in the texts; this would not indicate any prejudices on their part; clerical errors, however, cannot have given rise to the great differences in the three recensions.

Anyhow, whatever may be the conclusion on which scholars will eventually agree as regards the respective merits of the several recensions of the *Śakuntalâ*, it is impossible not to be grateful for the new and important facts brought to notice in so complete a way by Prof. Pischel, and not to anxiously expect his promised critical edition of the South-Indian text. Meanwhile, whatever may be urged against his inferences, it is difficult to resist so careful a judgment on the evidence.

So perfect is the work that scarcely is anything left to object to, but, surely, '*Nivāsācarya*' (p. x.) should be '*Çrīnivāsācarya*,' the very common South-Indian name.

A. Burnell, Ph.D.

Coonoor, Nilgiri Hills, 6th May 1877.

Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency. (A Fragment.) By the late Rev. John Wilson, D.D. Bombay, Government Central Press, 1876.

So distinguished was the position which "the old man eloquent" whose last (and posthumous) contribution to Oriental research now lies before us occupied among the scholars and inquirers of Western India, that it will be by many thought presumption to criticize his work. Considerable steps, however, have been made in his favourite studies since he ceased to learn; and for the very reason that his authority is too often accepted without inquiry it is the more necessary that his "last words" should here be carefully reviewed. The present work is understood to contain so much of his promised contributions to the *Bombay Gazetteer* as could be collected by a nameless official editor. The title is hardly correct; for of 61 pages altogether only 24 are devoted to tribes that could by any stretch of language be called aboriginal. The doctor enumerates only eleven of these; viz.:—

(1) The Bhils (Sanskṛit Bhiḷḷa), whose name he derives from the Drâviḍian word *billu* = a bow, and connects with the name Phyllitæ, ascribed by Ptolemy to an Indian tribe.

(2) The Nâyakaḍas (Naikras), who might indeed have been classed as a mere division of the Bhils.

(3) The Gonds, a term, as he thinks, corrupted from *Govinda* = a cowherd. This is exceedingly probable; the contraction is sometimes seen at the present day, as in the name of a tank near Dhuliâ, called Gondûr, for Govindrâo. They are to be found, says the doctor, in the Bombay Presidency only in small numbers, in some of the forests and hills of the Narmadâ. This is hardly correct; as we have seen them as far west as Châlisgaon, on the G. I. P. Railway, and heard of them at Malegaon, in modern Nâsik.

(4) The Kolîs, or Kulîs as the doctor delights to call them. Their name he makes out to be from *kula* = a clan. It may be so; but it is certain that they always call themselves Kolîs, and that the doctor is in error when he says that "Kulâbâ receives its name from them, meaning the abode of Kulîs." There are two places called (*pace* Dr. Wilson) Kolâbâ, both sandy islets, the one of which has become an integral part of Bombay by the process of reclamation; while the other is occupied by the sea-fort of a branch of the pirate dynasty of Angria, and now gives its name to a British collectorate. In each case the name is that of a *grâma devata* of the fishermen,* who are, indeed Kolîs by caste. The reader who wishes to know more of this interesting race will find much valuable information in the doctor's article; more, perhaps, in Mr. Nairne's *Historical Sketch of the Koṅkaṉ*, and the writings of Dr. DaCunha.

* Perhaps another form of Kolammâ.—Ed.

(5) The Dhudias, a small community in the south of Surat.

(6) The Chaudaris, settled immediately north of these. Both may be considered offshoots of the Kolî race; as may also

(7) The Wâralis, whom the doctor considers "the most interesting and remarkable" of this family, and whom he has to a great extent made his own literary property by the sketch of them now before us, which, though first written and published many years ago, still remains the standard authority on their "beastly customs, and total absence of manners;" though they have certainly become much more settled and civilized in the interval.

(8) The Katoḍîs or Katkarîs = catechu-makers, certainly the most monkeyfied tribe of Western India, and better described, perhaps, in Mr. Hearn's excellent *Statistical Account of Kolâbâ.*

(9) Dubalas = weaklings, an aboriginal tribe of Surat and the North Koṅkaṇa, reduced formerly to serfage, from which a few are now emerging.

(10) The Ṭhâkurs, whose origin the doctor traces to certain barons (*Ṭhâkur*) of Gujarât who took the jungle with their followers, chiefly Kolîs and Wâraḷis, from the earlier Muhammadan invasion. His account of this race, however, is short and not very accurate, as they are both more numerous and more respectable than he seems to have thought. He notices, however, the antipathy between them and the Brâhmaṇs, which still in part survives, and is hardly consistent with his account of their origin.

The 11th tribe are the Râmusîs, called in Sholâpûr Beruds, and further towards their ancestral Draviḍian seats Bedars. A certain amount of interest attaches to the history of their single dynasty, called by Grant Duff the Naiks of Wakinkera, and later known as the Râjâs of Shorâpur; and an excellent account of it, by the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, is among the appendices to the fine volume of *Photographs of the Antiquities of Dharwar and Mysore,* published by the old "Western India Architectural Committee."

The doctor, having thus disposed of the "Junglies," mentions next the "depressed aboriginal tribes" of Mhârs, Ḍheḍs, and Mângs. The first two are identical, and they are generally lumped together as "Parvâris."

It is obvious that this list, though valuable, is by no means exhaustive; but the doctor, or his editor, here leaves the aboriginals properly so called, and enters upon the subject of wandering tribes and classes. These he divides into religious devotees and pilgrims, and a second class, or more classes, which we shall now never find out his opinion of; for the extravagant doctrines and rites of the eccentric sects of India occupy all the rest of the notes which were made available after the writer's death. The subject was so much more congenial to the missionary and scholar that it occupies nearly two-thirds of the book, and this portion is certainly, on the whole, as superior in quality as in quantity. It is, however, occasionally marred by most atrocious editing, as in a paragraph about the Nihilist Shunyâvâḍîs, which is absolutely unintelligible. If the doctor really wrote it, he must have been prostrated by illness at the time; but the confusion seems rather the result of a printer's-devilry, or of the careless collation of confused notes. The proofs, too, do not appear to have been corrected by a competent person.

The doctor classes the devotees under twenty-one heads, each with many subdivisions. Some, as the Sikhs, Jainas, Vallabhâchâryas, and Svâmi Nârâyaṇas, have made a noise in the world, and been fully described elsewhere. The Râmanujas, most numerous in the south, may perhaps be considered as the Vaishṇava counterpart of the well-known Śaiva Liṅgayats. The Râmânandîs or Bairagîs, also Vaishṇava, are often confounded by Europeans with the Śaiva Gosains, and have a quaint habit of condescending to a *sâheb's* ignorance by answering to his questions that they are *Sitâ-pâdrîs.* The Dnyânadeva Panthîs, or followers of the celebrated author of the *Dnyânêśvarî,* the Chaucer of the Marâṭhi tongue, do not, says the doctor, really constitute an organized body at all. But space fails us to examine in detail the mass of information, the collection of which was doubtless far more a labour of love to the lamented author than the reviewing of it can be to a lay commentator.

W. F. S.

The History of India, as told by its own Historians.—The Muhammadan Period. The posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and continued by Professor John Dowson, M.R.A.S. Vol. VII. (London: Trübner & Co. 1877.)

This seventh volume of materials for the history of India under the Muhammadans consists of twenty-three extracts and notices of varying lengths from the native histories relating to the reigns of Shâh-Jahân, Aurangzeb, Bahâdur Shâh, Jahândâr Shâh, Farrukh Sîyar, Rafî'u-d Daula, and Rafî'u-d Darajât, and of the earlier part of the reign of Muhammad Shâh,—that is from A. D. 1627 to about 1732. Some of the twenty-three sections, it should be remarked, are merely bibliographical notices of books: thus the first is a notice of the *Pâdshâh Nâma* of Muhammad Amîn Kazwînî, which has been the model for most of

the *Shâh-Jahân-nâmas*. 'Abdu-l Hamîd Lâhorî follows its arrangement and supplies the same matter, though without acknowledgment, in his *Badshâh-Nâma*, from which Professor Dowson gives 67 pages of extracts. This latter work is the great authority for the first twenty years of the reign of Shâh Jahân, and has been published in the original Persian in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. For the remainder of the reign 45 pages of extracts are given from a MS. translation of nearly the whole of 'Inâyat Khân's *Shâh-Jahân-Nâma* made by the late Major Fuller for Sir H. M. Elliot. The *Badshâh-nâma* of Muhammad Wâris, the pupil of 'Abdu-l Hamîd, is the completion of his master's work, containing the history of the last ten years of Shâh Jahân's reign; but, as this period has been pretty fully treated of in the extracts from 'Inâyat Khân's work, only a short extract relating to the twenty-second year is given. A few pages of extracts follow bearing on the 31st and 32nd years of the reign, from the *'Amal-i Sâlih* of Muhammad Sâlih Kambû. The *Shâh-Jahân-nâma* of Muhammad Sâdik Khân is merely noticed, as it seems to have been followed by Khâfî Khân in his history. From the *Majâlisu-s salâtîn* of Muhammad Sharîf Hanafî four short extracts are given, translated by a munshî for Sir H. M. Elliot from the only MS. he knew of—a copy in one of the Royal Libraries at Lakhnau. The *Târîkh-i Mufazzalî* of Mufazzal Khân, a general history from the creation down to A. D. 1666, is represented in a similarly brief way. Of the *Mir-ât-i 'Âlam* and *Mir-ât-i Jahân Nâma* of Bakhtâwar Khân,—apparently essentially one and the same work, being a universal history, a table of contents is given and a few extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot. He dismisses the worthless *Zînatu-t Tawârîkh* of 'Azîzullah with a notice and outline of the contents; from the *Lubbu-t Tawârîkh-i Hind* of Râî Bhârâ Mal, he gives the contents and three pages of extracts. The *'Âlamgîr-Nâma* of Mirzâ Muhammad Kâzim, containing a history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb, "was dedicated to him in the 32nd year of his reign; but on its being presented," though the author had been specially instructed to prepare it, "the Emperor forbade its continuation, and, like another Alexander, *edicto vetuit ne quis se pingeret*, but not for the same reason. The Mughal Emperor professed, as the cause of his prohibition, that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements." The book is written in a style of courtly panegyric, and from it Sir H. M. Elliot and the editor supply only a few extracts. The history of the conquest of Asâm, translated from this work by Mr. H. Vansittart, appeared in the *Asiatic Miscellany*, vol. I. and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. II. (pp. 171-185), and the original has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It has also been abridged in the *Ma-âsir-i 'Âlamgîrî* of Muhammad Sâkî Musta'idd Khân, which, however, continues the history down to the death of 'Âlamgîr in A.D. 1707. This latter work was edited and translated into English by H. Vansittart in 1785, and another version of the last forty years was made for Sir H. Elliot by Lieut. Perkins, 71st N.I., and from that translation 14 pages of extracts are here supplied. The Persian original has also been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The next five sections are only short notices of books:—The *Futuhât-i 'Âlamgîrî* or *Wâki'ât-i 'Âlamgîrî* of Muhammad Ma'sûm, an account of the "events of two or three years;" the *Târîkh-i Mulk-i Ashâm*, or account of the expedition to Asâm in the 4th year of Aurangzeb, by Maulânâ Ahmad Shahâbu-d dîn Tâlâsh; the *Wakâi'* of Mirzâ Muhammad Ni'amat Khân, devoted to the siege of Golkonda; the *Jang-nâma* of the same author; and *Ruka'ât-i 'Âlamgîrî* or *Letters of Aurangzeb*.*

We now come to perhaps the most important section of the book,—322 pages of extracts from *Muntakhabu-l Lubâb* of Muhammad Hâshim, frequently called *Târîkh-i Khâfî Khân*, "a highly esteemed history, commencing with the invasion of Bâbar A.D. 1519, and concluding with the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shâh," but "chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history." Khâfî Khân, however, had privately compiled a minute register of all the events of the reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death; and Professor Dowson has done great and good service by translating so largely as he has done from this excellent history,† covering as it does the most stirring period in Marâṭhâ history, of Śivajî, Sambhâ, and Râja Râm.

The extracts (28 pp.) from the *Târîkh-i Irâdat Khân* (1706-1712 A.D.) and two letters of Aurangzeb's are taken from Capt. J. Scott's *History of the Deccan*. From *Târîkh-i Bahâdur Shâh*, the account of Bahâdur Shâh's reign (A.D. 1707-1712) was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Anderson, 25th N. I., but only four short extracts were thought worth printing. *Târîkh-i Shâh 'Âlam Bahâdur Shâh* by Dânishmand Khân, otherwise called Mirzâ Muhammad Ni'amat Khân, extends

* See Elphinstone's *History*, p. 673.

† Conf. Elphinstone's *History*, Book X. chap. i. and Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. I. p. 118; *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.*, vol. III. p. 471. The text is published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

only to the month of Rajab in the 2nd year of Bahâdur's reign, and is consequently dismissed without an extract. *'Ibrat-Nâma* of Muhammad Kâsim is a history of the period from the death of Aurangzeb to that of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, of which the editor gives the contents and two pages of extracts.

This volume contains much interesting matter for the century of which it treats, and the editor informs us that "ample and very diversified matter remains for the concluding volume." That volume too, we are happy to learn, will contain a complete Index to the whole work,—a feature which will greatly enhance the value of it: we wish it could also contain a complete chronological table, or that the chronology could be incorporated in some way in the Index, for we often come upon statements of events (*e.g.* p. 561) taking place on a certain day of a month, but without the year mentioned; and though the year is generally not far to seek, yet there are cases in which the reader does not feel certain that he may not be wrong in his conclusion, and others in which it is very difficult to arrive at the year at all.

THE *INDIKA* OF MEGASTHENÊS.

(*Continued from p.* 135.)

TRANSLATED BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., GOVT. COLLEGE, PÂṬNÂ.

BOOK III.

Fragm. XXXII.

Arr. *Ind.* XI. 1.—XII. 9. Cf. Epit. 40-53, and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VI. xxii. 2, 3.

Of the Seven Castes among the Indians.

XI. But further: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the sophists, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If any one, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sophists shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if any one fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sophists go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under large trees, the shadow whereof, Nearchos says, extends to five *plethra* in circuit, adding that even ten thousand men could be covered by the shadow of a single tree. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most

Fragm. XXXIII.

Strab. XV. 1. 39-41, 46-49,—pp. 703-4, 707.

Of the Seven Castes among the Indians.

(39) According to him (Megasthenês) the population of India is divided into seven parts. The philosophers are first in rank, but form the smallest class in point of number. [2] Their services are employed privately by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly. [3] If any one is detected giving false information thrice, the law condemns him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who gives sound advice is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.

(40) The *second* caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are

numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands: hence, while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds; and these neither dwell in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They too are subject to tribute, and this they pay in cattle. They scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers. They have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves, and others besides.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents.* They spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

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exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. [5] It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at risk of their lives, while other men *close at hand* are ploughing and digging in *perfect* security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce.

(41) [6] The *third* caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle, and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents.

Fragm. XXXVI. follows here.

[So much, then, on the subject of wild animals. We shall now return to Megasthenês, and resume from where we digressed.]

(46) [7] The *fourth* class, after herdsmen and hunters, consists of those who work at trades, of those who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and their victuals from the king, for whom alone they work. The general in command of the army supplies the soldiers with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize.

(47) The *fifth* class consists of fighting men, who, when not engaged in active service, pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

(48) The *sixth* class consists of the overseers, to whom is assigned the duty of watching all that goes on, and making reports secretly to the king. Some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.

* Sheriffs: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 267.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of number this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.†

The custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits anyone from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is only permitted that the sophist be from any caste: for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.

FRAGM. XXXIV.

Strab. XV. 1. 50-52,—pp. 707-709.

Of the administration of public affairs.
Of the use of Horses and Elephants.

(Fragm. XXXIII. has preceded this.)

(50) Of the great officers of state, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. [2]The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. [3]They construct roads, and at every ten stadia‡ set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances. [4]Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. [5]The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. [6]The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. [7]The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. [8]The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold. Fraud with regard to this tax is punished with death.

[9]Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices,

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The *seventh* class consists of the councillors and assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs. [12] No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege.

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† The Greek writers by confounding some distinctions occasioned by civil employment with those arising from that division have increased the number (of classes) from five (including the handicrafts-man or mixed class) to seven. This number is produced by their supposing the king's councillors and assessors to form a distinct class from the Brâhmans; by splitting the class of Vaisya into two, consisting of shepherds and husbandmen; by introducing a caste of spies; and by omitting the servile class altogether. With these exceptions the classes are in the state described by Menu, which is the groundwork of that still subsisting.—Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 236.

‡ From this it would appear that ten stadia were equal to some Indian measure of distance, which must have been the *krôśa* or *kosa*. If the stadium be taken at 202¼ yards, this would give 2022½ yards for the kos, agreeing with the shorter kos of 4,000 *hâths*, in use in the Panjâb, and till lately, if not still, in parts of Bengal.—ED.

the care of markets, harbours, and temples. [10]Next to the city magistrates there is a third governing body, which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to coöperate with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety. [11]The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. [12]There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. [13]They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen,[14] but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. [15]In addition to the charioteer, there are two fighting men who sit up in the chariot beside him. The war-elephant carries four men—three who shoot arrows, and the driver.§ (Fragm. XXVII. follows.)

FRAGM. XXXV.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XIII. 10.

Of the use of Horses and Elephants.

Cf. Fragm. XXXIV. 13-15.

When it is said that an Indian by springing forward in front of a horse can check his speed and hold him back, this is not true of all Indians, but only of such as have been trained from boyhood to manage horses; for it is a practice with them to control their horses with bit and bridle, and to make them move at a measured pace and in a straight course. They neither, however, gall their tongue by the use of spiked muzzles, nor torture the roof of their mouth. The professional trainers break them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they see them refractory. Such as undertake this work require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses. The greatest proficients test their skill by driving a chariot round and round in a ring; and in truth it would be no trifling feat to control with ease a team of four high-mettled steeds when whirling round in a circle. The chariot carries two men who sit beside the charioteer. The war-elephant either in what is called the tower, or, actually on his bare back, carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of the ship direct its course with the helm.

FRAGM. XXXVI.

Strab. XV. 1. 41-43,—pp. 704-705.

Of Elephants.

Conf. Epit. 54-56.

(Fragm. XXXIII. 6 has preceded this.)

A private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them. [2]The manner of hunting the elephant is this. Round a bare patch of ground is dug a deep trench about five or six stadia in extent, and over this is thrown a very narrow bridge which

FRAGM. XXXVII.

Arr. *Ind.* ch. 13-14.

(Fragm. XXXII. comes before this.)

Of Elephants.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any other animals. [2]The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground, dig a trench all round it, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their

§ "The fourfold division of the army (horse, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of Menu; but Strabo makes a sextuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval department."

gives access to the enclosure. [3] Into this enclosure are introduced three or four of the best-trained female elephants. The men themselves lie in ambush in concealed huts. [4] The wild elephants do not approach this trap in the daytime, but they enter it at night, going in one by one. [5] When all have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it up; then, introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger. [6] When the latter are now overcome with fatigue, the boldest of the drivers dismount unobserved, and each man creeps under his own elephant, and from this position creeps under the belly of the wild elephant and ties his feet together. [7] When this is done they incite the tame ones to beat those whose feet are tied till they fall to the ground. They then bind the wild ones and the tame ones together neck to neck with thongs of raw ox-hide. [8] To prevent them shaking themselves in order to throw off those who attempt to mount them, they make cuts all round their neck and then put thongs of leather into the incisions, so that the pain obliges them to submit to their fetters and to remain quiet. From the number caught they reject such as are too old or too young to be serviceable, and the rest they lead away to the stables. Here they tie their feet one to another, and fasten their necks to a firmly fixed pillar, and tame them by hunger. [10] After this they restore their strength with green reeds and grass. They next teach them to be obedient, which they effect by soothing them, some by *coaxing* words, and others by songs and the music of the drum. [11] Few of them are found difficult to tame, for they are naturally so mild

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prey approaches and enters the enclosure. [2] They next station some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants within the trap, to which they leave only a single passage by means of a bridge thrown across the trench, the framework of which they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, retiring to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. [4] Now the wild elephants do not go near inhabited places in the day-time, but during the night they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow the bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, and hear the cry and catch scent of the females, they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. [5] The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till these are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst. When they think their strength has been enough weakened, they set up the bridge anew and ride into the trap, when first a fierce assault is made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap, and then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. [6] On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the feet of the wild ones, now by this time quite exhausted. [7] Then they instigate the tame ones to beat them with repeated blows, until their sufferings wear them out, and they fall to the ground. [8] The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while yet lying on the ground; and, to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, make with a sharp knife an incision all round their neck, and fasten the noose round in the incision. By means of the wound thus made they keep their head and neck quite steady; for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. They shun, therefore, all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, suffer themselves to be led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. [9] But such as are too young, or through the weakness of their constitution not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which are retained they lead to the villages, where they give them at first green stalks of corn and grass to eat. [10] The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians, standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, [11] for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have taken up their riders when

and gentle in their disposition that they approximate to rational creatures. Some of them take up their drivers when fallen in battle, and carry them off in safety from the field. Others, when their masters have sought refuge between their forelegs, have fought in their defence and saved their lives. If in a fit of anger they kill either the man who feeds or the man who trains them, they pine so much for their loss that they refuse to take food, and sometimes die of hunger.

[12] They copulate like horses, and the female casts her calf chiefly in spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and becomes ferocious. At this time he discharges a fatty substance through an orifice near the temples. It is also the season for the females, when the corresponding passage opens. [13] They go with young for a period which varies from sixteen to eighteen months. The dam suckles her calf for six years. [14] Most of them live as long as men who attain extreme longevity, and some live over two hundred years. They are liable to many distempers, and are not easily cured. [15] The remedy for diseases of the eye is to wash it with cows' milk. For most of their other diseases draughts of black wine are administered to them. For the cure of their wounds they are made to swallow butter, for this draws out iron. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

Fragm XXXVIII.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XIII. 7.

Of the diseases of Elephants.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXVI. 15 and XXXVII. 15.)

The Indians cure the wounds of the elephants which they catch, in the manner following:—They treat them in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us, Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypylos,—they foment them with lukewarm water.|| After this they rub them over with butter, and if they are deep allay the inflammation by applying and inserting pieces of pork, hot but still retaining the blood. They cure ophthalmia with cows' milk, which is first used as a fomentation for the eye, and is then injected into it. The animals open their eyelids, and finding they can see better are delighted, and are sensible *of the benefit* like human beings. In proportion as

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slain in battle and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. [11a] [I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.]¶

[12] The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. [13] The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. [14] The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. [15] Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

[Fragm. XXXVII. B.]

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XII. 44.

Of Elephants.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXVI. 9-10 and XXXVII. 9-10 *init.* c. XIV.).

In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use *which has four strings* and is called a *skindapsos*. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest rivetted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

|| See *Iliad*, bk. XI. 845.

¶ "The modern mode of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances may be learned from Arrian almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in the 'Asiatic Researches.'" (vol. III. p. 229.)—Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 242.

their blindness diminishes their delight overflows, and this is a token that the disease has been cured. The remedy for other distempers to which they are liable is black wine; and if this potion fails to work a cure nothing else can save them.

Fragm. XXXIX.

Strab. XV. 1. 44,—p. 706.

*Of Gold-digging Ants.**

Megasthenês gives the following account of these ants. Among the Derdai, a great tribe of Indians, who inhabit the mountains on the eastern borders,† there is an elevated plateau‡ about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and here accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter.§ They throw up heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouth of the mines. The gold-dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off. If they came openly the ants would attack them, and pursue them if they fled, and would destroy both them and their cattle. So, to effect the robbery without being observed, they lay down in several different places pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the ants are by this device dispersed they carry off the gold-dust. This they sell to any trader they meet with|| while it is still in the state of ore, for the art of fusing metals is unknown to them.

Fragm. XL.

Arr. *Ind.* XV.-5-7.

Of Gold-digging Ants.

But Megasthenês avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, [6] only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. [[7] Now Megasthenês writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.]¶

[Fragm. XL. B.]

Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 35,—p. 436, Morell.

Of Ants which dig for gold.

(Cf. Fragm. XXXIV. and XL.)

They get the gold from ants. These creatures are larger than foxes, but are in other respects like the ants of our own country. They dig holes in the earth like other ants. The heap which they throw up consists of gold the purest and brightest in all the world. The mounds are piled up close to each other in regular order like hillocks of gold dust, and all the plain is made effulgent. It is difficult, therefore, to look towards the sun, and many who have attempted to do this have thereby destroyed their eyesight. The people who are next neighbours to the ants, with a view to plunder these heaps, cross the intervening desert, which is of no great extent. They are mounted on wagons to which they have yoked their swiftest horses, and arrive at noon, a time when the ants have gone underground. They at once seize the booty, and make off at full speed. The ants, on learning what has been done, pursue the fugitives, and overtaking them fight with them till they conquer or die, for of all animals they are the most courageous. It hence appears that they understand the worth of gold, and that they will sacrifice their lives rather than part with it.

Fragm. XLI.

Strab. XV. 1. 58-60,—pp. 711-714.

Of the Indian Philosophers.

(Fragm. XXIX. has preceded this.)

(58) Speaking of the philosophers, he (Megasthenês) says that such of them as live on the mountains are worshippers of Dionusos, showing as proofs *that he had come among them* the wild vine, which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle,

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* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp. 225 *seqq.* where cogent arguments are adduced to prove that the 'gold-digging ants' were originally neither, as the ancients supposed, real ants, nor, as so many eminent men of learning have supposed, larger animals mistaken for ants on account of their appearance and subterranean habits, but Tibetan miners, whose mode of life and dress was in the remotest antiquity exactly what they are at the present day.

† These are the Dardæ of Pliny, the Daradrai of Ptolemy, and the Daradas of Sanskrit literature. "The Dards are not an extinct race. According to the accounts of modern travellers, they consist of several wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the north-west frontier of Kâśmîr and by the banks of the Indus." *Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*

‡ The table-land of Chojotol, see *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XXXIX. pp. 149 *seqq.*—Ed.

§ "The miners of Thok-Jalung, in spite of the cold, prefer working in winter; and the number of their tents, which in summer amounts to three hundred, rises to nearly six hundred in winter. They prefer the winter, as the frozen soil then stands well, and is not likely to trouble them much by falling in."—*Id.*

|| Τῳ τυχόντι τῶν ἐμπόρων. If the different reading τοῦ τυχόντος τοῖς ἐμπόροις be adopted, the rendering is, "*They dispose of it* to merchants at any price."

¶ Cf. Herod. III. 102-105; Arrian, *Anab.* V. 4. 7; Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* III. 4; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* II. p. 207; Tzetz. *Chil.* XII. 330-340; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* XI. 36, XXXIII. 21; Propert. III. 13. 5; Pomp. Mel. VII. 2; Isidor. *Orig.* XII. 3; Albert Mag. *De Animal.* T. VI. p. 678, ex subdititiis Alexandri epistolis; Anonym. *De Monstris et Belluis*, 259, ed. Berger de Xivrey; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* VI. 1; and Heliodorus, *Æth.* X. 26, p. 495; also Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de reb. Ind.* p. 220-221, and 120; Busbequius, *Legationis Turcicæ Epist.* IV. p. 144, or Thaunus XXIV. 7, p. 809.—Schwanbeck, p. 72.

and the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates, except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. They observe also certain customs which are Bacchanalian. Thus they dress in muslin, wear the turban, use perfumes, array themselves in garments dyed of bright colours; and their kings, when they appear in public, are preceded by the music of drums and gongs. But the philosophers who live on the plains worship Hêrakles. [These accounts are fabulous, and are impugned by many writers, especially what is said about the vine and wine. For the greater part of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, onwards to Persia and Karmania, lie beyond the Euphrates, and throughout a great part of each of these countries good vines grow, and good wine is produced.]

(59) Megasthenês makes a different division of the philosophers, saying that they are of two kinds—one of which he calls the Brachmanes, and the other the Sarmanes.* The Brachmanes are best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and, under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security.† They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives greater advantages are enjoyed, and, since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers: for no one who despises pleasure and pain, as well as life and death, wishes to be in subjection to another, but this is characteristic both of a good man and of a good woman.

Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dream-like illusion, else how could some be affected with sorrow, and others with pleasure, by the very same things, and how could the

* "Since the word Σαρμᾶνας (the form used by Clemens of Alexandria) corresponds to the letter with the Sanskrit word *śramaṇa* (*i.e.* an ascetic), it is evident that the forms Γαρμᾶνας and Γερμᾶνας, which are found in all the MSS. of Strabo, are incorrect. The mistake need not surprise us, since the ΣΑ when closely written together differ little in form from the syllable ΓΑ. In the same way Clement's 'Αλλόβιοι must be changed into Strabo's Ὑλόβιοι, corresponding with the Sanskrit *Vanaprastha*—"the man of the first three castes who, after the term of his householdership has expired, has entered the third *âsrama* or order, and has proceeded (*prastha*) to a life in the woods (*Vâna*).'"—Schwanbeck, p. 46; H. H. Wilson, *Gloss.* "It is a capital question," he adds, "who the Sarmanæ were, some considering them to be Buddhists, and others denying them to be such. Weighty arguments are adduced on both sides, but the opinion of those seems to approach nearer the truth who contend that they were Buddhists."

† "A mistake (of the Greek writers) originates in their ignorance of the fourfold division of a Brâhmaṇ's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years sophists marrying and returning to common life (alluding probably to a student who, having completed the austerities of the first period, becomes a householder):" Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 236, where it is also remarked that the writers erroneously prolong the period during which students listen to their instructors in silence and respect, making it extend in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Manu (chap. III. sec. 1) permits it in any case to be protracted.

same things affect the same individuals at different times with these opposite emotions?

Their ideas about physical phenomena, the same author tells us, are very crude, for they are better in their actions than in their reasonings, inasmuch as their belief is in great measure based upon fables; yet on many points their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for like them they say that the world had a beginning, and is liable to destruction, and is in shape spherical, and that the Deity who made it, and who governs it, is diffused through all its parts. They hold that various first principles operate in the universe, and that water was the principle employed in the making of the world. In addition to the four elements there is a fifth agency, from which the heaven and the stars were produced.‡ The earth is placed in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, and the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views like those maintained by the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment, and kindred topics, in allegories, after the manner of Plato. Such are his statements regarding the Brachmanes.

(60) Of the Sarmanes§ he tells us that those who are held in most honour are called the Hylobioi.|| They live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in

FRAGM. XLII.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 305 D (ed. Colon. 1688).

That the Jewish race is by far the oldest of all these, and that their philosophy, which has been committed to writing, preceded the philosophy of the Greeks, Philo the Pythagorean shows by many arguments, as does also Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, and many others whose names I need not waste time in enumerating. Megasthenês, the author of a work *on India*, who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point, and his words are these:—"*All that has been said regarding nature by the ancients is asserted also by philosophers out of Greece, on the one part in India by the Brachmanes, and on the other in Syria by the people called the Jews.*"

FRAGM. XLII. B.

Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* IX. 6,—pp. 410 C, D (ed. Colon. 1688).
Ex Clem. Alex.

Again, in addition to this, further on he writes thus:—

"Megasthenês, the writer who lived with Seleukos Nikator, writes most clearly on this point and to this effect:—'All that has been said,' " &c.

FRAGM. XLII. C.

Cyrill. *Contra Julian.* IV. (Opp. ed. Paris, 1638, T. VI. p. 134 Al. *Ex* Clem. Alex.¶

Aristoboulos the Peripatetic somewhere writes to this effect:—"All that has been said," &c.

FRAGM. XLIII.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 305, A, B. (ed. Colon. 1688).
Of the Philosophers of India.

[Philosophy, then, with all its blessed advantages to man, flourished long ages ago among the barbarians, diffusing its light among the Gentiles, and eventually penetrated into Greece. Its hierophants were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldæans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Sarmanæans who were the philosophers of the Baktrians and the Kelts, the Magi among the Persians, who, as you know, announced beforehand the birth of the Saviour, being led by a star till they arrived in the land of Judæa, and among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and other philosophers of barbarous nations.]

There are two sects of these Indian philosophers—one called the Sarmânai and the other the Brachmânai. Connected with the Sarmânai are the philosophers called the Hylobioi,* who neither live in cities nor even in houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, and subsist upon acorns, and drink water by lifting it to their mouth with their hands. They neither marry nor beget children [like those ascetics of our own day called the Enkratêtai. Among the Indians are those *philosophers* also who follow the precepts of Boutta,† whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity.]

‡ *Âkâśa*, 'the ether or sky.'

§ Schwanbeck argues from the distinct separation here made between the Brachmanes and the Sarmanes, as well as from the name *śramana* being especially applied to Baudha teachers, that the latter are here meant. They are called Σαμαναῖοι by Bardesanes (ap. Porphyr, *Abstin.* IV. 17) and Alex. Polyhistor. (ap. *Cyrill. contra Julian.* IV. p. 133 E. ed. Paris, 1638). Conf. also Hieronym. *ad. Jovinian.* II. (ed. Paris. 1706, T. II. pt. II. p. 206). And this is just the Pali name *Sammana*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *śramana*. Bohlen in *De Buddhaismi origine et ætate definiendis* sustains this view, but Lassen (*Rhein. Mus. für Phil.* I. 171 ff.) contends that the description agrees better with the Brâhmaṇ ascetics. See Schwanbeck, p. 45ff. and Lassen *Ind. Alterth.* (2nd ed). II. 705, or (1st ed) II. 700.—ED.

|| See note* page 243.

¶ "In this passage, though Cyril follows Clemens, he wrongly attributes the narrative of Megasthenês to Aristoboulos the Peripatetic, whom Clemens only praises."—Schwanbeck, p. 50.

* The reading of the MSS is Allobioi.

† V. l. Βούτα.—The passage admits of a different rendering: "They (the Hylobioi) are those among the Indians who follow the precepts of Boutta." Colebrooke in his *Ob-*

honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the mere asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters. All others they consider to be in a great measure pernicious in their nature.§ This class and the other class practise fortitude, both by undergoing active toil, and by the endurance of pain, so that they remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude.||

Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers, and adepts in the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about begging both in villages and towns.

Even such of them as are of superior culture and refinement inculcate such superstitions regarding Hades as they consider favourable to piety and holiness of life. Women pursue philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

FRAGM. XLII., XLIII.

See *ante*, p. 244.

FRAGM. XLIV.

Strab. XV. 1. 68,—p. 718.

Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

Megasthenês. however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but that such as commit the act are regarded as foolhardy, those naturally of a severe temper stabbing themselves or casting themselves down a precipice, those averse to pain drowning themselves, those capable of enduring pain strangling themselves, and those of ardent temperaments throwing themselves into the fire. Kalanos was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions, and became a slave to the table of Alexander.¶ He is on this account condemned *by his countrymen*, but Mandanis is applauded because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, for he was not so much as master of the larger half of the world. As for himself, he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate; and as for his threats he feared them not: for if he lived, India would supply him with food enough, and if he died, he would be delivered from the body of flesh now afflicted with age, and would be translated to a better and a purer life. Alexander expressed admiration of the man, and let him have his own way.

FRAGM. XLV.

Arr. VII. ii. 3-9.

Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

This shows that Alexander was by no means beyond understanding what is "the better," but in fact he was completely overmastered by the passion for glory. When he arrived at Taxila and saw the Indian gymnosophists, he felt a

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servations on the Sect of the Jains, has quoted this passage from Clemens to controvert the opinion that the religion and institutions of the orthodox Hindus are more modern than the doctrines of Jina and of Buddha. "Here," he says, "to my apprehension, the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brachmanes and Sarmanes. The latter, called Germanes by Strabo, and Samanæans‡ by Porphyrius, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina, or to another. The Brachmanes are apparently those who are described by Philostratus and Hierocles as worshipping the sun; and by Strabo and by Arrian as performing sacrifices for the common benefit of the nation, as well as for individuals ... They are expressly discriminated from the sect of Buddha by one ancient author, and from the Sarmanes or Samanæans (ascetics of various tribes) by others. They are described by more than one authority as worshipping the sun, as performing sacrifices, and as denying the eternity of the world, and maintaining other tenets incompatible with the supposition that the sects of Buddha or Jina could be meant. Their manners and doctrine, as described by these authors, are quite conformable with the notions and practice of the orthodox Hindus. It may therefore be confidently inferred that the followers of the Vedas flourished in India when it was visited by the Greeks under Alexander, and continued to flourish from the time of Megasthenês, who described them in the fourth century before Christ, to that of Porphyrius, who speaks of them, on later authority, in the third century after Christ."

(‡ *Samana* is the Pâli form of the older *Sramana.*)

§ "The habits of the physicians," Elphinstone remarks, "seem to correspond with those of Brâhmans of the fourth stage."

|| "It is indeed," says the same authority, "a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by the Greek authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander. The only explanation is that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people."

¶ "Kalanos followed the Makedonian army from Taxila, and when afterwards taken ill burnt himself on a funeral pyre in the presence of the whole Makedonian army, without evincing any symptom of pain. His real name, according to Plutarch, was Sphines, and he received the name Kalanos among the Greeks because in saluting persons he used the form καλέ instead of the Greek χαίρε. What Plutarch here calls καλέ is probably the Sanskrit form *kalyâna*, which is commonly used in addressing a person, and signifies 'good, just, or distinguished.'"—Smith's *Classical Dictionary*.

desire to converse with one of these men, because he regarded their fortitude with admiration. The eldest of these sages, with whom the others lived as disciples with a master, and whose name was Dandanis, not only refused to go himself, but forbade any of the others to do so. He is said to have returned this answer, that if Alexander was the son of Zeus, then he too was the son of Zeus as well, and that he wanted none of the things which Alexander possessed, as he was quite contented with what he had. He noticed, he said, that those who were wandering with Alexander over so many lands and seas gained no good by it all, while at the same time there was no end to their many wanderings. He coveted, therefore, nothing which it was in Alexander's power to bestow, nor did he fear any restraint which he could possibly impose upon him: for if he lived, India would yield him as much food as he required, and if he died, he would be delivered from his ill-assorted companion the body. Alexander accordingly did not attempt to force him to act in opposition to his inclinations, appreciating his spirit of independence.* But he prevailed upon Kalanos, one of their number, whom Megasthenês for that reason condemns for his want of firmness, and the rest of the sages reproached Kalanos with folly, for leaving the happiness they imagined they had, and acknowledging any other master except the supreme God.

BOOK IV.

FRAGM. XLVI.

Strab. XV. I. 6-8,—pp. 686-688.

That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others.

(Cf. Epit. 23.)

6. But what just reliance can we place on the accounts of India from such expeditions as those of Kuros and Semiramis ?† Megasthenês concurs in this view, and recommends his readers to put no faith in the ancient history of India. Its people, he says, never sent an expedition abroad, nor was their country ever invaded and conquered except by Hêrakles and Dionusos *in old times*, and by the Makedonians in our own. Yet Sesôstris

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FRAGM. XLVII.

Arr. *Ind.* V. 4-12.

That the Indians had never been attacked by others, nor had themselves attacked others.

Well, then, this same Megasthenês informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians; for Sesôstris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthursos the Skuthian, issuing from Skuthia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design; and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionusos many traditions are current of his having also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Hêrakles tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, on the other hand

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* For an account of Alexander's interview with the Gymnosophists see Plutarch's *Alexander*, 65.

† "The expedition of Semiramis as described by Diodorus Siculus (II. 16-19), who followed the *Assyriaka* of Ktêsias, has almost the character of a legend abounding with puerilities, and is entirely destitute of those geographical details which stamp events with reality. If this expedition is real, as on other grounds we may believe it to be, some traces will assuredly be found of it in the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh, which are destined to throw so much unexpected light on the ancient history of Asia. It has already been believed possible to draw from these inscriptions the foundations of a positive chronology which will fully confirm the indications given by Herodotus as to the epoch of Semiramis, in fixing the epoch of this celebrated queen in the 8th century of our era—an epoch which is quite in harmony with the *data* which we possess from other sources regarding the condition of the North-West of India after the Vedic times.

"Kyros, towards the middle of the 6th century of our era, must also have carried his arms even to the Indus. Historical tradition attributed to him the destruction of Kapisa, an important city in the upper region of the Kôphês (Plin. VI. 23); and in the lower region the Assakenians and the Astakenians, indigenous tribes of Gandara, are reckoned among his tributaries (Arrian, *Indika*, I. 3). Tradition further recounted that, in returning from his expedition into India, Kyros had seen his whole army perish in the deserts of Gedrosia (Arr. *Anab.* VI. 24. 2). The Persian domination in these districts has left more than one trace in the geographical nomenclature. It is sufficient to recall the name of the Khoaspês, one of the great affluents of the Kôphês.

"Whatever be the real historical character of the expeditions of Semiramis and Kyros, it is certain that their conquests on the Indus were only temporary acquisitions, since at the epoch when Dareios Hystaspês mounted the throne the eastern frontier of the empire did not go beyond Arakhosia (the *Haraqaiti* of the Zend texts, the *Haraouvatis* of the cuneiform inscriptions, the *Arrokhadj* of Musalmân geography, the provinces of Kandahâr and of Ghazni of existing geography)—that is to say, the parts of Afghânistân which lie east of the Sulimân chain of mountains. This fact is established by the great trilingual inscription of Bisoutoun, which indicates the last eastern countries to which Dareios had carried his arms at the epoch when the monument was erected. This was before he had achieved his well-known conquest of the valley of the Indus."—St. Martin, *E'tude sur la GéographieGrecque et Latine de l'Inde*, pp. 14 *seqq.*

the Egyptian‡ and Tearkôn the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe. And Nabukodrosor,§ who is more renowned among the Chaldæans than even Hêrakles among the Greeks, carried his arms to the Pillars,|| which Tearkôn also reached, while Sesôstris penetrated from Ibêria even into Thrace and Pontos. Besides these there was Idanthursos the Skuthian, who overran Asia as far as Egypt.¶ But not one of these great conquerors approached India, and Semiramis, who meditated its conquest, died before the necessary preparations were undertaken. The Persians indeed summoned the Hudrakai* from India to serve as mercenaries, but they did not lead an army into the country, and only approached its borders when Kuros marched against the Massagetai.

Of Dionusos and Hêrakles.

7. The accounts about Hêrakles and Dionusos, Megasthenês and some few authors with him consider entitled to credit, [but the majority, among whom is Eratosthenês, consider them incredible and fabulous, like the stories current among the Greeks.......]

8. On such grounds they called a particular race of people Nussaians, and their city Nussa,† which Dionusos had founded, and the mountain which rose above the city Mêron, assigning as their reason for bestowing these names that ivy grows there, and also the vine, although its fruit does not come to perfection, as the clusters, on account of the heaviness of the rains, fall off the trees before ripening. They further called the Oxudrakai descendants of Dionusos, because the vine grew in their country, and their processions were conducted with great pomp, and their kings on going forth to war and on other occasions marched in Bacchic fashion, with drums beating, while they were dressed in gay-coloured robes, which is also a custom among other Indians. Again, when Alexander had captured at the first assault the rock called Aornos, the base of which is washed by the Indus near its source, his followers, magnifying the affair, affirmed that Hêrakles had thrice assaulted the same rock and had been thrice repulsed.‡ They said also that the Sibae were descended from those who accompanied Hêrakles on his expedi-

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which Bacchus led, the city of Nussa is no mean monument, while Mount Mêros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionusos. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hêrakles, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hêrakles was not able to take the rock Aornos, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Makedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisos—Kaukasos, though it had no connexion at all with Kaukasos. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisadai, they asserted that it was the cave of Promêtheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibae, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibae were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hêrakles and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibae carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Makedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hêrakles.

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‡ Sesostris (called Sesoôsis by Diodorus) has generally been identified with Ramses the third king of the 19th dynasty of Manetho, the son of Seti, and the father of Menephthah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Lepsius, however, from a study of the Tablet of Rameses II. found at Abydos in Egypt, and now in the British Museum, has been led to identify him with the Sesortasen or Osirtasen of the great 12th dynasty.—See *Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 44.

§ V.1. Ναβοκοδρόσορον.

|| Called by Ptolemy the "Pillars of Alexander," above Albania and Iberia at the commencement of the Asiatic Sarmatia.

¶ Herodotus mentions an invasion of Skuthians which was led by Madyas. As Idanthursos may have been a common appellative of the Skuthian kings, Strabo may here be referring to that invasion.

* The Hudrakai are called also Oxudrakai. The name, according to Lassen, represents the Sanskrit *Kshudraka*. It is variously written Sydrakai, Syrakusai, Sabagræ, and Sygambri.

† V. ll. Νυσαίους, Νύσαν.

‡ This celebrated rock has been identified by General Cunningham with the ruined fortress of Râṇîgat, situated immediately above the small village of Nogrâm, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from Ohind, which he takes to be the Embolima of the ancients. "Râṇîgat," he says, "or the Queen's rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Râja Vara's *rânî* is said to have seated herself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Râja Vara, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Râja Vara's stables ... I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Râja Vara, and that the ruined fortress of Râṇîgat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahâban hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Râja Hodi proposed by General Court and Mr. Loewenthal." See Grote's *History of India*, vol. VIII. pp. 437-8, footnote.

tion, and that they preserved badges of their descent, for they wore skins like Hêrakles, and carried clubs, and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules.§ In support of this story they turn to account the legends regarding Kaukasos and Promêtheus by transferring them hither from Pontos, which they did on the slight pretext that they had seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadae. This they declared was the prison of Promêtheus, whither Hêrakles had come to effect his deliverance, and that this was the Kaukasos, to which the Greeks represent Promêtheus as having been bound.||

FRAGM. XLVIII.

Josephus *Contra Apion*. I. 20 (T. II. p. 451, Haverc.).

Of Nabuchodrosor.

(Cf. Fragm. XLVI. 2.)

Megasthenês also expresses the same opinion *in the 4th book of his Indika*, where he endeavours to show that the aforesaid king of the Babylonians (Nabouchodonosor) surpassed Hêrakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, by telling us that he conquered even Ibêria.

FRAGM. XLVIII. B.

Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* X. ii. 1 (T. I. p. 538, Haverc.).

[In this place (Nabouchodonosor) erected also of stone elevated places for walking about on, which had to the eye the appearance of mountains, and were so contrived that they were planted with all sorts of trees, because his wife, who had been bred up in the land of Media, wished her surroundings to be like those of her early home.] Megasthenês also, *in the 4th book of his Indika*, makes mention of these things, and thereby endeavours to show that this king surpassed Hêrakles in courage and the greatness of his achievements, for he says that he conquered Libya and a great part of Ibêria.

FRAGM. XLVIII. C.

Zonar. ed. Basil. 1557, T. I. p. 87.

Among the many old historians who mention Nabouchodonosor, Jôsephos enumerates Bêrôsos, Megasthenês, and Dioklês.

FRAGM. XLVIII. D.

G. Syncell. T. I. p. 419, ed. Benn. (p. 221 ed. Paris, p. 177 ed. Venet.).

Megasthenês, in *his fourth book of the Indika*, represents Nabouchodonosor as mightier than Hêrakles, because with great courage and enterprise he conquered the greater part of Libya and Ibêria.

FRAGM. XLIX.

Abyden. ap. *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* I. 41 (ed. Colon. 1688, p. 456 D).

Of Nabouchodrosor.

Megasthenês says that Nabouchodrosor, who was mightier than Hêrakles, undertook an expedition against Libya and Ibêria, and that having conquered them he planted a colony of these people in the parts lying to the right of Pontos.

FRAGM. L.

Arr. *Ind.* 7-9.

Of the Indian races—of Dionusos—of Hêrakles—of Pearls—of the Pandæan land—of the Ancient History of the Indians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenês tells us, number in all 118. [And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained among all the tribes.]

He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Skuthians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Skuthia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were

§ According to Curtius, the Sibae, whom he calls Sobii, occupied the country between the Hydaspês and the Akesinês. They may have derived their name from the god Siva.

|| "No writer before Alexander's time mentions the Indian gods. The Makedonians, when they came into India, in accordance with the invariable practice of the Greeks, considered the gods of the country to be the same as their own. Siva they were led to identify with Bacchus on their observing the unbridled license and somewhat Bacchic fashion of his worship, and because they traced some slight resemblance between the attributes of the two deities, and between the names belonging to the mythic conception of each. Nor was anything easier, after Euripides had originated the fiction that Dionusos had roamed over the East, than to suppose that the god of luxuriant fecundity had made his way to India, a country so remarkable for its fertility. To confirm this opinion they made use of a slight and accidental agreement in names. Thus Mount Mêru seemed an indication of the god who sprang from the thigh of Zeus (ἐκ διὸς μήρου). Thus they thought the Kudrakæ (Oxudrakai) the offspring of Dionusos because the vine grew in their country, and they saw that their kings displayed great pomp in their processions. On equally slight grounds they identified Kṛishṇa, another god whom they saw worshipped, with Hêrakles; and whenever, as among the Sibae, they saw the skins of wild beasts, or clubs, or the like, they assumed that Hêrakles had at some time or other dwelt there."—Schwanb. p. 43.

called in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionusos into India. Dionusos, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemos, when he was sent by Dêmêter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionusos who came to India before Triptolemos, and gave the people the seeds of cultivated plants. It is also said that Dionusos first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionusos himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *kordax;* and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents; so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spartembas,¶ one of his companions and the most conversant with Bacchic matters, to be the king of the country. When Spartembas died his son Boudyas* succeeded to the sovereignty, the father reigning over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; the son of the latter, whose name was Kradeuas,† duly inherited the kingdom, and thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit. Hêrakles, however, who is currently reported to have come *as a stranger* into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India. This Hêrakles is held in especial honour by the Sourasênoi, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora‡ and Kleisobora, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares.§ But the dress which this Hêrakles wore, Megasthenês tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hêrakles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaia, and the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hêrakles entrusted her, was called after her name, Pandaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hêrakles that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*.|| But Hêrakles, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenês informs us that the oyster which

Fragm. L. B.

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* IX. 55.

Of Pearls.

Some writers allege that in swarms of oysters, as among bees, individuals distinguished for size and beauty act as leaders. These are of wonderful cunning in preventing themselves being caught, and are eagerly sought for by the divers.

¶ It has been conjectured that this name very incorrectly transliterates the Sanskṛit *Svajambhuva*. V. l. Spatembas.

* No doubt Buddha.

† Perhaps altered from Prareuas, which may represent the Sanskṛit *Purûravas*.

‡ The *Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν* of Ptolemy, the Mathurâ or Madhupuri of Sanskṛit writers, and the modern Mathurâ; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 89, 334; and conf. *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII. pt. I. pp. 336, 351. Kleisobora, according to Pliny on the opposite side of the river, would thus be Mâhaban; see Growse's *Mathura*, pt. I. pp. 151, 152; Col. Yule places it lower down the river at Batesar.—Ed.

§ Iobares is the Jamunâ.

|| Represents the Persian word for a pearl—*marvarid*.

yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms ; for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance of catching the others. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament : for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hêrakles reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hêrakles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hêrakles therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandaia reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hêrakles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenês declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster ?

From the time of Dionusos to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years ; among these a republic was thrice established * * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionusos was earlier than Hêrakles by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Kuros the son of Kambusês, although he undertook an expedition against the Skuthians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia ; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing *to follow him*. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

Should they be caught, the others are easily enclosed in the nets as they go wandering about. They are then put into earthen pots, where they are buried deep in salt. By this process the flesh is all eaten away, and the hard concretions, which are the pearls, drop down to the bottom.

FRAGM. LI.

Phlegon. *Mirab.* 33.

Of the Pandaian Land.

(Cf. Fragm. XXX. 6.)

Megasthenês says that the women of the Pandæan realm bear children when they are six years of age.

FRAGM. L. C.

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VI. xxi. 4-5.

Of the Ancient History of the Indians.

For the Indians stand almost alone among the nations in never having migrated from their own country. From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and 3 months.

Solin. 52. 5.

Father Bacchus was the first who invaded India, and was the first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE LAX OBSERVANCE OF CASTE RULES, AND OTHER FEATURES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE, IN ANCIENT INDIA.

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The object of this paper is to show, by illustrations drawn chiefly from Manu and the *Mahâbhârata*, that the regulations defining the duties, relations, prerogatives, and functions of the different Indian classes, as prescribed by Manu and in some parts of the *Mahâbhârata*, were not strictly respected or practised in ancient times in India; that the custom of polyandry was not unknown, that liberal sentiments were entertained regarding the religious position of the lower classes, and that considerable freedom of speculation on theological topics was prevalent.

On this subject the remarks of Professor Max Müller, in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 46ff., the article of M. Auguste Barth, of which a partial translation appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III., p. 329ff. (Nov. 1874), and my *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. p. 366, note, and vol. III., pp. 292ff., may be referred to.

Both in Manu and in the *Mahâbhârata* we find very different ideas and statements about the system of castes in earlier ages. I begin with Manu. In some passages he appears to record the B r â h m a ṇ s as infinitely superior to all other men in virtue of their birth alone; while in other places they are considered as deriving their eminence more from learning or from moral goodness. In the following texts their natural and inherent power and virtue, and that springing from a knowledge of the *Vedas*, are set forth:—i. 93-95, 98-101; ix. 245, 313-320; x. 3; xi. 32, 85, 261, 263. The B r â h m a ṇ is said to be the chief of the creation, and lord of all beings (i. 93, 99); everything in the world is his by right (i. 100). A man of this class who has gone through the *Veda* is lord of the whole world (ix. 245). Brâhmaṇs could destroy a king with all his host; they created fire, the ocean, and the moon, and could create new worlds and gods (ix. 313-15). Whether learned or not, and even when practising undesirable occupations, a Brâhmaṇ is a great divinity (ix. 317, 319). He is a divinity even to the gods (xi. 84). If he retain in his memory the *Ṛigveda*, he would incur no guilt by destroying the three worlds, or eating food received from any quarter: as a clod of earth is dissolved when thrown into a lake, all sin is sunk in the triple *Veda* (xi. 261, 263). With this may be compared the glorification of royalty in chapter vii. 5-8, where a king is said to be composed of eternal portions of different gods, to surpass all beings in glory, to dazzle the eyes of all gazers, and to be a great deity in human form.

Elsewhere, however, it is said that neither the *Vedas*, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor observances, nor austerities, can avail in the case of a man whose nature is corrupted (ii. 97); and that a Brâhmaṇ who knows the *gâyatrî* only, if his life is well regulated, is better than one who knows the three *Vedas* but whose life is unregulated, who eats everything, and who sells all commodities (ii. 118). An unlearned Brâhmaṇ is compared to a wooden elephant or a leathern deer (ii. 157). One who does not study the *Veda*, and employs himself in other pursuits, soon sinks with his descendants, even in this life, to the condition of a Śûdra (ii. 168). Such (ignorant) Brâhmaṇs, as are mere ashes, should not be entertained at *śrâddhas* (presentations of oblations to gods and departed ancestors) (iii. 97, 133, 142). Similarly, low and infidel Brâhmaṇs are declared unworthy of receiving honour at such celebrations (iii. 150, 167). The kind of Brâhmaṇs who should be honoured on such occasions are described in verses iii. 128-131, 143, 145. A father who has been instructed in the *Veda* by his son is to be shunned (iii. 160), as is also a Brâhmaṇ leading the life of a Śûdra (iii. 164). In answer to an inquiry how death can prevail over Brâhmaṇs, Bhṛigu declares that they are subject to death owing to their neglect of the study of the *Veda*, and inattention to propriety of conduct, &c. (v. 2-4). Those Brâhmaṇs who accept gifts from Śûdras for the offering of oblations to fire (*agnihotra*) are contemned as ministers of the base-born (xi. 42f.); and the performance of sacrifices for Śûdras is again reprehended (iii. 178f.). Kings, Kshatriyas, kings' domestic priests, and men skilled in the war of words, are declared to belong to that middle class of beings who are under the influence of the principle of *râjas* or

passion; while other Brâhmaṇs, according to their merits, belong to the lowest and middle class of natures influenced by *sattva*, or goodness (xii. 46, 48f.).

Brâhmaṇs are recommended not to take many presents (iv. 186); and are even enjoined to be averse to receiving honour, and to desire contempt as ambrosia. Though contemned, they may live happily; but the despiser perishes (ii. 167f.).

The three twice-born or upper classes, the Brâhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, and the Vaiśya, should all read the *Veda*. The Brâhmaṇ alone is to teach it (i. 88ff., x. 76-79). But although a Brâhmaṇ's proper work (i. 88) is to read and to teach the *Veda*, to perform sacrifice for himself and others, &c., yet, in case of necessity, he may adopt the profession, or do the work of a Kshatriya, and even of a Vaiśya (x. 81-85). But when acting as a merchant he must abstain from selling certain articles which are specified (x. 86ff.), and among which are mentioned human beings. A Kshatriya is never to usurp a Brâhmaṇ's functions (x. 95). The duty of a Śûdra is to serve the higher classes (i. 91), especially Brâhmaṇs (ix. 334f., x. 122 f.). He is not to become rich, as if he did so, he would vex Brâhmaṇs (x. 129). The *Veda* is not to be read in his presence (iv. 99). He is not to receive instruction in duty, nor to participate in oblations of butter (iv. 80f.). Oblations to fire are not to be performed on his behalf (xi. 42f., see above). Some religious duties, however, are recognized as performable by this class. Although they receive no initiation, like that of the twice-born, and may not employ Vedic texts, they are not forbidden, but encouraged, to imitate the practice of good men, and to perform the acts of the twice-born (x. 126ff.). This the commentator understands of the five great sacraments (see Manu iii. 70ff.). But among these is found the teaching of the *Veda*, and sacrifice by fire. Women are represented as having nothing to do with the *Veda* (ix. 18).

Yet we find from other passages that the more exclusive of these rules were not always observed. In time of calamity (or necessity, explained by the commentator to arise from the absence of any Brâhmaṇ), a student may learn the *Veda* from one who is not a Brâhmaṇ (a Kshatriya, according to the commentator) (ii. 241).* But from iii. 156 it would appear that the function of teaching was occasionally assumed by men of the lowest caste, as along with teachers for hire, and those who pay them (see also xi. 62), the pupils of Śûdras, and their teachers, are also denounced. It is true the commentator understands such teaching of grammar, &c.; but grammar is one of the Vedângas (or appendages of the *Vedas*); and if such ambitious Śûdras studied grammar they would scarcely fail to go on and explore the *Veda* itself. In x. 96, where the king is enjoined to deprive of his wealth and to banish a man of the lowest class who lives by the work of the highest, something of the same kind seems to be referred to. It also appears that Śûdras sometimes ventured to assume the appearance and marks of twice-born men, in which case Manu ordains that they should be killed (ix. 224). From iv. 61 it appears that Śûdra kings were known in the writer's time. From the general tone of his laws, it is scarcely to be supposed that, unless known by experience, such kings would have been contemplated as possible, or probable.†

In the *Mahâbhârata* xii. 2273ff. the duties of the four castes are described. In verses 2295ff. those of the Śûdra are stated. "Prajâpati," it is declared, "created him as the slave of the other castes." . . . 2297. He is not to amass wealth, for by its acquisition, he who is an inferior, would subject his superiors to himself; yet, if permitted by the king, he may indulge his desire (for it). He is to be provided with subsistence by the superior castes, who are to give him articles which they have already used: Brâhmaṇs are to give him their worn-out, cast-off clothes. He is never to abandon his master, but to tend him, especially when he has lost his means. The Śûdra has no property of his own. He may not offer the sacrifices open to the other castes, but must confine himself to the simple domestic offering, the *pâkayajna*, the gift accompanying which is a platter full of grain. A Śûdra named Paijavana (who, however, was a king!) is reported to have given a present of a hundred thousand of

* See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. pp. 426-436, where instances are given of Brâhmaṇs learning esoteric truths from Kshatriyas.

† A Nishâda king is mentioned in the *Râmâyana*. See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II. p. 407, and vol. I. p. 366, note.

these (?) at an *Aindrâgnya* rite.‡ The text goes on to say (ver. 2308) that the *Śraddhâyajna* (offering of Faith) stands at the head of all offerings, for Faith is a great deity, and purifies the worshippers; (ver. 2312)§ that all castes may, without Ṛik, Yajush, or Sâman texts, offer the Prajâpatya sacrifice with the mind; and (ver. 2313) that the sacrifice of Faith is instituted for them all. In ver. 2320, however, we find the immoral sentiment (immoral, that is, if it is to be understood of a man who does not mean to reform his life) that "the thief, the sinner, or the malefactor who wishes to sacrifice is declared to be a good man."

According to Manu iii. 4, a Brâhmaṇ should marry a wife of his own caste: that is, according to verses 12f. of the same chapter, she is the most approved for his first wife; but if he desires to marry again, women in the order of the other classes may be taken, those of the classes next in order being the most approved.|| It does not appear from any text which I have noticed, whether he may also marry a second Brâhmaṇî wife while the first lives. After her death he may marry again (ver. 168), presumably, among others, a woman of his own class. By iii. 13, a Śûdra is only allowed a wife of his own class; a Vaiśya one of his own class and a Śûdra; a Kshatriya, wives of his own, and of the two lower classes; while a Brâhmaṇ may have four wives, one from his own, and one from each of the inferior classes (compare verse 44. and ix. 85 and 149ff., in which last passage the rules of inheritance for the sons of a Brâhmaṇ by wives of the four castes are laid down). In ii. 210, reference is made to a Guru, or religious preceptor, having wives not of his own caste; and in ii. 238ff. it is said, among other things, that a good wife may be taken even from a low caste. In ix. 22f. it is declared that a woman duly united to a husband takes his qualities, like a river falling into the ocean; and that A k s h a m â l â, though of the lowest birth, and Ś â r a n g î, from their union with V a s i s h ṭ h a and M a n d a p â l a, respectively became honourable. If the female descendants of the daughter of a Brâhmaṇ by a Śûdra mother be always married to Brâhmaṇ husbands, their offspring in the seventh generation shall become Brâhmaṇs (x. 64).

And yet verses 14f. of the third chapter go on to say that no instance is recorded in ancient tales of a Brâhmaṇ or a Kshatriya marrying a Śûdra woman, and, further, that men of the three highest classes who marry wives of the lowest caste soon sink to the level of Śûdras. According to some authors (ver. 16), a marriage with a Śûdra wife, or having children or grandchildren by her, tends to the husband's degradation. Verses 17 ff. (compare ver. 155) threaten damnation to a Brâhmaṇ who takes a Śûdra woman to his bed; though the commentator understands this of taking her for his first wife,—a limitation of which the text says nothing. As may be supposed, children by mothers of the same caste with their fathers are alone regarded as of the same class with their fathers; while the children of mothers of the caste immediately below that of their fathers are regarded as only similar in class with their mothers (x. 5f.). A Brâhmaṇ's son by a Śûdra mother is called a N i s h â d a or P â r a s a v a (compare ix. 178, where he is contemptuously spoken of). The son of a Kshatriya father and a Śûdra mother is an U g r a. V i d u r a, therefore, the half-brother of Dhṛitarâshṭra and Pâṇḍu should be called either a Nishâda (or Pârasava), or an Ugra,—his mother being a Śûdra,—according as we look upon him as the son of the Brâhmaṇ sage Vyâsa, or of Vichitravîrya, the Kshatriya king, to whom Vyâsa, his half-brother, raised up seed. He is, however, called in the *Mahâbhârata* a Kshattṛi, one of a mixed class, sprung from a Śûdra father and a Kshatriya mother, according to verse 12 of this (tenth) chapter. The caste nomenclature of Manu and of the *Mahâbhârata* would therefore appear to be different, or the definitions in Manu to be arbitrary or variable. The occupations assigned to Ugras and Kshattṛis are mentioned in verse 49 of this tenth chapter of Manu.

‡ A translation of this passage from the German of Professor Weber will be found in *Original Sanskṛit Texts*, vol. I. p. 366, note 164, which contains other details showing the privileges accorded to the lower classes in ancient times.

§ I find a difficulty as to what is the sense of *upadravah* in this line; *anrig-yajur asâmâ cha prâjâpâtyah upadravaḥ | yajno manîshâyâ tâta sarvavarneshu Bhârata.* The commentator says it means one who runs (to his master), a slave, a Śûdra, who, though he is a stranger to the *Veda*, has Prajâpati for his deity, as Brâhmaṇs have Agni, and Kshatriyas have Indra for theirs; and that all castes may take part in a sacrifice which has a mental reference to a deity but is unaccompanied by offerings.

|| Compare *Mahâbh.* xiii. 2414ff., where a Brâhman having offspring by a Śûdra is declared liable to undergo penance; see also verses 2502-2507 and 2565-2574.

The husband of a twice-married woman, or widow, is to be avoided (iii. 166, 181). Here Manu seems to come into conflict with the *Veda*, at least if we regard the *Atharvan* as one of the sacred and authoritative books; as that work (ix. 5, 27) declares that a *punarbhû*, or twice-married woman, shall not be separated from her second husband, but shall go to the same heaven with him, if they present the *aja-panchaudana* offering (see *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 306).

Any actual discrepancies in the rules which have been noted above seem to proceed from writers of different schools and sentiments, or of different periods. As M. Barth considers, the more rigid provisions represent rather the ideals of strict and exclusive Brâhmaṇs than the current practice of the ages when they lived. It is quite clear, from the details presented above, that in their matrimonial connections the Brâhmaṇs were very far from confining themselves to their own class, and that they were not the exclusive teachers of the *Vedas*.

In the *Mahâbhârata* also we find both passages, in which the inherent virtue of Brâhmaṇhood is strongly insisted upon; and other texts again in which mere priestly birth is represented as of little or no value unless accompanied by learning or moral goodness. Of the former class is the following quotation:—

Mahâbh. iii. 13435. "Whether ill or well read in the Vedas, whether uneducated or educated, Brâhmaṇs are not to be despised, like fires concealed beneath ashes. As a brightly burning fire in a cemetery is not polluted, so, learned or unlearned, a Brâhmaṇ is a great divinity."¶

In the same book we have the following passage, in which both views are stated. The conversation is between a woman and a Brâhmaṇ mendicant, to whose wants she had not attended before those of her own husband, and who told her that even the god Indra bowed before the Brâhmaṇs, who could burn up the earth, v. 13673f. She replies that she did not despise the Brâhmaṇs, whose power and greatness she knew, and by whose anger the ocean was made salt and undrinkable (v. 13677). But she tells him in vv. 13684ff. what qualities constituted a real Brâhmaṇ. "Anger is a foe which abides in the bodies of men. The gods call that man a Brâhmaṇ who abandons anger and illusion; who speaks truth; pleases his spiritual preceptor; who when injured does not retaliate; who conquers his senses; is devoted to righteousness, and to study of the scriptures; who is pure, and controls lust and wrath; who esteems all the world as himself; who knows his duty, and is intelligent; and is addicted to all righteous acts; who will teach, or who will study, who will offer sacrifice, or officiate at sacrifice for others, or will be liberal according to his power, who will lead a life of abstinence, and read the Vedas, and be alert in study."

She adds that duty is hard to understand, that it is declared by the ancients to be proved by the *Veda*, that it is manifold and difficult to determine with nicety; and that he whom she is addressing, though he has a knowledge of it, and is a zealous student, and pure in his life, does not, in her opinion, thoroughly comprehend duty (vv. 13392ff.). She concludes by telling him of a person, a huntsman, who would instruct him. The Brâhmaṇ takes this in good part, and follows her advice. This introduces the story of the Dharmavyâdha, which will be given below.

In the following verses Brâhmaṇs are ranged in different classes, according to their manner of life and conduct:—

Mahâbh. xii. 2870. "Those men who are distinguished by knowledge, and are always impartial, being like Brahma, are known as Brâhmaṇs. Those of the Brâhmaṇs who are accomplished in the *Ṛik Yajush* and *Sâma Vedas*, and are actively engaged in their proper works, are like to the gods. But those low, covetous Brâhmaṇs, who do not practise the works of their caste, resemble Śûdras. A righteous king should subject to taxes and to forced labour all those (Brâhmaṇs) who are ignorant of the *Veda*, and have not kindled the sacred fire. Messengers, idol-priests, astrologers, and sacrificers in villages, with travellers,* are the Chaṇḍâlas among Brâhmaṇs. Sacrificing and domestic priests, kings' ministers, ambassadors, *vârtânukarshakas*,†—such Brâhmaṇs resemble Kshatriyas. A king, when his

¶ Compare a similar passage from the *Mahâbh.* xiii. 2160 ff. quoted in my *Original Sanskrit Texts* (2nd ed.), vol. I. p. 130.

* Explained by the commentator to mean either travellers who cross the sea, or collectors of customs on the highway. † This word is not explained by the commentator.

treasury is empty, should levy taxes from such persons, excepting those who resemble Brahma and the gods" (see above). Compare Prof. Haug's note to his translation of the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, p. 38, where six kinds of Brâhmaṇs are stated to be, according to the Smṛitis as referred to by Sâyaṇa, of a low order.

Mahâbh. xiii. 1542. This passage insists on character. "All the *Vedas*, with their six appendages, the Sânkhya, the *Purâṇas*, birth in a good family, cannot help the Brâhmaṇ who is destitute of good character. The man who has read and thinks himself learned, but who, by his knowledge, seeks to discredit others, he sinks—he does not practise truth—his happiness in the next world is finite," 1550f. Any one giving gifts to men who "traverse this earth praising righteousness but not practising it, and who are addicted to acts which infringe the rules of their caste," goes to hell.

According to verses 1585ff. of the same chapter, the following classes of Brâhmaṇs are not to be invited to *śrâddhas*, viz. "physicians, idol-priests, men practising vain observances, sellers of the Soma-plant, singers, dancers, jugglers, musicians, story-tellers, soldiers, those who act as *hotṛi* priests for, or who instruct, Śûdras, or are the pupils of Śûdras, and those who are salaried to teach, with their pupils, these being sellers (or buyers) of sacred learning," &c. &c. In v. 1644, among the men who go to hell are mentioned those who sell the *Vedas*, or corrupt [or revile] them, or commit them to writing. This punishment seems more deserved by those who are doomed to it in v. 1636, viz. those who deceive a female who is an orphan, or young, or old, or timid, or an ascetic. In vv. 1665f. among persons who get to heaven are mentioned those who obey their fathers and mothers, and are affectionate towards their brothers; and those who, though rich, and strong, and young, are self-restrained and sober. In vv. 4302ff. of the same book (xiii.), among the Brâhmaṇs who elevate their class are named the ascetic, who knows the course of life which leads to final emancipation, those who recite legends (*itihâsas*) to Brâhmaṇs, who are acquainted with grammars and commentaries, who peruse the Purâṇas, and books prescribing legal duties, and who properly, and in due form, practise what they read."

The following passages also occur in the *Mahâbhârata*:—xii. 8751 ff. "He who discerns the imperceptible supreme (One) in all mortal bodies is, when he dies, fitted for absorption into Brahma. Wise men look with an equal eye on a Brâhmaṇ who is distinguished for knowledge and high birth, on an ox, on an elephant, on a dog, and on a man out of the pale of caste. For in all beings, both those which move and those which cannot, dwells the one great Soul whereby this universe is stretched out. When the embodied spirit beholds itself in all creatures, and all creatures in itself, then Brahma is attained."

Mahâbh. iii. 17392. Yudhishṭhira says, in answer to a Yaksha's question on what Brâhmaṇhood depends:—"It is neither birth, nor study, nor Vedic learning which makes a man a Brâhmaṇ; it is good conduct alone which does so. Good conduct must be earnestly maintained, especially by a Brâhmaṇ. He does not decline, whose good conduct does not decline; but he whose virtue is destroyed is (really) destroyed. Students, teachers, and others who reflect on the scriptures are all zealous fools; the man who acts is the real paṇḍit. A man who knows the four *Vedas*, if his conduct be bad, is worse than a Śûdra (*sa śûdrâd atirichyate*: perhaps we should read *na* instead of *sa*, 'is no better than a Śûdra'). He who assiduously practises the *agnihotra* sacrifice, and is of subdued mind, is called a Brâhmaṇ."

Mahâbh. iii. 14075. "A Brâhmaṇ living in evil deeds which cause him to fall, hypocritical, wise to do evil (*dushkṛita-prâjnah*, according to Dr. Böhtlingk's correction), is on the same level as a Śûdra. But regard as a Brâhmaṇ that Śûdra who always practises calmness, truth, and righteousness, for in conduct he is a twice-born man."

Mahâbh. v. 1492. "The man who, whether of humble or of high birth, does not transgress the rules of virtue, who seeks after righteousness, is mild and modest, is better than a hundred well-born men."

Mahâbh. xii. 8925. "The gods call him a Brâhmaṇ by whom alone the æther is, as it were, filled; and by whom (by whose absence ?) it is rendered empty though crowded with (other) men; who is clothed in anything, and fed by anything, who sleeps anywhere; who dreads a crowd as if it were a serpent, ease (or

satiety) as if it were hell, women as if they were corpses; who, whether honoured or dishonoured, will neither be angry nor pleased; who fills all creatures with a sense of security; who will not welcome death nor delight in life, but will await his time, as a servant (his master's) command. . . 8936. The gods call that man a Brâhman who is free from all attachments, who is a sage, existing like the æther, who has nothing of his own, who lives alone, who is tranquil, who lives for the sake of virtue, and practises virtue for the sake of Hari (Vishṇu), whose days and nights exist for the sake of holiness, who has no desires, makes no exertions, neither salutes nor praises any one, and who is free from all bonds."

Mahâbh. xii. 9068. "When a man does not feel fear or inspire others with fear, when he neither desires nor hates, then he attains to Brahma. When a man does not behave sinfully towards any creature, either in act, thought, or word, then he attains to Brahma. The bond of desire is the one sole bond; there is here no other: he who is freed from it is fit for union with Brahma."

Mahâbh. xii. 9081. "He who knows that whereby one who does not eat is satisfied, whereby a man without riches is satisfied, and whereby a man free from affection gains strength—he knows the *Veda.*"

Mahâbh. xiii. 2610. "Let no one honour a well-born man (*jyâyâṁsam*) who is destitute of virtue; but even a Śûdra who understands duty and whose conduct is good should be honoured."

Illustration from the case of Vidura.

It appears from the following account of Vidura, from the *Mahâbhârata*, that the old Indian traditions did not represent the rules confining the study of the *Vedas* to the three twice-born classes as having been strictly or invariably observed.

King Vichitravîrya having died childless, his mother Satyavatî desired the sage Vyâsa, her son by a previous marriage,‡ "to raise up seed to his brother," and Vyâsa consents, as this was according to rule (*Mahâbh.* i. 4256ff.); two sons, Dhṛitarâshṭra and Pâṇḍu, were in consequence born to him by the two widows of Vichitravîrya, and a third son Vidura, by a Śûdra slave-girl, whom one of the queens substituted for herself when Satyavatî desired that a third son should be raised up to the deceased Vichitravîrya; *Mahâbh.* i. 4297ff. and 4303.

Vidura was an incarnation of the personal Dharma or Righteousness, who for some cause had been doomed by a Ṛishi's curse to take a human form (vv. 4302, 4335). The three brothers were, we are told (vv. 4353ff.), from their birth cherished by Bhîshma like sons. They were trained in various accomplishments—in reading, in athletic exercises, in archery, in the *Veda*, in fighting with clubs, in sword exercises; they were taught morals and politics, legendary lore (*itihâsas* and *purâṇas*), and various disciplines, were instructed in the *Vedas* and their appendages. Pâṇḍu excelled in handling the bow, Dhṛitarâshṭra in strength; but no one in the world was equal to Vidura, who was steadfast, and had attained to perfection in righteousness. In consequence, however, of his birth as the son of a Śûdra mother, he was not eligible as king. He is introduced as giving good advice to Dhṛitarâshṭra (ii. 1777ff.), who highly appreciates his counsel, and praises his wisdom (ii. 1790ff.). See also verses 1789, 2002, 2111, 2187ff., 2307ff. In the fifth or *Udyoga parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, Vidura is introduced as delivering a long series of maxims moral and prudential, in conversation with his elder brother Dhṛitarâshṭra, vv. 986-1180, 1221-1560). When, however, he is invited by Dhṛitarâshṭra to proceed yet further with his discourse, he says that as he himself was the son of a Śûdra mother he could not say more, but refers him to sage Sanatsujâta, the son of a Brâhman female (vv. 1569f.), who, by being summoned in thought, arrives. He is again a speaker in vv. 2438, 2455, 4405ff., 5020ff.

In i. 2245 it is said of Vidura that "as Indra in Svarga confers happiness on all living creatures, so Vidura was a constant source of happiness to the Pâṇḍavas."

We have thus in Vidura an instance of a man not belonging to any of the twice-born classes being instructed in the *Veda*. It is true that he is represented as being an incarnation of Dharma or Righteousness; but this may be a subsequent addition to the original story, and so also

‡ Compare *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 459f., and Manu, ix. 59f. See case of Pâṇḍu trying to get his wives to have children to Brâhmans, i. 4677ff., i. 4736ff., and what intervenes. This, however, is a different case from Vyâsa's.

may be the section above referred to, in which, as we have seen, he states his opinion (vv. 1569f.) that he had not the right of teaching all the esoteric doctrines that the son of a Brâhmaṇ mother, as well as father, was empowered to teach. But it seems nearly as much opposed to the recognized rules, that he should have been taught, as that he should teach the *Veda*. The case of Vidura is treated along with that of Dharmavyâdha by Śankara in his commentary on the *Vedânta Sûtras*, 1, 3, 34, 38. It is there decided that the knowledge they possessed was continued to them from a former birth, and that from its transcendent character they could never lose its results. See *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, vol. III. (2nd edition), pp. 295 and 300. The same explanation of Râma's friendship with the Nishâda king Guha, mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*, and referred to above in a note, is given by the commentator on the passage of that poem. See *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. II. pp. 407, footnote.

Stories of the Dharmavyâdha, of Tulâdhâra, of the Dasyu Kâyavya, and of the ascetic who unlawfully instructed a Śûdra.

The story of the Dharmavyâdha, or pious huntsman, here referred to by Śankara, is (as already noticed above), narrated in the *Mahâbhârata*, 13695ff.). A Brâhmaṇ (as we have seen), was told by a woman, with whom he had been conversing, that he would find a person of that description in Mithilâ, from whom he might learn a lesson in regard to duty. He goes thither accordingly and sees the Vyâdha selling flesh (13710). This the Brâhmaṇ regards as a shocking occupation. The Vyâdha explains that it is his ancestral profession (13720). He says he does not kill the animal himself, but buys the flesh of boars and buffaloes from others (13732f.), and sells it, but does not eat any. He proceeds to expatiate on duty at great length. His present occupation, he explains, is the result of his sin in a former birth (13802f.); but it has now become his duty to pursue it (13819). He goes on to say that even those who till the earth necessarily kill many living creatures; that animals slay and eat each other; and that it is impossible to avoid destroying life. The Brâhmaṇ puts several questions, which the Vyâdha answers, and after he has declared to him the doctrine of final emancipation (*moksha*), the Brâhmaṇ remarks that there is nothing which he (the Vyâdha) does not know (14001). Such knowledge, he afterwards says (14049), is difficult for a Śûdra to possess, adding that he cannot look upon him as such, and asking how he fell into that condition. The Vyâdha answers (14052) that in a former birth he was a Brâhmaṇ, had read the *Veda*, and gone through all its appendages (*Vedângas*), and had come into his present condition by his own fault. He had gone out to hunt in company with a king, who was his friend, and had wounded a Ṛishi by accident with an arrow, and had been doomed by his curse to be born again as a huntsman (14062), in a Śûdra family. He had implored the Ṛishi's forgiveness, but he was told that the curse could not be recalled, but that though he became a Śûdra, he should be acquainted with duty, should remember his former birth, and should go to heaven, and after the effects of the curse were exhausted, he should be born again as a Brâhmaṇ (14065ff.).

In this case, final emancipation is not attained, but only heaven, after which only a return to earth as a Brâhmaṇ is promised.

It is worthy of remark that, in another story also (*Mahâbhârata*, xii. 9277ff.), that of Tulâdhâra and Jâjali, an ascetical Brâhmaṇ is represented as being instructed by a person of a lower class than himself. As, however, the latter was a Vaiśya (v. 9342), he possessed the prerogative of reading the *Veda*, as well as the Brâhmaṇ. Jâjali, the Brâhmaṇ, had by his austerities acquired a supernatural power of locomotion, and considered that in this respect there was no one like him (9278ff.); and that he was perfect in virtue (9317); but he was told by a voice from the sky that he was not equal in this respect to Tulâdhâra (9318). He, in consequence, conceives a desire to see the latter, and after a time goes to Banâras, where he finds the merchant in his shop (9321), selling a variety of vegetable products, but no spirituous liquor (9346f.); and asks how he who is following such a mode of life has attained to transcendental knowledge (9340f.). In answer, Tulâdhârâ explains his own just, righteous, passionless, innocent, merciful character and conduct (9348ff.). He goes on to condemn all cruelty to animals, and even agriculture, by which living creatures are killed, and in which oxen are yoked to the plough, and denounces the

slaughter of kine (9377ff.). Jâjali remarks in reply, that if the course proposed by Tulâdhâra were adopted, no subsistence would remain for men,-no sacrifice could be performed, the door of heaven would be closed, and that men would cease to exist; and that this was infidel doctrine (9397ff.). Tulâdhâra answers (9399ff.): "I shall tell you how men may subsist; I am no infidel; nor do I find fault with sacrifice; but one who understands it is rarely to be found. Honour be to the Brâhmaṇical sacrifice, and to those men who understand sacrifice! but Brâhmaṇs abandon their own sacrifice, and practise that of the Kshatriyas. Falsehood, having the semblance of truth, has been introduced by greedy infidels, eager for gain, and ignorant of the declarations of the *Vedas*, (crying) 'give us this, give us that;' (and such a man, *or* sacrifice) is applauded. Hence theft and evil practices prevail. The gods are pleased with any oblation which is duly offered. They may be worshipped by prostrations, with butter, by sacred study, with plants, according to the prescriptions of the scriptures." After some further matter (the sense of which is not always very clear), the following verses occur (9420ff.): "They who possess the character of goodness (*sâttvikâḥ*) attain to that abode of Brahma; they do not desire heaven, nor offer costly sacrifices ensuring renown (*na yajanti yaśodhanaiḥ.*)§ They follow the path of good men; they sacrifice without destruction of animal life; they regard (the produce of) trees and plants, fruits and roots (as the proper oblations). Their sacrifices are not performed by covetous priests seeking for reward. Brâhmaṇs having in view their own good,|| and well skilled in rites, have performed sacrifice, desiring to show kindness to other men. Hence avaricious priests offer sacrifice for those men who are evil." The story ends with a passage in praise of faith (9447ff.), and the announcement that the merchant and the Brâhmaṇ both went to heaven (9462).

In both the preceding stories it is noticeable how Brâhmaṇs are represented as receiving instruction from men of a lower class, and are so far made to occupy an inferior position. The next story also declares the perfection attained by a man of a very low class. It is told in the *Mahâbh.* xii. 4852ff., and relates to Kâyavya, a Nîshâda woman's son. Here an ancient legend is related how a virtuous Dasyu does not forfeit happiness in a future life. A man named Kâyavya, the son of a Kshatriya by a Nîshâda female, a heroic, intelligent warrior, acquainted with the scriptures (*or* learned, *śrutavân*), free from cruelty,¶ fulfilling the duty of men in the four *âśramas* (*or* stages of life), devout, respectful to his teacher (*or* elders), (rising) from the state of a Dasyu, attained to perfection (*siddhi*). After a statement of his merits as a hunter and warrior, the text goes on, v. 4857, "He tended in the forest his parents, who were blind and deaf; and he fed with honey, flesh, roots, and fruits, those who were deserving of respect; and went about paying honour to the Brâhmaṇs who had left their homes and lived in the forest; and he continually killed deer and brought them to them; and for those who would not receive them from this Dasyu, from the fear of (evil report from) men, he placed the deer in their houses, and departed in the morning. Many lawless thousands of pitiless Dasyus chose him for their chief. They said to him . . . 'We will do whatever thou biddest; protect us in a fitting manner, like a father and like a mother.' He replied, 'Kill not a timid woman, a child, or a devotee, nor a man who is not fighting against you; and do not carry off women; . . . always salute a Brâhmaṇ and fight for him; never be hostile to truth, or frustrate what is good.'" Beneficence to Brâhmaṇs is then enjoined, and their great power is celebrated, &c. In verses 4873ff. it is said: "Those Dasyus who act in conformity with the laws of scripture (*dharmaśâstra*), shall soon, notwithstanding their low origin, attain to perfection (*siddhi*). The Dasyus acted according to Kâyavya's injunctions, and enjoyed prosperity, ceasing from their wickedness. By so acting Kâyavya attained to high perfection (*mahatîṁ siddhim*), by promoting the welfare of the good, and putting a stop to the evil deeds of the Dasyus."

I cite yet another story, in which a Śûdra is

§ These difficult words are otherwise rendered by the commentator. He separates *yaśaḥ* (renown) from *dhanaiḥ* (riches), and regards it, in accordance with a Vedic text, as a title of Brahma; and explains the latter word (*dhanaiḥ*) as equivalent to ceremonies which can be performed by means of wealth. He thus makes the sense to be: "They do not worship Brahma with costly rites." ("*Tasya nâma mahad yaśah*" *iti śruter yaśo Brahma* || *dhanaiḥ dhanasâdhyaiḥ karmabhiḥ*).

|| This is otherwise explained by the commentator.

¶ Dr Böhtlingk thinks the reading should be *anṛiśaṁsavân*, not *suñṛiśaṁsavân*, as the Cal. edition reads.

described as practising austerity, and gaining thereby the privilege of being re-born as a Kshatriya; while the Brâhmaṇ, who had given him instruction which he ought not to have given to a low-caste man, is punished for doing so, by being re-born in a lower position than he had formerly occupied.

In *Mahâbh.* xiii. 435ff., in answer to a question of Yudhishṭhira, Bhîshma informs him that instruction should not be given to a person of low caste, and that a teacher errs in communicating it; and in illustration of this principle, tells a tale of a Śûdra who came (v. 443) to a retreat of devotees in a forest, and became desirous of practising austerities (445). He tells the head of the establishment that he wishes to wander forth as a teacher of righteousness (v. 447). He is told he may act as a servant, by doing which he may attain to a higher world (vv. 448f.). After thereupon reflecting what he should do (as he felt himself earnestly devoted to righteousness), he went and constructed for himself a hut of leaves, with a sacrificial enclosure, and receptacles for the gods, and began to perform the ceremonies of religion, and to lead the life of an ascetic (vv. 451ff.). After many days a holy sage comes to the spot, and at the Śûdra's request promises to instruct him in the proper mode of carrying out a rite which he wishes to perform; and after fulfilling the promise he departs (vv. 455ff.). The result of the Śûdra's long asceticism is that, after his death, he is born again in a royal family; while the sage who had instructed him is born in the family of a domestic priest (*purohita*) (vv. 466ff.). The prince (formerly the Śûdra) succeeds his father and rules righteously; while the former sage is installed as his family priest (vv. 471ff.). As the king frequently laughed when he had the priest to officiate for him, the latter takes an opportunity of asking the reason of this. He is informed by the king in reply that, in his previous birth, he was an ascetic Śûdra, and the priest was an austere sage, who had given him instruction regarding a rite; and that while he himself, as a reward for the rite he had performed, had now been re-born in a royal family, the priest who had instructed him had, as a punishment for so doing, been born as a domestic priest, and had thus lost the fruits of his austerities. Such was the reason of his laughing. He then (v. 492) advises the priest to abandon his priestly office and strive after another birth, so that he may not again be born in one lower than that in which he had before existed. The priest accordingly (vv. 494ff.) commences a course of austerities, visits places of pilgrimage, gives presents to Brâhmaṇs, and attains the highest perfection. The moral which the story was intended to point is then repeated, that instruction is to be given by a Brâhmaṇ to men of the three upper twice-born castes alone, and not to a man of an inferior caste (vv. 498ff.).

Here two points may be noted: First, that the instruction given to the Śûdra, though unlawfully given, was yet efficacious towards the end in view; and, again, that the office of a family priest (*purohita*) was not held in much esteem. This appears also from other texts. See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. (2nd ed.) p. 128, note 238.

A story of a different tenor is told in the *Uttara Kâṇḍa* of the *Râmâyaṇa* (sections 75 and 76), where it is related that a Śûdra, who was presumptuous enough to perform austerities, had his head cut off by Râma (see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. p. 120).

In the following verse no objection is made to Śûdras practising austerities. *Mahâbh.* xiii. 2844. "These and many other kings rich in austerity, attained the highest perfection through truth, and gifts of wealth righteously obtained. Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras who have practised austerities, purified by the fire of liberality, go to heaven."

In the following passage it would seem as if even final emancipation were regarded as attainable by low-caste men.

Mahâbh. xiv. 591. "The world of the gods is filled with men who have practised works: but the recurrence of human forms is not desired by the gods. For the highest state is that of the eternal Brahma, in which the body is abandoned, and immortality and constant blessedness are attained. Entering on this course of virtuous life (*dharma*), even those who are of base birth, women, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras arrive at the highest condition; how much more Brâhmaṇs or Kshatriyas, versed in the scriptures, constantly devoted to their duties, and seeking after the world of Brahma."

And the same would also appear from the following verses, *Mahâbh.* xii. 8799 ff., where,

after having described the practice of *yoga*, or abstraction, the writer proceeds: "To a good man thus self-concentrated, impartial in regard to all objects, and constantly abstracted for six months, the verbal Brahma (*Śabda-brahman*)* passes away. Beholding creatures distressed by pain, but regarding with an equal eye clods, stones, and gold, let him (proceeding) on this path cease (from desire), and be free from illusion. Even a man of a low caste, and a woman, seeking after righteousness, may by this road attain to the highest goal. Then the spiritual man beholds through the soul that unborn, ancient, undecaying, eternal (essence), which he can discern when his senses are still, and which is minuter than the minutest, and greater than the greatest."

In *Mahâbh.* xiii. 4835 ff., a Chân ḍâla asks how he may be delivered out of his low condition; and is informed, in reply, that he may obtain final liberation by giving his life for a Brâhmaṇ, but in no other way.

Polyandry in ancient India.

The story of Draupadî leads to the conclusion that polyandry was at one time practised in Hindustan,† as it is still in the Himâlayas, and in one district on the south-west coast of India. I give the following particulars of this story from the first book of the *Mahâbhârata*. In verses 2791ff. it is said that this princess was a blameless damsel, born in the family of Drupada, but that she sprang from the midst of the sacrificial hearth, and was a portion of Śachî (the wife of Indra). She was of the middle height, fragrant as a blue lotus, with long lotus-like eyes, a handsome figure, and very black and curly hair. Draupadî was her patronymic, and her proper name was Kṛishṇâ ('the black').

In verses 6322ff. it is related that a Brâhmaṇ who came to the house where the Pâṇḍavas were living, told them of Kṛishṇâ's wonderful birth, and of her projected *svayaṁvara* (selection of a husband from an assemblage of suitors). The sage Bharadvâja, it appears (6331ff.), had a son called Droṇa, who studied the Vedas, and a friend in king Pṛishata, whose son Drupada used to frequent the sage's hermitage, and play as well as study with Droṇa. Drupada succeeds his father as king, and Droṇa, who, though a Brâhmaṇ, had received instruction in arms‡ from Paraśurâma (who happened to come to the spot), offers his friendship to Drupada. The latter, however, repels the advances of the friend of his boyhood by saying that none but a Vedic scholar can be the friend of such a scholar, none but a charioteer the friend of a charioteer, and none but a king the friend of a king (6342). Droṇa then goes to the city of the Kurus, and Bhîshma appoints him to instruct the Pâṇḍavas, his grandsons (they were really grand-nephews), in the use of arms. When he has taught them, he asks as his fee the kingdom of Drupada (6348). They accordingly conquer Drupada, and deliver him bound to Droṇa. The latter again asks his friendship, and says they shall divide the kingdom (6350). Drupada agrees to be his friend. He does not, however, forget the injury which he has received, and seeks for Brâhmaṇs to perform a ceremony whereby he should get a son, who should slay Droṇa (6355ff.). He succeeds in finding a priest, and a ceremony is performed (6390), and a son, in the accoutrements of a warrior, issues from the sacrificial fire (6391 and 6393ff.), and a daughter of unparalleled beauty rises from the altar (6398ff.). Strange to say, Droṇa, thinking that destiny could not be eluded, and having regard to his own reputation as a teacher of martial accomplishments, undertakes to train Drupada's son Dhṛishṭadyumna in them (6408). When the Pâṇḍavas have heard the Brâhmaṇ's story (nothing further is here said about the *svayaṁvara*), their mother Kunti proposes that they should go to the country of Drupada, as they had already stayed long enough where they were (6412). While they are living in disguise in the country of Drupada, their relative, the sage Vyâsa, comes to see them (6421), and tells them (6426ff.) a story of a certain sage's elegant daughter, who was so unfortunate as not to have got a husband, and who consequently, in order to gain one, practises austerities, by which she pleases the god Śiva, who offers to confer on her the boon which she desires. She asks again and again for a husband endowed with all virtues. The god says she shall have five. She replies that she only wants

* See *Maitrî Upanishad*, vi. 22, and Prof. Cowell's translation; also the *Mahâbh.* xii. 8540 and 9707.

† See Prof. M. Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 46ff., Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Works*, III. p. 340f. note, and Prof. M. Williams' *Indian Epic Poetry*, pp. 99ff.

‡ In verse 6352 he is called a Brâhmaṇ, and in vv. 6379 and 6381 it is said that no Kshatriya was equal to him.

one. Śiva rejoins that she has made the request five times; and that when she should be born in another body she should obtain what she had asked (6433f.). She has accordingly, Vyâsa adds, been born in Drupada's family, and is the destined bride of the Pâṇḍavas whom he was addressing (6434). He therefore, recommends them to stay where they were, and tells them that they should be rendered happy by obtaining her as their wife (6435). They eventually proceed with a multitude of other people to the *svayaṁvara* (6925ff.). On their arrival in the city, they were disguised as Brâhmaṇs, and lived by mendicancy (6951). It appears that Drupada had wished to give his daughter to Arjuna, one of the Pâṇḍavas, although he did not disclose this (6952). He had had a bow made which was exceedingly difficult to bend; and he proclaimed that the man who should bend and string it, and pierce a mark which he had suspended in the air, should gain his daughter's hand (6953ff.). This intimation was repeated afterwards by his son, Dhṛishṭadyumna (6978f.), who then named all the suitors to his sister Draupadî (6980ff.). Great excitement ensued among the suitors (7005ff.). Those who first tried all failed to string the bow (7022ff.). Karṇa, the half-brother of the Pâṇḍavas, had no difficulty in doing so, and in fitting an arrow on the string; but he was at once rejected by Draupadî, and threw down the bow (7027). Sisupâla, Jarâsandha, and Śalya next successively failed (7029ff.). Arjuna then rose out of the midst of the Brâhmaṇs (7034ff.), which caused a sensation among that class, some being displeased and others glad. Some feared that this youth by his failure might make their caste ridiculous; others said that nothing was beyond a Brâhmaṇ's power. "Eating nothing," they said (vv. 7045ff.), "or eating air, eating fruits, practising austerities, the Brâhmaṇs, though weak, are most powerful through their own might. Whether he practises good or evil, a Brâhmaṇ is not to be contemned, whatever task may arrive, easy or difficult, great or small. The Kshatriyas were vanquished in battle by Râma the son of Jamadagnî. Agastya, by his Brâhmaṇical energy, drank up the fathomless ocean." Arjuna, bowing down to Śiva, and calling Kṛishṇa to mind, seized the bow, strung it, took the arrows, and pierced the mark, which fell to the ground (7050ff.). Loud shouts were heard in the sky, and from the assembly; and flowers were showered from the heavens. Draupadî then advanced to Arjuna, smiling, and holding a garland; and he leaves the assembly accompanied by her (7059). The royal suitors, however, were incensed that her father should have wished to give her to a Brâhmaṇ, after their desire to possess her had been kindled; and that the tree whose fruits they had hoped to enjoy had been cut down (7061ff.); as, in such a case the princess's choice should have been limited to Kshatriyas (7067). They therefore rushed at Drupada with the intention of killing him (7072); but he took refuge among the Brâhmaṇs, and two of the Pâṇḍavas, Arjuna and Bhîma, came to the rescue (7073f.). A fight ensues; Arjuna and Bhîma triumph over Karṇa and Śalya; and the Kshatriya kings become alarmed, and propose that the combat should cease for the present. Kṛishṇa then comes forward and declares to them that Draupadî's hand had been properly awarded by her father (7075-7121). Arjuna and Bhîma go with Draupadî to the house where their mother was anxiously awaiting the event, and, in allusion to their being at present in the habit of soliciting alms, they said to her that they had brought something home with them. She, being indoors, and not seeing what it was that they had brought, replied, "Enjoy it all together;" but afterwards, on seeing Draupadî, she exclaimed that she had spoken wrongly (7131ff.); and informs Yudhishṭhira that she had done so inadvertently, and asks his opinion. Yudishhṭhira (7137ff.) addresses Arjuna, and says that he who had gained her must take her as his wife. Arjuna, however, replies that Yudhishṭhira must first wed her, and then the other brothers successively. They then all became enamoured of her (7151ff.). Yudhisṭhira then recollects what Vyâsa had formerly said to them (see verse 6434 quoted above), that Draupadî was destined to be the wife of all the five—which Yudhishṭhira declared she should become (7146). Dhṛishṭadyumna, we are next told, then goes to visit the Pâṇḍavas in the house where they were living, and makes a report of his visit to his father (7168, 7174), who sends his family priest to them (7182), and then a messenger with provisions, &c. and chariots, in which they were to proceed to the royal residence;

which they accordingly do (7203ff.). Drupada asks Yudhishṭhira how he is to know whether they are Kshatriyas, or Brâhmaṇs, or Vaiśyas, or Śûdras (7219f.). Yudhishṭhira assures him that they are Kshatriyas, sons of Pâṇḍu; and that his daughter was like a lotus, which should be transplanted from one pond to another (7225 and 7228). Drupada then proposes that the marriage of his daughter to Arjuna should proceed (7237). Yudhishṭhira, however, informs him that she was to be the wife of all the five brothers, and tells how their mother's word had determined this; and that they had all agreed upon it (7240). Drupada replies that it was quite legitimate that one king should have many wives,§ but not that one queen should have more than one husband; and urges that Yudhishṭhira should not do an immoral act, contrary to custom and the Veda (7244). Yudhishṭhira rejoins that the question was one of a delicate or difficult nature (*sûkshma dharma*); that they could not judge of its character, but followed the path trodden by a succession of ancestors; and adds that their mother had enjoined it (7246ff.). Vyâsa now opportunely arrives (7251). Drupada asks him how one woman can become the lawful wife of several husbands. Vyâsa invites all present to express their opinions (7257). Drupada pronounces such a marriage to be contrary to custom and the Veda, not practised by former generations, and of doubtful propriety. Dhṛishṭadyumna too (7261) will not allow that the question can be settled by calling it a nice point, or that an act can be both right and wrong. Yudhishṭhira, on the contrary (7264), says the practice is lawful, and instances the cases of Jaṭilâ, the daughter of Gotama, and Vârkshî, the daughter of a sage (*muni*), both virtuous women, who were the wives of seven, and ten husbands respectively. He also urges the duty of obeying his mother's command above referred to (7131) as a ground for all the five brothers having Draupadî for their wife; and his view is supported by his mother. Vyâsa also says that the custom is lawful; and that it dated from time immemorial, and promises to explain how. He tells two stories, which, however, do not prove that the practice was an ordinary one. The first (7275—7318) is to the effect (see verses 7310ff.) that the five Pâṇḍavas were, in a former state, five Indras, Arjuna being a portion of the real Indra; and that Śrî, or Lakshmî, who had been assigned to them as their earthly wife, had taken the form of Draupadî (7303ff., 7309ff.). For how, asks Vyâsa,—unless by divine appointment,—could such a woman as Draupadî issue from the earth at the end of a sacrifice? Vyâsa then imparted to Drupada a divine insight whereby he beheld the five Pâṇḍavas and Draupadî in their previous celestial forms (7312ff.). He then goes on (7319ff.) to repeat the other story, which he formerly told to the Pâṇḍavas (see above, vv. 6426ff.), about the sage's daughter who had got no husband, and in order to obtain one, had propitiated Śiva, and had gained from him a promise that she should have five in a subsequent state of existence; and adds that she had now accordingly been born anew at the sacrifice as Draupadî, the destined wife of the five Pâṇḍavas. After this, Drupada can, of course, no longer hold out. He says (7331ff.) that as his daughter had formerly asked, and Śiva had promised her, a plurality of husbands, the god must know what is right: and as he had so ordained it, whether the polyandry was lawful or unlawful, he himself was not in fault. Yudhishṭhira was then first married by the family priest to Draupadî, and afterwards the other brothers were united with her (7339ff.); and she received the benediction of her mother-in-law (7350ff.).

From a perusal of the above narrative, it appears that although Kunti, the mother of three of the Pâṇḍavas, is represented as having at first sanctioned the union of the five brothers with Draupadî only by a mistake, and although supernatural occurrences are introduced to explain and justify the transaction, its lawfulness as a recognized usage, practised from time immemorial, is also affirmed both by Yudhishṭhira and Vyâsa. At the time when the *Mahâbhârata*, as we now have it, was composed or revised, the practice must have so far fallen into disuse, or have become discredited, as to require that special divine authority should be shown in order to render its occurrence among respectable persons conceivable even in earlier ages.

§ See *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, ix. 4. 1. 6, "wherefore also there are many wives of one man."

Difficulty of comprehending what is duty; an illustration of this from the case of Kauśika.

With reference to the expression *sûkshma dharma*, which is noted above, I have to remark that in the *Mahâbhârata* several passages occur in which the nicety of duty, the difficulty of correctly apprehending it, is insisted on. Thus in iii. 13843; "It is the teaching of the ancients that duty is proved by Scripture (*śruti*); for the system of duty is abstruse; it has many branches, and is infinite. In matters of life and death, in regard to marriage, falsehood should be spoken; in such cases, falsehood will serve the purpose of truth, and truth of falsehood. Whatever powerfully conduces to the good of living creatures is to be held as truth; thus righteousness arises from its opposite; such is the nicety of duty." Again: xii. 8640ff. "One who can distinguish between duty and what is not duty (righteousness and unrighteousness), overpasses all difficulties. 8642. A man who acts when he possesses knowledge, succeeds universally. For the unskilful man, though seeking righteousness, practises unrighteousness, or practises to his loss what has only a semblance of righteousness. Desiring to practise duty, he thinks he does so, when he does the opposite, while another man, loving unrighteousness, practises righteousness." This does not seem a good moral doctrine.

In xii. 9259ff., Yudhishṭhira, who generally confines himself to putting short questions, remarks at some length as follows:—

"Duty cannot be completely known. A man has one duty in prosperity, and another in adversity; but how can all states of misfortune be fully known? Duty is considered to be virtuous practice, and virtuous men are marked out by their conduct. But how can what is to be done or not to be done (be known)? for virtuous conduct has no characteristic mark. A common man is seen to practise unrighteousness in the guise of righteousness, and again, a superior person is seen to practise righteousness in the garb of unrighteousness. Again, the standard of righteousness is defined by men who are versed in the scriptures; and we have heard that the doctrines of the Vedas decline in every age. The duties in the Kṛita, Tretâ, Dvâpara, and Kali Yugas (ages), respectively are different, as if ordained according to men's powers. The words of sacred tradition (*âmnâya*) are true; such is the popular understanding (*loka-sangraha*). From these traditions again the all-sided *Vedas* have sprung. If they are the standard of everything, we have a standard here; but if this (so-called) standard be vitiated by error, what becomes of its authoritative character (*pramâṇe 'py apramâṇena viruddhe śâstratâ kutaḥ*)? When violent and wicked men practise any duty, and while doing so pervert any of its settled rules (*saṁsthâ*), they too are destroyed. Do we know so and so, or do we not? can it, or can it not, be known? it is minuter than the edge of a razor, and greater than a mountain. The form of the Gandharvas' city is at first perceived, but when so seen by poets, it again becomes invisible." It seems, however, to be intended that these doubts should be overruled, as the speaker then proceeds thus:—"As cisterns for cattle, as streamlets in a field, the *Smṛiti* (law-code), is the eternal law of duty, and is never found to fail. But some men, from wilful desire of other things (?), and many others for other reasons, follow evil practices." After some other verses, the speaker concludes (v. 9276) by saying that "duty has long been ascertained and declared by wise men of old, and that such practice forms the eternal rule" (*saṁsthâ bhavati śâśvati*).

In the eighth Book of the *Mahâbhârata*, vv. 3439ff., a story is told in illustration of the principle that knowledge is necessary for the successful practice of righteousness. "How strange," it is said, "that a man who is unwise and stupid, though a lover of righteousness, should fall into great sin like Kauśika!" He, it seems, was a devotee well read, and who had determined always to speak the truth (verse 3449). In pursuance of this principle, he pointed out to certain robbers the road which some persons, of whom they were in pursuit had taken, and whom they thus succeeded in killing (vv. 3450ff.). "In consequence of this great sin (vv. 3454ff.), and wicked speech, Kauśika went to a hell of suffering, as he was ignorant of the niceties of duty (*sûkshma-dharmeshv akovidaḥ*). So a fool, who has read little, and does not know the distinctions of duty, and who does not ask a solution of his doubts from ancients, deserves to fall into the deep abyss. . . . The highest knowledge is hard to attain for him who seeks it by reasoning. Many say that duty is known from the *Veda*."

In verse 3560, *dharma* (duty) is said to be

derived from the root *dhar*, because it supports mankind.

In another, Book iii. 13777, *dharma* is declared to be defined in the Smṛiti, (the class of works to which the law-books belong) as just and proper action, and its opposite, *adharma*, to be defined by well-instructed men as the absence of right conduct.||

Prevalence of Nâstikya or Infidelity.

It is evident from the frequent mention of *nâstikya*, or infidelity, in Manu and the *Mahâbhârata*, that disbelief in the *Vedas* was not uncommon in India in ancient times.¶ The following passage occurs in the *Mahâbhârata*, xiii. 2194: "Rejection of the authority of the *Vedas*, transgression of the precepts of the *Śâstras*, and an universal lawlessness, lead to a man's own destruction. The Brâhmaṇ who regards himself as a Paṇḍit, who reviles the *Vedas*, and is devoted to useless logic, the science of reasoning, who states arguments among virtuous men, defeats them by his syllogisms, who is a constant assailant and abuser of the Brâhmaṇs, an universal doubter and a fool, such a man, though sharp in his language, is to be regarded as a child; people regard that man as a dog. Just as a dog assails, to bark and to kill, so such men set to to wrangle and to overthrow the sacred books."

A similar character is described in *Mahâbh.* xii. 6736ff., of which a translation will be found in this Journal for November of last year, vol. V. p. 313.

Here is an answer given (*Mahâbh.* iii. 17402) by Yudhishṭhira to a Yaksha who had asked him what was the path to walk in: "Reasoning has no firm basis; Vedic texts are mutually at variance; there is not one sage whose doctrine is authoritative; the essence of virtue is enveloped in mystery; the (right) path is that which the many follow."

Here is the advice given to doubters (*Mahâbh.* iii. 13461*b*): "Neither this world nor the next, nor happiness, is (the portion) of the doubter. The ancients who possess knowledge have said that faith is the sign of final emancipation. . . . . . 13463*b*. Abandoning fruitless reasonings, resort to the *Veda* and the *Smṛiti*."

The three Vedas not eternal.

In the next passage the eternity of the text of the three *Vedas* is denied. *Mahâbh.* xii. 7497: "Greater than Time is the divine V i s h ṇ u, of whom is this entire universe; that god has no beginning, nor middle, nor end. From his having neither beginning, nor middle, nor end, he is imperishable, and overpasses all sufferings, for suffering is finite. That is declared to be the highest Brahma; that is the highest abode and stage. Attaining to that, men are freed from the condition of Time, and gain final emancipation. . . . 7501. The *Ṛik*, *Yajus*, and *Sâman* verses, dwelling in bodies, exist on the tips of the tongue, are to be acquired by effort, and are perishable. But Brahma is not regarded as having his dwelling or origin in a body; nor is Brahma attainable by effort, nor has he a beginning, a middle, or an end. *Ṛik*, *Sâman*, and *Yajush* verses are said to have a beginning; and things that begin are observed to have an end; but Brahma has no beginning."*

|| In *Bh.* iii. 13777*b* *ârambho nyâyayukto yaḥ sa hi dharmaḥ iti smṛitaḥ anâcharas tv adharmeti etat'sishṭanuśâsanam.*

¶ Compare my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIX. pp. 299ff. entitled *Verses from the Sarva-darśana-sangraha, the Vishṇu Purâṇa, and the Râmâyaṇa, illustrating the tenets of the Chârvâkas, or Indian materialists, with some remarks on freedom of speculation in ancient India.*

* For the opinions of the different Indian philosophical schools for and against the eternity of the *Vedas*, the 3rd vol. of my *Original Sanskrit Texts* (2nd ed.), pp. 70-138, may be consulted.

THE RÂJATARANGIṆÎ.

*From Dr. Bühler's Report of a Tour in search of Sanskṛit MSS. made in Kaśmîr, Râjputana, and Central India.***

As regards K a l h a ṇ a's great Kâvya, the *Râjataranginî*, which, after all, will probably remain the only Kaśmîrian work interesting a larger circle of readers, the Śârada MS. in the Government collection, together with my collation of Gaṇakâk's MS., Sâhebrâm's explanatory treatises and abstracts, the MSS. of the *Nîlamatapurâṇa* and other works, will enable us to restore the text and to explain its meaning with greater accuracy than has hitherto been done. The contents of the first six cantos of the *Râjataranginî* were first made known by Professor H. H. Wilson in 1825, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Next, the text was published in Calcutta, 1835 A.D., by the paṇḍits of the Asiatic Society.

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Some years later Mr. A. Troyer began a critical edition of the text, and in 1840 issued the first six cantos together with a translation of the whole eight cantos, which was completed in 1852. Further, Professor Lassen gave, in his great encyclopædia of Indian antiquities, the *Indische Alterthümer*, a complete analysis of the work; and last, not least, General Cunningham treated its chronology in an admirable article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1848. It may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many Sanskṛitists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to desire. Still this is the case, and if it is taken into consideration how bad the materials were on which the European and Indian scholars have worked, it is not wonderful that a great deal remains to be done. When Professor Wilson wrote, he possessed three bad and incomplete Devanâgarî MSS., which were so inaccurate "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been inpracticable."† The Calcutta edition was made, as Mr. Troyer‡ states, according to a Devanâgarî transcript sent by Mr. Moorcroft from Kaśmîr, and Prof. Wilson's MSS. Mr. Troyer's own edition, finally, was prepared from the same materials and two Devanâgarî copies which Mr. Colebrooke had presented to the library of the India House.§ For the last two books he also used a Devanâgarî transcript procured by Major Broom.‖ Professor Lassen had nothing to work upon but the printed texts.

Both editions are therefore prepared from Devanâgarî copies, made either in India or in Kaśmîr. Not one of the scholars who have written on the book ever saw a MS. in Śârada characters, in which Kalhaṇa's original copy and all MSS. in Kaśmîr were written. Besides, for cantos vii. and viii., which are wanting in the MSS. acquired by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson, the Calcutta paṇḍits had a single MS., Mr. Moorcroft's transcript. After what I have said above on Kaśmîrian Devanâgarî MSS. and the difficulty Kaśmîrian paṇḍits have in reading Devanâgarî, it is not wonderful that the published text, especially of the last two cantos, should contain many corrupt passages. I must say that I think it wonderful that the changes required are not more numerous.. In the first two cantos there are, if obvious misprints and the faulty forms *Gonarda* for *Gonanda, Kâśmirâḥ* for *Kaśmîrâḥ*, are not taken into account, only between forty and fifty corruptions which seriously affect the sense, *i. e.* one in every eleven or twelve verses. Most of these cases are, however, very serious. The ratio of mistakes does not increase much in the following four *tarangas.* Nearly all the corruptions in these six books have been caused by a faulty transcription of single Śârada letters or groups. But in the viith and viiith *tarangas* the case becomes different. The corrupt passages are much more numerous, and some verses as given in the Calcutta edition bear only a faint resemblance to the readings of the Śârada MSS. It seems to me that Moorcroft's transcript of these two cantos must have been very bad, or have shown lacunæ, and that the Calcutta paṇḍits have corrected the text in a very unscrupulous manner.

The new materials which I have procured will enable us to restore the text to a much greater degree of purity than could ever be done with the help of Devanâgarî MSS. But I fear that a small number of doubtful passages will remain, because all Śârada MSS. known to exist at present in Kaśmîr are derived from a single copy which is 100 to 150 years old. This is the MS. of Paṇḍit Keśavrâm, which is regarded in Kaśmîr as the *codex archetypus.* It is an ancient Śârada paper MS. written by an ancestor of the present owner. It bears no date, but its appearance shows that it must be more than a hundred years old. The paṇḍits assert that it is the MS. from which Moorcroft's transcript was made, and from which all now existing copies have been derived. I do not feel certain that the first statement is correct, as Moorcroft's copy is said to have been made from a birch-bark volume.¶ The second statement is, I think, true, as all the copies which I have used and seen, half-a-dozen, are new, and agree in all decisive passages with Keśavrâm's copy. My friends made great efforts to find for me a birch-bark MS, for the loan of which I offered a considerable sum. But they possessed none, and were unable to procure one. P. Chandrâm told me with a sorrowful face that some years ago he had found remnants of a birch-bark MS. among his father's books, and that he had thrown them into the Jhelum,* as he had thought that they were of no value. This is the only news of a Bhûrja MS. of the *Râjataranginî* which I received, and I fear that there is very little chance of any being found hereafter. The possibility of such an event can, however, not be denied as long

† *As. Res.* vol. XV. p. 5.
‡ *Râjat.* vol. I. p. iv.
§ *Ibid.* pp. v. vii. and viii.
‖ *Ibid.* vol. III. p. iii.
¶ Troyer, *Râjat.* vol. I. p. iii.

* It is customary in Kaśmîr to throw remnants of books into the river, in order to preserve 'the face of Sarasvatî' from defilement. The bodies of children that die before teething are likewise consigned to a watery grave. Similar practices prevail on the Ganges and other particularly holy rivers.

as the libraries belonging to the Persian-speaking paṇḍits have not been fully explored.

As regards the efforts of European scholars to translate the *Râjataranginî*, and to use its contents for historical purposes, Professor Wilson's and General Cunningham's results are the most trustworthy. Considering the corruptness of Prof. Wilson's MSS., his article in the *As. Res.* is admirable, and deserves the great fame which it has enjoyed. It is, however, by no means free from bad mistakes, some of which, *e.g.* the misstatement† that Pratâpâditya, the second Karkoṭaka king, had seven sons, instead of three each called by two or three names, have been copied by every succeeding writer on Kaśmîrian history, and have caused mischief in other respects. He has also omitted to make use of the key to the chronology of the Karkoṭaka and the later dynasties, which Kalhaṇa gives (I. 52) by saying that the Saptarshi or Laukika year 24 corresponded to Śaka 1070. General Cunningham has supplied this omission in his paper on Kaśmîr coins and chronology published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1848. The dates which he has fixed for the kings following Durlabhaka require few alterations.‡

As regards Mr. Troyer's work, it is impossible to commend either his translation or the historical and geographical essays attached to it, however much one may admire his patience and industry. He undertook a task very much beyond his strength, for which he was qualified neither by learning nor by natural talent. The *Râjataranginî* is, no doubt, a difficult book, and nobody who attempts to translate it can hope to accomplish his task without making a number of mistakes. But Mr. Troyer has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text, except where Kalhaṇa uses the simplest, plainest language. His renderings of passages in which Kalhaṇa adopts a higher style are invariably wrong, and frequently unintelligible. The worst portions of the translation are cantos vii. and viii. The contents of the historical and geographical essays attached to the translation require no condemnation on my part, as they have beer estimated at their proper value by other Sanskritists. But I must touch on one point discussed in the preface to Mr. Troyer's 3rd volume, regarding which Professor Lassen also has followed him. Mr. Troyer undertakes there, p. x., an inquiry about the authorship of the last two cantos of the *Râjataranginî*, and comes to the conclusion that the author of these cannot be the same person as he who wrote the first six *tarangas*, because (1) he allots to the last two hundred and fifty years double the number of verses which he devotes to the preceding three thousand two hundred years; (2) because the references and *résumés* made in cantos vii. and viii. to and of events narrated in the first six cantos are not exact; (3) because the viiith canto relates events which occurred after A.D. 1148, the year given (I. 42) as the date of the book. To these arguments Professor Lassen adds the difference in style observable in the two portions,§ and that in some MSS. the last two books are wanting.

These arguments, plausible as they may seem, are altogether insufficient to support the assertion made. For, with regard to the first point, Mr. Troyer himself has already given the objection which is fatal to it. If a chronicler narrates the events of his own time and of the period immediately preceding it at greater length than the remoter portions of the history of his country, that is no more than might be expected. His materials were more abundant, and the events in which he himself, his immediate ancestors and his patron, played their parts possessed for him an interest which the more distant times did not possess. This interest which he took in his surroundings explains also why he introduces details which to men of later times appear trivial and uninteresting. To say less would also have been considered an offence against the Râja, in whose employ Kalhaṇa's father was. The answer to the second argument, the discrepancies between statements in the first six cantos and the last two, is that these discrepancies are mostly, if not wholly, due to Mr. Troyer's bad materials and faulty translation. It is true that the successor of Chandrâpîḍa is called Lalitâditya in the ivth canto, and Muktâpîḍa in the *résumé* attached to the viiith. But it is not the fault of Kalhaṇa that Mr. Troyer has not been able to understand the verses (iv. 42, 43) in which it is clearly stated that Muktâpîḍa and Lalitâditya are names of the same person. As regards the third argument, Mr. Troyer has overlooked the fact that Kalhaṇa states that he *began* to write his poem in Saptarshi Saṁvat 24. It contains more than 8000 *ślokas*, and it cannot be supposed that the author completed it in the same year. The fact that he mentions in the viiith book events which happened nine years later, in Saptarshi Saṁvat 33,‖ merely proves that the poem was not completed until after that time.

Professor Lassen's additional arguments are not more conclusive. Neither myself nor the

† *As. Res.* vol. XV. p. 43.

‡ The necessity of *one* alteration in the date of Lalitâditya and his predecessors, whose reigns Kalhaṇa has antedated by thirty years, has been recognized by General Cunningham himself: compare above, p. 43, note, *Anc. Geog.* p. 91, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 102 *seqq.*

§ *Ind. Alt.* vol. III. 481.

‖ *Râjat.* viii. 3193, Troyer.

Kaśmîrians have been able to detect any difference in the style of the two parts. The incorrect Calcutta text is hardly a fair basis for the argument. The MSS., finally, in which the last books are wanting are secondary sources, modern transcripts, which prove nothing.

While it is thus not difficult to meet the objections against Kalhaṇa's authorship of cantos vii. and viii., there are some important facts in favour of it. The first is that the viith canto ends too abruptly to be considered the real conclusion of a *mahâkâvya*. Secondly, the obscurity of the narrative in the viiith canto, of which Mr. Troyer justly complains, is such as might easily be caused in a contemporary history by the chronicler's omitting, as superfluous, details which were so notorious that he might presume them to be known to his readers, or, to speak more accurately, to his hearers. Thirdly, and this is the really conclusive argument, Jonarâja, who wrote, about two hundred years after Kalhaṇa, a continuation of the history of Kaśmîr, states distinctly that his predecessor's work ended with the reign of Jayasiṁha, which is described in the viiith canto of the *Râjataranginî*. He says in the beginning of his poem,

śrîgonandamukhair dharmasaṁmukhair â kaleḥ kila |
kaśmîrakâśyapî bhûpair apâli guṇaśâlibhiḥ || 4 ||
teshâm abhâgyahemantaniśâtamasi tishṭhati |
naiva kaśchid apaśyat tân¶ *kâvyârkânudayâch chiram* || 5 ||
rasamayyâ girâ vriddhâṁ nityatâruṇyam âpipat |
atha śrîjayasiṁhântâṁ tatkîrtiṁ kalhaṇadvijaḥ || 6 ||

(4) "From the beginning of the Kaliyuga, righteous kings, endowed with (*great*) qualities, the first among whom is the illustrious Gonanda, protected Kaśmîr-land, the daughter of Kaśyapa.

(5) "As long as the darkness of night (*caused*) by the winter of their misfortune lasted, nobody perceived them. For late it was ere the sun of poetry rose.

(6) "Then the Brâhmaṇ Kalhaṇa gave, by the nectar of his song, eternal youth to the ancient fame of these (*princes*), *the last among whom was the illustrious* Jayasiṁha."*

I think we may trust Jonarâja's word and accept it as a fact that Kalhaṇa wrote the whole of the eight cantos which go under his name.

A new attempt to translate and to explain the *Râjataranginî*, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience. As no commentary on the book exists, it is firstly necessary to study all the Kaśmîrian poets and writers on Alaṁkâra who immediately preceded and followed Kalhaṇa, especially the *Haravijaya*, the *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramânkadevacharita*, Jonarâja's and Śrîvara's *Râjataranginîs*, &c. A close attention to their style, similes, and turns of expression will solve most of the difficulties which arise from Kalhaṇa's style. Next the ancient geography of Kaśmîr must be minutely studied. Nearly all the localities mentioned can be identified with more or less precision by means of the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*, the *Mâhâtmyas*, the later *Râjataranginîs*, Sâhebrâm's *Tîrthasaṁgraha*, the set of native maps procured by me, the large map of the Trigonometrical Survey, and the works and articles of modern travellers and archæologists. But some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmîr. As regards the use of the contents of the *Râjataranginî* for the history of Kaśmîr and of India, a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Kârkoṭa dynasty. Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Gonandîya dynasties is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen, and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhishṭhira, and boasts that "his narrative resembles a medicine, and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (*statements of previous writers regarding*) kings, place, and time,"† must always be sharply controlled, and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts. The improbabilities and absurdities in the first three cantos are so numerous that I think the *Râjataranginî* ought to be consulted much less for the period comprised therein than has been done by the illustrious Orientalists named above. I would not fill the intervals between the historically certain dates of Aśoka, Kanishka, and Durlabhaka by cutting down the years of the kings placed between them by Kalhaṇa. But I would altogether ignore all Kaśmîrian kings for whose existence we have no evidence from other sources, be it through Indian or foreign writers, or through coins, buildings, and inscriptions. If Kalhaṇa had merely given the stories reported by Suvrata and other predecessors, there might be a hope that we could re-arrange them. But we do not know what materials he had, nor how he treated them, if in any particular case he lengthened or shortened the reigns, and if he displaced or added kings or not. General Cunningham's constant search for Kaśmîrian coins, which,

¶ *Tân* instead of *tâṁ* is the reading of the Śârada MSS.

* In the text the adjective translated by 'last of whom,' &c. refers to *fame*. But the general sense of the passage is the same.

† *Râjat.* i. 21.

as I learn from his private letters, is attended with good results, will eventually throw a great deal of light on this dark period of Kaśmîrian history. Full certainty regarding the era of the Guptas, which now seems to be near at hand, will also assist in settling the dates of some kings, especially of Toramâṇa, Mâtṛigupta, and Pravarasena.

For the period which begins with the Kârkoṭa dynasty not much remains to be done. The discovery of the initial date of the Saptarshi or Laukika era, which I obtained in Kaśmîr, makes it possible to fix the reigns of the kings after Avantivarman with perfect accuracy. The beginning of the Saptarshi era is placed by the Kaśmîrians on Chaitra Śudi 1 of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaliyuga, and the twenty-fourth year, in which Kalhaṇa wrote, is consequently the Saptarshi year 4224. For

From Kaliyuga 25 to the beginning of the Śaka era is	3154
From Śaka Saṁvat 1 to Kalhaṇa's time..	1070
Total—Saptarshi years.........	4224

My authorities for placing the beginning of the Saptarshi era in Kali 25 are the following. First, P. Dayarâm Jotsî gave me the subjoined verse, the origin of which he did not know :—*kaler gataiḥ sâyakanetravarshaiḥ saptarshivaryâs tridivaṁ prayâtâḥ | loke hi saṁvatsarapattrikâyâṁ saptarshimânam pravadanti santaḥ* || "When the years of the Kaliyuga marked by the 'arrows and the eyes' (*i.e.* the five and the two, or, as Indian dates have to be read backward, 25) had elapsed, the most excellent Seven Ṛishis ascended to heaven. For in the calendar (*used*) in the world‡ the virtuous declare the computation of the Saptarshi (*years to begin from that point*)."

Paṇḍit Dayarâm explained the verse as I have done in the above translation, and added that each Saptarshi year began on Chaitra Śudi 1, and that its length was regulated by the customary mixing of the *chândra* and *saura mânas*.

The correctness of his statement is confirmed by a passage in P. Sâhebrâm's *Râjataranginîsaṁgraha* where the author says that the Śaka year 1786 (A.D. 1864), in which he writes, corresponds to Kali 4965 and to Saptarshi or Laukika Saṁvat 4940.§ One of the copyists, too, who copied the *Dhvanyâloka* for me in September 1875, gives in the colophon, as the date of his copy, the Saptarshi year 4951. These facts are sufficient to prove that P. Dayarâm's statement regarding the beginning of the Saptarshi era is not an invention of his own, but based on the general tradition of the country. I do not doubt for a moment that the calculation which throws the beginning of the Saptarshi era back to 3076 B.C. is worth no more than that which fixes the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3101 B.C. But it seems to me certain that it is much older than Kalhaṇa's time, because his equation 24 = 1078 agrees with it.¶ It may therefore be safely used for reducing with exactness the Saptarshi years, months, and days mentioned in his work to years of the Christian era. The results which will be thus obtained will always closely agree with those gained by General Cunningham, who did use the right key.

In concluding this long discussion on the *Râjataranginî*, I will add that the specimen of a new translation given below is merely intended to show *some* of the results which may be obtained by means of the new materials brought by me from Kaśmîr. I do not pretend that all the difficulties requiring consideration have been brought to a final solution.

*Specimen of a translation of the Râjataranginî.**

Canto I. śl. 1-107.

[1]Reverence to Hara, who (*grants his worshippers' desires*) like the tree of Paradise, who is beautified by a seam of light emitted by the jewels that are concealed in the heads of the serpents adorning him, and in whom those freed (*from the circle of births*) find eternal rest. [2]May both the halves of the body of the god. whose cognizance is the bull,

‡ The word *loke*, 'in the world,' alludes to the appellation *Lokakâla*, *Laukika* saṁvatsara.

§ *Râjataranginîsaṁgraha*, fol. 4*b*, l. 7 : *tatrâdya śâke 1786 kaligate 4965 saptarshichârânumatena saṁvat* 4940.

¶ The use of the Saptarshi era in Kaśmîr and the adjacent hill states, which continues even in the present day, has first been pointed out by General Cunningham.

* The text has been corrected according to two collated copies written by Ganakâk Paṇḍit, G[1] and G[2], and the copy in the Government collection, *Ch.*

To avoid confusion in the reference marks for the notes following, the respective ślokas are referred to by their numbers.

[1] G[1] and other MSS. read *bhûshâhîna* instead of *bhûshâbhogi*. Hara or Śiva wears a serpent instead of a *jenvî* or Brâhmaṇical string, and smaller serpents instead of bracelets. The Kaśmîrians, being Śaivas, consider Śiva to be the Universal soul, and expect to be absorbed by him. The preposition *pra* in *pralîna*, which adds force to the meaning of the root, indicates that absorption is complete,—*sâyujya*, not *sâlokya*. This verse, it seems to me, is an imitation of Bâṇa's *Śrîharshacharita* I. 1.

[2] A translation of this verse being impossible, I have given a paraphrase. Almost the whole of its first three *pâdas* is made up of a succession of puns. Śiva is invoked in his form of Ardhanârî, in union with Pârvatî. The words describing the appearances of the two halves are chosen in such a manner that they apply to the female form and its dress as well as to the male. *Kuṇḍalin*, lit. 'containing a ring,' must be taken as, I think, in the sense of 'earring' or 'necklace' when it refers to Pârvatî. *Jaladhijachhhâyâchha* if referred to Pârvatî must be dissolved into *jaladhijachhâyâvadachchha*; if referred to Śiva into *jaladhijachchhâyayâ chha or âchchhâ = âchhâdita*. In the description of Śiva, *ahina* must be dissolved into *ahînâm ina*, 'the lord of of snakes,' Vasuki, who serves Śiva instead of the *jenvî*. 'Near the ear' *may* also be referred to the sentence beginning with *dadhat*. The ocean-born poison is the Halâhala which Śiva swallowed.

and who is united with his spouse, give you glory,—the left, whose forehead wears a saffron *tilaka*, the colour of whose throat near the ear is fair like the splendour of the ocean-born (*moon*), and is enhanced by numerous tremulous earrings, and whose breast wears a faultless boddice;—the right, whose forehead carries a flame of fire, the colour of whose throat near the ear is concealed by the ocean-born (*poison*) and enhanced by numerous playfully moving snakes, and whose chest is encircled by the lord of snakes as by a boddice.

[3] Worthy of praise is that quality of true poets, whatever it may be, which enables them to sprinkle with the nectar (*of their song*), and thereby to preserve, their own bodies of glory as well as those of others. [4] Who else but poets resembling the Prajâpatis (*in creative power*), and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men? [5] If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the existences which he is to reveal to men, what other indication would there be that he is a divine seer? [6] Though for its length the story does not show much variety, still there will be something in it that will gladden the virtuous. [7] That virtuous (*poet*) alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, restricts his muse to the exposition of facts. [8] If I narrate again the subject-matter of tales of which others have treated, still the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons. [9-10] How great a cleverness is required in order that men of modern times may complete the account given in the books of those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was! Hence in this narrative of past events, which is difficult in many respects, *my* endeavour will be to *connect*.

[11]The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles (of Kaśmîr) have been lost in consequence of (*the appearance*) of Suvrata's composition, who condensed them in order that (*their substance*) might be easily remembered.

[12] Suvrata's poem, though extensive, does not easily reveal its meaning, since it is made difficult by misplaced learning.

[13]Owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in Kshemendra's 'List of Kings' free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet.

[14]Eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected, as well as the (*Purâṇa containing the*) opinions of the sage Nîla.

[15]By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants, at the laudatory

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[4] The Prajâpatis are fourteen in number. They caused the successive creations of the world.

[10] Verses 9 and 10 form a *yugalaka*, or couplet, *i.e.* they are interlaced in their construction: compare *Kâvyâdarśa* I. 13, comment. They give the 'reasons' alluded to in v. 8. *Yat* must be taken as a conjunction, depending on *kiyad idaṁ dâkshyam*. *Sarvaprakâraskhalite*, 'which is difficult in many respects,' means literally 'in which there are dangers of mistakes of all kinds.'

[11]Suvrata apparently wrote a *hand-book* of the history of Kaśmîr, to be committed to memory in the schools, which, as usual in India, caused the loss of the more ancient books on the same subject.

[13] Kshemendra has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time. In the colophon to the *Samayamâtrikâ* he informs us that he finished that work during the reign of king Ananta, in the 25th year of the Kaśmîrian cycle, 1050 A.D. In the *Suvṛittatilaka* he again states that he wrote under Ananta, and finally he says that he finished the *Daśâvatâracharita* in the year 41 of the Saptarshi era, under Ananta's son, Kalaśa. Ananta ruled from Saptarshi S. 4, or 1029 A.D., to Saptarshi S. 39, or 1064 A.D. In the latter year he nominally abdicated in favour of, and performed the *abhisheka* of, his son Kalaśa. The Saptarshi year 41 corresponds to the year 1066 A.D. Consequently Kshemendra's literary activity falls in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. The other data which he gives regarding his family and himself are that his grandfather's name was Sindhu, and his father's Prakâśendra. The latter was a great patron of Brâhmaṇs, and expended three *kotiś*, or thirty millions (of what is not stated), in various benefactions, and died a fervent worshipper of Śiva. Kshemendra himself seems to have been in his youth a Śaiva, but later he was converted to the Vaishṇava-Bhâgavata creed by Somâchârya. He studied the *Alaṁkâraśâstra* under the famous Abhinavaguptâchârya. He wrote several of his compositions at the request of a Brâhmaṇ called Râmayaśas, and one, the *Vrihatkâthamanjarî*, at the command of one Devadhara, who seems to have occupied a prominent position in the Brâhmanical community of Kaśmîr. His surname, Vyâsadâsa, is given in all his works except in the *Kalâvilâsa*. Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 302 *seqq.*, vol. V. p. 29. Kshemendra wrote also, as Kalhana asserts, a *Râjâvali*, or history of the Kaśmîrian kings. The work exists now in Kaśmîr. But the hope that it would soon come into my hands, which I expressed in my preliminary Report, has hitherto not been fulfilled. I do not, however, yet despair of ultimately obtaining it.—Dr. Bühler's *Report*, pp. 46, 48.

[14] The *Nîlamatapurâṇa* is supposed to have been narrated by Vaiśâmpâyana, a pupil of Vyâsa, to king Janamejaya. It opens with a question of the king inquiring why no ruler of Kaśmîr took part in the great war between the Kurus and Pâṇḍus. The sage's answer is for the greater part lost, but from the fragments remaining it is clear that it contained the account of the expedition of Gonanda I. to Mathurâ in aid of Jarâsandha, in which he was slain, and of the attempt by his son Dâmodara to avenge his father's death when Kṛishṇa came to a *svayaṁvara* in the Gandhâra country, just as these events are told in the *Râjataranginî*, i. 57-66. A few verses have been saved, which mention the *svayaṁvara* and the destruction of Dâmodara by Kṛishṇa, as well as the coronation of Dâmodara's pregnant queen and the birth of Gonanda II. They prove that Kalhaṇa took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the Purâṇa. Janamejaya's next question is why Kṛishna considered Kaśmîr so important as to secure for it a king by the coronation of a woman. Vaiśâmpâyana hereupon states that the country is an incarnation of Satî or Umâ, and describes its various excellencies, adding that it was formerly a lake called Satîsaras. This statement gives an opportunity to introduce the story of the creation of Kaśmîr by Kaśyapa. The Purâṇa then goes on to narrate the 'rites proclaimed by Nîla,' which occupy two-thirds of the work; and it concludes with some miscellaneous *Mâhâtmyas*. From this it will appear that it is an attempt to connect special Kaśmîrian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the *Mahâbhârata*, as well as to supply a sufficient authority for the rites prevalent in Kaśmîr.

[15] According to my interpretation of this passage, Kalhaṇa used four kinds of records:—(1) the *pratishṭhâśâsana* edicts, *i.e.* inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such

inscriptions, and at the manuscripts, the worry arising from many errors has been overcome.

[16] Four among the fifty-two rulers whom they do not mention, on account of the loss of the records, viz. G o n a n d a and (*his successors*), have been taken from the *Nîlamata* (*Purâṇa*).

[17-18] Having read the opinion of the Pâśupata Brâhmaṇ Helârâja, who formerly composed a 'List of Kings' in twelve thousand ślokas, Padmamihira entered in his work the eight kings, beginning with L a v a, who preceded A ś o k a and his successors. [19] Those five kings also, among whom Aśoka is the first, Śrîchhavillâkara declared (*to have been taken*) from the fifty-two (*lost ones*). For his verse is as follows :—

[20] "The five princes from A ś o k a to A b h i m a n y u who have been enumerated have been obtained by the ancients out of the fifty-two (*lost ones*)."

[21] This narrative (*of mine*), which is arranged (*in proper order*) and resembles a medicine, is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (*statements of previous writers regarding*) kings, place, and time. [22] What intelligent man does not rejoice at such a compilation, which treats of the numberless events of ancient times? [23] When (*the hearer*) has well pondered over the sudden appearance of created beings that lasts for a moment only, then let him consider how this (*work*) is hallowed by the prevalence of the Sentiment of Quietism. [25] Imbibe, therefore, straight with your ears this 'River of Kings,' which is made agreeable by an undercurrent of powerful sentiment.

[25] Formerly, from the beginning of the Kalpa, the land in the womb of Himâlaya was filled with water during the periods of six Manus, (*and constituted*) the *Lake of Satî*. [26-27] Afterwards, when the period of the present Manu V a i v a s v a t a had arrived, the Prajâpati K a ś y a p a caused Druhiṇa, Upendra, Rudra, and other gods to descend, caused (*the demon*) J a l o d b h a v a, who dwelt in that lake, to be killed, and changed it into a country, known on earth as K a ś m î r. [28] Nîla, the lord of all Nâgas, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond (*filled with*) the stream of the Vitastâ's newly rising water, protects it. [29] There Gaurî, though she has assumed the form of the Vitastâ, still keeps her wonted inclinations. (*For in her river-shape*) she turns her face towards the ravine (*guha*) just as (*in her godlike form*) she turns it towards (*her son*) Kumâra (*guha*); (*in her river-shape*) the mouths of the Nâgas (*nâgamukha*) drink her abundant water) *âpîtabhûripayâḥ*), just as (*in her god-like form*) (*her*) elephant-faced (*son Gaṇeśa nâgamukha*) drank her abundant milk (*âpîtabhûripayâḥ*). [30] That (*country*) is inhabited by

as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth; (2) the *vastuśâsana* edicts, *i.e.* inscriptions recording grants of things, chiefly of land, and perhaps also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates; (3) *praśastipaṭṭas*, tablets containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings, *e.g.* the A r b u d a p r a ś a s t i in Vimalasâha's temple at Dailwarra; (4) the *śâstras*, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the MSS. of Sanskrit books, which in Kaśmîr mostly give at the end some information regarding the author, and the king under which the author wrote, together with the date. This interpretation comes nearest to Professor Lassen's,—vide *Ind. Alt.* 2nd ed. II. 20,—from whom I differ in the interpretation of *śâstra* 'only.' He gives too narrow an explanation, considering it to mean 'law-books.'

[16] G o n a n d a is the reading of all Śârada MSS. Regarding the meaning of *âmnâya*, 'tradition, records,' see below, i. 45, and the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. The four rulers intended are Gonanda I., Dâmodara I., Dâmodara's queen, and Gonanda II.: see above, note to śl. 14.

[17] M a h â v r a t i n, which I have translated by *Pâśupata*, has been usually taken to mean simply 'ascetic.' I should think that a particular sect of ascetics is intended. A Helârâja, who was a Kaśmîrian and lived probably in the 9th or 10th century, has written a commentary on the *Vâkyapadîya*, of which fragments are still extant; see Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 285. This and the following verses show that Kalhaṇa believed that altogether seventeen kings out of the number of the fifty-two forgotten ones had been rescued.

[21] *Yuktâ*, 'arranged in proper order,' may possibly mean *parimitâ*, 'of limited extent.' The verse gives the key to Kalhaṇa's method.

[23] *Śânta* is one of the nine *Rasas*, 'flavours or sentiments,' which ought to underlie poetic compositions. Kalhaṇa, who has to tell many commonplace events, and to go through endless repetitions, is anxious to prove, in order to guard his character as a poet, that his composition is not *nîrasa*.

[24] The correct reading in the last *pâda* is that given by *Ch.* and G[2]: *spashṭam anga rājataranginî*. G[1] has *spashṭamarmâ*. *Anga* to be construed with *nipîyatâm*.

[25-27] The legend of the Satîsaras, of its desiccation, and of the destruction of the demon Jalodbhava (Water-born), who had made it his dwelling and devastated the surrounding countries, is told at considerable length in the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*,—see the Report. The gods who assisted Kaśyapa were Brahma, Vishṇu, and Śiva, as stated in the text.

[28] The annotator of G[1] says: *virîvishayasthitena nîlanâgena viranâga iti prasiddhena*. Conventionally the Vitastâ is said to take its origin from the circular pond called Vîrnâg or Virnâg, situated about fifteen miles to the south-east of Islâmâbâd, at the foot of the Banihâl. Kalhaṇa calls this pond *âtapatra*, 'the royal parasol,' of Nîlanâga, who is supposed to reside in or under it. The circular form is the *tertium comparationis*, which suggested the far-fetched simile. Regarding the Vîrnâg compare Vigne, *Travels*, vol. I. p. 332.

[29] The annotator of G[1] says; *guhonmukhî—kumârasammukhî kandarâbhimukhî cha; nâgamukhâpîtabhûripayâ nâgamukhena gajavadanena âpîtam bhûri payo dugdham yasyâḥ sâ nâgânâm mukhena âpîtam bhûri payo yasyâḥ [sâ cha]; yathâ gaurî pârvatî, vitastâtvam yâtâpyuchitâm ruchim ichchhâm nojjhati na tyajati svaruchim sedikâm [svechchhâm] nâtyajad gaurî nochitâm ruchim guhonmukhîtyâdikâm vîtastâtve tyajati tatrâpi tatkâraṇam*. The *guha* or ravine towards which the Vitastâ turns her face is the pass of Bâramûla.

[30] The Nâgas are the snake-formed deities supposed to reside in the springs and lakes of Kaśmîr. They appear to be originally personifications of the former. The winding, restless water easily suggested the comparison with a snake. Now the large springs are called *nâg*, and the small ones *nâginy*, the latter being supposed to be the residence of the females of the Nâgas. The Nâga Mahâpadma is the tutelary deity of the Vollur lake, which is frequently simply called M a h á p a d m a; *vide, e.g., Śrîkaṇṭhacharita* III. 9, and Jonarâja thereon. Śankhanâga resides, according to Sâhebrâm's *Tîrthasaṁgrahâ*, in a lake near D h a r i n d h a in the Lâr parganâ.

Nâgas gleaming with the splendour of various jewels, chief among whom are Śankha and Padma, and thus resembles the town of Kuvera, the depository of the nine treasures (*chief among which are Śankha and Padma*. [31]To shelter, forsooth, the Nâgas, who came afraid of Garuḍa, it stretched its arms out behind its back in the guise of a wall of mountains. [32]There (*worshippers*) touching the wooden image of the husband of Umâ at the Tîrtha called Pâpasûdana obtain heavenly bliss and final liberation as their rewards. [33]There the goddess Sandhyâ produces water on an arid mountain, and shows the presence of merit and the absence of sin. [34]There self-created fire, rising from the bowels of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers. [35]There the goddess Sarasvatî herself is seen in the form of a swan swimming on a lake situated on the summit of Mount Bheḍa, which is sanctified by the source of Gangâ. [36]There, even now, drops of sandal-ointment offered by the gods are to be seen in Nandikshetra, in the temple, the habitation of the immortals. [37]There, after looking on the goddess Śâradâ, (*the worshipper*) at once reaches the river Madhumatî and Sarasvatî who is worshipped by poets. [38]In that (*country*) which is adorned by Keśava-Chakrabhṛit, and by Śiva-Vijayeśa and other (*deities*), there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum which has not its Tîrtha. [39]The country may be gained by the strength of spiritual merit, but not by armies of soldiers. Hence people there are chiefly anxious about the next world. [40]There the rivers are free from dangers and aquatic monsters, provided with warm bath-houses for the winter, and comfortable places (*for descending*) into the current. [41]Out of respect, as it were, the Sun does not fiercely shine, during summer even, in that (*country*) which has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented. [42]Things that elsewhere in the three worlds are difficult to find, viz. lofty halls of learning, saffron, icy water, and grapes, are common there. [43]In these three worlds the jewel-producing region of Kuvera is (*chiefly*) worthy of praise; (*next*) in that (*region*) the mountain range, the father of Gaurî; and (*thirdly*) the country which is enclosed by that (*mountain*).

[44]Fifty-two princes, beginning with Gonanda, who in the Kaliyuga were contemporaries of the Kurus and of the sons of Kunti, have not been recorded. [45]In consequence of the demerit of those rulers of the land of Kaśyapa, no poets of creative power, who produced their bodies of glory, existed in those times. [46]We pay reverence to that naturally sublime craft of poets, without whose favour powerful princes are not remembered, although the earth that is girdled by the oceans was sheltered under the protection of their arms as in the shade of a forest. [47]Without thee, O brother composer of true poetry, this world does not even dream of the existence of its chiefs, though they rested their feet on the temples of elephants, though they won prosperity, though maidens, moons of the day, dwelt in their palaces,—without thee the universe is blind: why (*praise*) thee with a hundred hymns?

[48-49]Some (*authors*) have given this (*following*) calculation of the years wrongly, as they were deceived by the statement that Gonanda and his successors protected Kaśmîr during twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight years in the Kaliyuga, (*and*) that the Bhârata (*war*) took place at the end of the Dvâpara yuga. [50]If the years of the kings,

31 Kaśmîr is here personified and supposed to face Garuḍa, who chased the Nâgas through the 'Gate' of the Valley at Bâramûla. Under this supposition it becomes intelligible how the mountain-chains surrounding the country can be likened to 'arms stretched out behind the back.' The story of the Nâgas' flight to Kaśmîr occurs in the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*.

32 The locality intended is the Pâpasûdana Nâga or Kapaṭeśvara Tîrtha, said to be in the Koṭahâra parganâ near Islâmâbâd,—*Kapaṭeśvara, Koṭihirâgrâme Koṭahârâkhya-vishaye*, G¹. Comp. *Śrîkanṭhachar*. iii. 14, where the other name of the Tîrtha, Kapaṭeśvara, is given.

33 *Bhranganâmavishye devalagrâmasamîpasthale*, G¹. The story how a certain Mâyâvaṭu, son of Bhadreśvarâvaṭu, brought the goddess Saṁdhyâ-Gangâ to his *âśrama* near Deval, in the Bhring parganâ, is told at length in the *Saṁdhyâmâhâtmya*.

34 The Svayambhû Agni here mentioned is the burning naphtha spring in Kamrâj or Kramarâjya, near Sopur. So also G¹—*Kramarâjye svaimiti prasiddhaḥ*, and Sâhebrâm, *Tîrthasaṁgraha*.

35 *Bheḍagiri—bheḍabhranḍâ iti prasiddaḥ*, G¹.—The *Gangâmâhâtmya*, No. 56, mentions the hill.

36 *Nandikshetra nâranâmagrâme*, G¹. It is situated in the Lâr parganâ, not far from the Haramukuṭagangâ, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter: see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng*. vol. xxxv. p. 226. So also Sâhebrâm's *Tîrthasaṁgraha*. Surâvasaprâsâda *may* be a noun proper.

37 *Śrîśaile harel iti prasiddhe sthale daraddeśasamîpavartini*, G¹. Hôril is found on the Survey map in the parganâ Khuyahâm, to the north of the Vollur lake, into which latter the Madhumatî falls, as marked on the native map. Sâhebrâm (*Tîrthasaṁgraha*) places these *tîrthas* in Lolâb.

38 *Chakrabhrit keśavaḥ chakradhara iti prasiddhaḥ; vijayeśa îśâna bijyabrâr iti prasiddhaḥ*, G¹. The ancient fane of Vishṇu-Chakradhara lay on a low hill, situated about a mile below Bîjbrôr, on the left bank of the Vitastâ, and is now called Châkdhar. See Report, p. 18. Bîjbrôr or Bîjbihâr is too well known to need any further notice. But compare Vigne, vol. II. p. 23.

43 The father of Gaurî, *i.e.* the Himâlaya.

44 Kuvera is the regent of the North, and the possessor of the nine treasures.

48-49 In the text read कश्मीरान्. कश्मीरा : not काश्मीरा is the form which the Śárada MSS. give everywhere. The two verses form a *yugalaka* [or *yugma*, and v. 48 must therefore be taken as depending on the words *iti vârttayâ vimohitâḥ*, which occur in the second half of v. 49.

50 I am unable to make anything of this verse, except by taking *tad* in *tadvivarjitât* to refer to *bhâratam* in v. 49. For with any other explanation the figures must come wrong, and the verse must be taken as part of the *pûrvapaksha*, which it is not, as the opinion of the 'some' has been done with in the preceding verses.

the length of whose reigns is known, are added together (*and deducted*) from the past period of the Kaliyuga diminished by that (*time which elapsed between the beginning* of the Kaliyuga and the Bhârata war), no rest remains. [51]When six hundred and fifty-three years of the *Kaliyuga* had passed away, the Kurus and Pâṇḍavas lived on the earth. [52]At present, in the twenty-fourth year (*of*) the Laukika (*era*), one thousand and seventy years of the Śaka era have passed. [53]On the whole, at that (*time*) two thousand three hundred and thirty years have elapsed since (*the times of*) Gonanda (*III.*). [54]Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are supposed (*to be comprised*) in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two kings. [55]Since the Great Bear moves in a hundred years from one Nakshatra to the other, the author of the (*Bṛihat*) *Saṁhita* has thus given his decision regarding its motion in this (*verse*) :—

[56] "When king Yudhishṭhira ruled the earth, the Munis (*the Great Bear*) stood in (*the Nakshatra*) Maghâḥ. His reign fell 2526 years (*before*) the Śaka era."

[57]The brave king of Kaśmîr, Gonanda, was worshipped by the region (*of the North*), which Kailâsa illuminates (*with the glitter of its snow*), and rolling Gangâ clothes with a soft and transparent garment.

[58]The earth, afraid as it were that Śesha's poison might be infused into her, left the serpent's body and rested in the king's arm that was adorned by the jewel sacred to Garuḍa. [59]Jarâsandha, his relation, called on him for help. With a large army he besieged Mathurâ (*the town*) of Kṛishṇa. [60]When he pitched his camp on the banks of the Kâlindi, the fame of (*the hostile*) warriors vanished together with the smiles of the females of Yadu's race. [61]Once (Balarâma), whose ensign is the plough, engaged that warrior in battle in order to protect his entirely shattered forces. [62]The bridal wreath of the goddess of victory faded, since it remained long in her hands, while those warriors of equal strength were combating each other and the result was doubtful. [63]Finally, with limbs wounded by each other's weapons, the king of Kaśmîr embraced the earth, and the scion of Yadu the goddess of victory.

[64]When that brave warrior travelled the road which great heroes easily find, his son, the illustrious Dâmodara, protected the earth. [65]That proud prince, though he had obtained a kingdom which was distinguished by affording the means of enjoyment, found no peace because he brooded over the death of his father. [66]Then that (*hero*), whose arm, (*strong*) like a tree, was burning with pride, heard that the Vṛishṇis had been invited by the Gândhâras on the banks of the Indus to an approaching *svayaṁvara*, and that they had come. [67]Then, (*impelled*) by excessive fury, he undertook on their approach an expedition against them, obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised. [68]In the battle with those (*foes*), the bride, who was about to choose a husband and was impatient for the wedding, was slain. Then the celestial maidens chose husbands in Gândhâra-land. [69] Then the valiant ruler of the earth-disc, attacking, in the battle with the god whose wea-

[52] Regarding the Laukika or Saptarshi era see above.

[55] The proper reading, instead of the उचारे of the Calcutta and Paris editions, is तचारे, which is found in all Śârada MSS. The mistake has been caused by the resemblance of Śârada *u* and *ta*.

[56] The verse is found *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ* xiii. 3. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. v. p. 79. From vv. 48-56, which give the chronological basis of the *Taranginî*, it would appear that the statement of the *Nîlamata*, which makes Gonanda II. contemporary with the Kurus and Pâṇḍavas, was the starting-point common to Kalhaṇa and other chronologists. But while others placed Gonanda in the beginning of the Kaliyuga, guided by the tradition that the Great War occurred at the end of the Dvâpara-yuga, Kalhaṇa used Varâhamihira's date of Yudhishṭhira, 2526 before Śaka, or 653 Kali, to determine the beginning of the Gonandas. He then cut down or lengthened (*vide* above, v. 21) the reigns of the Kaśmîrian kings until their sum total *plus* 653 agreed with the time which had elapsed between the year in which he began to write, viz. 1070, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. His equation, as has been shown by Wilson, Troyer, and others, is—

Years of the Kaliyuga		52 lost kings of Kaśmîr—	
elapsed in Śaka 1070=1070			1266 (v. 54)
From Gonanda III.	+ 3179		+ 2330 (v. 53)
			+ 653 (v. 51)
	4249		4249

The expression *prâyaḥ*, 'on the whole' (v. 53), and '*mâtâḥ* (v. 54), seem to me further proof (in addition to the direct statement, v. 21) that Kalhaṇa did make alterations in the length of the reigns. Another circumstance shows with what levity Kalhaṇa worked. The period of 1266 years begins with the reign of Gonanda I.; and Gonanda II., his grandson, was, according to the Purâna, the infant king when the Great War began. Nevertheless he assumes that the coronation of Yudhishṭhira occurred in the first year of Gonanda I., as he places the whole of the 1266 years after Kali 653, in which Yudhishṭhira was installed on the throne, according to Varâhamihira.

[57] This as well as the subsequent stories regarding Dâmodara and Gonanda II. down to v. 82 are taken from the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*.

[58] The jewel sacred to Garuḍa, the destroyer of the Serpents, is the emerald. Read देहं with the Śâr. MSS. instead of the nonsensical देशं of the editions.

[64] The road to Svarga is meant.

[65] Read here and elsewhere with the Śârada MSS., कारमीरिक: instead of कारमीरक:

[66] Regarding the Gândhâras on the Sindhu see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* pp. 47*seqq.* Vṛishṇi is another name of the Yâdavas. In the text read दर्पोष्णदोर्द्रुम:

[68] The editions read निघ्नतिस्म, a corruption of which is also found in *Ch.*; G[1] reads निघ्यतेस्म. The former reading gives no sense. *Nighnyate* is apparently intended for *nihanyate*, and it is just possible that Kalhaṇa used this incorrect form on account of the metre.

[69] The numerous puns on the word *chakra*, 'disc,' make this verse dear to the paṇḍit. *Chakradhârâdhvanâ*, 'by the road of the edge of the battle-disc,' may also be dis-

pon is the war-disc, the disc-like array of his enemies, went to heaven by the road of the edge of the battle-disc.

[70] Then Kṛishṇa, the descendant of Yadu, ordered the Brâhmaṇs to install the (*king's*) pregnant widow Yaśovati on the throne. [71] When the servants of the *slayer of Madhu* at that time became angry, he, reciting this stanza from the Purâṇa, reproved them :—

[72] "Kaśmîr-land is Pârvatî; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires (*his own*) welfare will not despise him."

[73] The eyes of men, who formerly regarded with contempt (*the country and the queen*) as two females and objects of enjoyment, looked (*after this speech was uttered*) upon (Yaśovati) as the mother of her subjects, and (*upon the country*) as a goddess. [74] Then in the proper month that queen bore a son endowed with divine marks, a new sprout of the family tree which had been consumed by fire. [75] The Brâhmaṇs performed the coronation and kindred rites for him together with his *jâtakarma* and other sacraments.

[76] The infant king received afterwards, together with the regal dignity, the name of his grandfather, Gonanda. [77] Two nurses were engaged in rearing him, the one gave her milk, the other complete prosperity. [78] The ministers of his father, who were careful that his being pleased should not remain without results, bestowed wealth upon his attendants even when he smiled without cause. [79] When his officers, unable to understand his infant stammering, did not fulfil his orders, they considered themselves guilty of a crime. [80] When the infant king ascended his father's throne, he whose legs were dangling in the air did not banish (*from the hearts of his subjects*) the desire (*to prostrate themselves*) before his footstool. [81] When the ministers decided the legal and religious disputes of the subjects, they listened to (*the opinion of the child*) whose locks were moved by the wind from the *chaurîs*. [82] Thus (*it happened that*) the king of Kaśmîr, being an infant, was taken neither by Kurus nor Pâṇḍavas to assist them in the Great War.

[83] Thirty-five kings who followed him, and whose names and deeds have perished in consequence of the loss of the records, have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion.

[84] After them Lava, an ornament of the earth, a favourite of Victory that is clothed in a flowing robe of fame, became king. [85] The roar of his army, which roused the universe from its slumber, sent—O wonder!—his enemies to their long slumber. [86] Constructing eighty-four lâkhs of stone buildings, he founded the town of Lolora. [87] After giving to a community of Brâhmaṇs the *agrahâra* of Levâra on the Lîdar, the valiant (*king*) endowed with blameless heroism and splendour ascended to heaven.

[88] He was succeeded by his son Kuśa, expert in (*deeds of*) prowess and lotus-eyed, who gave the *agrahâra* of Kuruhâra.

[89] After him his son, the illustrious Khagendra, the destroyer of his foes' elephants, the first (*among men*), an abode of valour, obtained the throne. [90] He settled the two principal *agrahâras* (*of Kaśmîr*), Khâgi and Khonamusha, and afterwards he ascended to that world which he had bought by deeds brilliant like (*the glitter of*) Śiva's (*teeth in*) smiling.

[91] After him came his son Surendra, possessed of priceless greatness, who was an entire stranger to guilt, who far surpassed Indra's state, and whose deeds astonished the world. [92] Surendra

solved, *châkradhârah kṛishṇah, sa eva panthâstena*, and be translated 'the road (being opened to him by) Kṛishṇa, the bearer of the war-disc.' To be slain by a person as holy as Kṛishṇa would, of course, ensure heaven to the victim. Perhaps Kalhaṇa intended it to be taken both ways.

[73] The earth, or the country, is always considered to be the *wife* of the king.

[76] Read with the Śârada MSS. नेरन्द्राश्रिया, instead of नगेन्द्रश्रिया as Troyer and the Calcutta edition have.

[77] The second nurse is the *earth*, or the country, which gave him entire prosperity.

[78] It is the custom and the duty of kings to give presents whenever they are pleased. The ministers watched lest the custom should be neglected in the case of the infant king, and gave presents whenever he smiled.

[80] Read हृता with the Śârada MSS. instead of कृता. *Utkanṭhâ pâdapîthasya*, 'the desire for the footstool,' means the desire to use the footstool for its legitimate purposes, *i.e.* for touching it with the forehead. The persons from whom this desire was *not* taken are not named. Hence it must be understood that everybody, all the king's subjects, are meant. The verse is intended to furnish another proof that this infant king was respected quite as much as any grown-up ruler could have been.

[86] Lolora is situated in the parganâ of Lolâb.

[87] The Ledarî, now called Lîdar or Lidder, is the principal northern tributary of the Vitastâ, which it joins not far from Bîjbrôr. An *agrahâra* is an *inâm* village given to a Brâhmaṇ, or to a community of Brâhmaṇs. See the *Pet. Dict. s. v.* Levâra is said to exist now.

[88] According to the annotator of G^1, Kuruhâra is now called Kular, and Paṇḍit Dayarâm places it in the Dachhinpara parganâ.

[90] Khâgi is said to be the modern Kâkâpur (Wilson and Troyer), and Khonamusha is Khunmoh, as was first recognized by General Cunningham. See also above Report, pp. 4 *seqq.* The Śârada MSS. read Khonamusha instead of Khunamusha, and to this form points also the Khonamukha of Bilhana, *Vikramânkacharita*, xviii. 7. As there is hardly any difference between the pronunciation of *o* and *u* in Kaśmîr the spelling does not matter much.

[91] *Dîrghamaghavattâvahishkṛitaḥ*, of which a double translation has been given, may be taken as two words, *dîrgham* and *aghavattâvahishkṛitaḥ*, or as a compound, *dîrgha-maghavattâ-vahishkṛitaḥ*. The author, like a good Kavi, loves his pun dearly, and intends it to be taken both ways.

the lord of the gods, could not be compared to this Surendra, since he is called *śatamanyu*, 'the harbourer of a hundred grudges,' and *gotrabhit*, 'the destroyer of the *gotra*,' while (Surendra *of* Kaśmîr) deserved the surname *śântamanyu*, 'he whose anger is appeased,' and *gotrarakshî*, 'the protector of the *gotra*.' [93]That illustrious (*ruler*) founded on the frontiers of Dardistân a town called Sauraka, and a *vihâra* called Narendrabhavana. [94]In his own kingdom that prince of great fame and of holy works founded a *vihâra*, called Saurasa, which became famous for piety.

[95]After this king had died without issue, Godhara, a scion of a different family, protected the earth, together with the best of mountains. [96]Liberal, pious Godhara went to heaven after presenting the *agrahâra* Hastiśâlâ to the Brâhmans.

[97]His son Suvarṇa after him distributed gold (*suvarṇa*) to the needy, he who caused to flow, in the district of Karâla, the brook Suvarṇamaṇi.

[98]His son Janaka, comparable to a father (*janaka*) of his subjects, founded the *vihâra* and *agrahâra* called Jâlora.

[99] After him the illustrious Śachînara, whose disposition was forgiving, protected the earth as ruler, his commands gaining obedience (*from all*). [100] That king founded the two *agrahâras* Śamânjasa and Aśanâra. Without male issue he obtained half of Indra's seat (*after death*).

[101] Next, the son of that king's grand-uncle, and great-grandson of Śakuni, the veracious Aśoka, ruled the earth. [102] That king, cleansed from sin and converted to the teaching of Jina, covered Śushkaletra and Vitastâtra with numerous *stûpas*. [103] Within the precincts of the Dharmâraṇya Vihâra in Vitastâtrapura stood a *chaitya*, built by him, the height of which the eye was unable to measure. [104] That illustrious prince built the town of Śrinagarî, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses. [105] This virtuous (*prince*) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayeśvara, and built a new one of stone. [106] He whose dejection had been overcome built within the enclosure of Vijayeśvara, and near it, two (*other*) temples, which were styled Aśokeśvara. [107] As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious (*king*) obtained from Śiva, the lord of creatures, a son in order to destroy them.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

EARLY COINS OF WESTERN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—I have been lately occupied in examining the materials for Sir Walter Elliot's promised contribution to the series of the new *Numismata Orientalia*, "On the Coins of Southern India."

In attempting to decipher the too frequently obliterated legends of the various subdivisions of the coins of the western coast bearing Aśoka characters, I have been more than ever impressed with the aid to be derived from duplicate and other examples, which, though seemingly unimportant, may chance to contribute to a practised eye a missing link in the interpretation of the authorized version of the local Prâkṛit, so confessedly uncertain in its best forms of orthography. In the hope of enlisting the sympathies of collectors of coins in the Western Presidency, I desire to appeal,

92 Indra or Surendra is called Gotrabhit because he opened the *gotra* or pen in which the Paṇis had confined the cows of the gods: see the quotations in the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. In the case of the Kaśmîrian Surendra, *gotra* must be taken to mean his own or the Brâhmaṇical families.

93 Neither the places mentioned in this verse nor the one mentioned in the next can be traced, though the former, as they were situated on the frontier of Dardistân, must have been somewhere in Lolâb or Khuyahâm. It is important to note that Kalhaṇa ascribes the foundation of *vihâras*, or Bauddha monasteries, to the last king of the line of Gonanda, whom he must have placed somewhere about the 18th century before our era.

95 Read with *Ch.* and G[1] सभूधरवरां धराम्. 'The best of mountains' is the Himâlaya.

96 According to the annotator of G[1], Hâstiśâlâ is now called Asthîhil. My Brâhmaṇ friends did not know this latter name, and thought that Hashîr might be meant.

97 The annotator of G[1] explains Karâle by *ârdhavane*, and *Suvarṇamaṇikulyâ* by *Sunnamayâ nâḍo*, the *nâla* or brook called Sunnamayâ, marked on the native map in the parganâ Âḍhvan or Arwin.

98 My Kaśmîrian friends identify Zâvur, near Zevan, with Jâlora.

100 According to the annotator of G[1] the modern equivalent of Śamângasa is Śvângas, in the Koṭahâra pargaṇa, near Islâmâbâd, and of Aśanâra, the well-known village of Chrâr.

102 Read शुष्कलेत्रवितस्तात्रौ. The annotator of G[1] remarks: *śushkaletraḥ hukhletra vitastâtra vithavatra, śushkaletraścha vitastâtraścha tau śushkaletravitastâtrau dvitîyâdvivachanam etat.* Both localities, the names of which are usually pronounced *Hoklitr* and *Vethvotr*, are situated in the Devasar parganâ to the south of Islâmâbâd. The former is marked on the Trig. Surv. map as Vithawiter.

103 Read यत्कृतम् with G[1] and *Ch.* instead of the यत्कृत्यम् of the editions.

104 General Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.* p. 95) has fixed the site of the ancient Śrinagarî near Pândrethân (Purâṇâdhishṭhâna). Some Paṇḍits think that it lay near Islâmâbâd.

105 Regarding the very remarkable *prâkârâs* of the Kaśmîrian temples see Cunningham, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xiii. pp. 340 *seqq.*

106 *Aśokeśvara* must be explained as a *madhyamapadalopî* compound by *Aśokena nirmita îśvara*, 'the (temple of) Śiva built by Asoka.' The same remark applies to the numerous names of temples ending in Îśvara and beginning with the name of a person, which occur further on.

107 The Mlechhas intended here are probably the Greeks: *vide* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (2nd ed.) vol. II. p. 285.

through your columns, to all those who may happen to possess specimens of any of the types enumerated below, for their contributions to the publication in question.

The plates for Sir W. Elliot's article will be delayed, pending a reasonable interval, to test the result of this application, or will otherwise be supplemented by woodcuts illustrating the more tardy arrivals.

I have been permitted to examine and avail myself of the information I have obtained from the Kolhâpur collection, which has already formed the subject of an article for the *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* by Bhagvânlâl Indraji. I have expressly reserved myself from any inspection of his paper, which is in the hands of Dr. Codrington, in order that I might give you my free and independent interpretation of the legends on the coins themselves, and the inductions I have arrived at in regard to their bearing upon an important social question in India of olden time.

I allude to the ascendancy of women. Some indication of such a state of things was to be gathered from the inscriptions in the Nâsik caves, so ably translated by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists* in London. The coins, however, very materially extend and confirm the references to the acknowledged supremacy of the female line in royal houses, and lead up to a much more extended inquiry as to the parallel practices of other cognate or associate nations.

Our earliest intimation of the existence of such customs is derived from Herodotus, who testifies to its exceptional currency with the Lycians, but it is clear that similar ideas prevailed among (perhaps extended to) the Etruscans.*

Herodotus' statement is as follows :—

"The Lycians are, in good truth, anciently from Crete; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians . . . . Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians: the Milyæ of the present day were in those times called Solymi . . . . Their customs are partly Cretan, partly Carian. They have, however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line."†

There need be no reserve in admitting that Hetairism held an important place in the earlier civilization of India, and indeed constituted a potent feature in the state policy.‡

Polyandry and polygamy equally prevailed in ancient times, as we learn from the annals of the *Mahâbhârata*, where Arjuna is seen to have brought home a new wife in addition to his one-fifth share of the charms of Draupadî, who was held in common by the joint brotherhood. I will leave our native friends, who are so much more at home in such matters, to follow out these investigations, and conclude this section of the inquiry by drawing attention to the curious identity of the rights of females in Australia—a country linguistically and otherwise associated with the Indian Peninsula, and once, if we are to credit geologists, even constituting a continuation of the continent itself. "The Australians (according to Sir G. Grey) are divided into great clans, and use the clan name as a sort of surname beside the individual name. Children take the family name of the mother, and a man cannot marry a woman of his own name: so that here it would seem that only relationship by the female side is taken into account. One effect of the division of clans in this way is that the children of the same father by different wives, having different names, may be obliged to take opposite sides in a quarrel."

Sir G. Grey further remarked upon "the practice of reckoning clanship from the mother, and the prohibition of marriage within the clan, as all bearing a striking resemblance to similar usages found among the natives of North America." §

* The mention of the mother's name after the father is a genuine Etruscanism. It is general in Etruscan epitaphs, and was retained even under Roman domination, for some sarcophagi bear similar epitaphs in Latin with *natus* affixed to the mother's name. (Dennis's *Etruria*, vol. I. p. 133.) "Her grave was honoured with even more splendour than that of her lord" (p. lxi.; conf. also vol. II. p. 170.) This custom the Etruscans must have derived from the East as it was not practised by the Greeks or Romans; but the Lycians always traced their descent through the maternal line, to the total exclusion of the paternal —a fact recorded by Herodotus, and verified by modern researches—Fellows's *Lycia*, p. 276. The Etruscans, being less purely Oriental, made use of both methods,—*ib.* vol. I. p. 133; see also vol. I. pp. xli. xliii; "Tuscos Asia sibi vindicat"—Seneca, vi. 9; Hor. *Sat.* 6, &c.

"Of marriages, no representation which has not a mythical reference has yet been found on the sepulchral urns of Etruria, though most of the early writers on these antiquities mistook the farewell scenes, presently to be described, —where persons of opposite sexes stand hand in hand,—for scenes of nuptial festivity."—Dennis's *Etruria*, vol. II. p. 189.

† Rawlinson's edition, vol. I. p. 173.

‡ Bachofen and McLennan, two of the most recent authors who have studied this subject, both agree that the primitive condition of man, socially, was one of pure Hetairism, when marriage did not exist; or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, communal marriage, where every man and woman in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another. Bachofen considers that after a while the women, shocked and scandalized by such a state of things, revolted against it, and established a system of marriage with female supremacy, the husband being subject to the wife, property and descent being considered to go in the female line, and women enjoying the principal share of political power. The first period he calls that of Hetairism; the second of *Mutterrecht*, or mother-right.—Sir J. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, p. 67.

§ E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind* (1865), p. 280.

There is another most important point disclosed by the legends of coins Nos. 1-4, in the termination "Kura," or *Kula* as I read it,|| which is rendered as 'a race, a family, tribe, caste,' &c. In the present instances it seems to refer to some joint brotherhood, descendants of the ancestral female by different fathers. These communities in process of time may have grouped themselves into small republics, and the title of *Râṇâ* which heads the legends may perchance refer to the senior or anonymous president for the time being.¶

The subjoined list of the Western coins which I have now seen for the first time has been restricted to a technical description of the types, and an avowedly tentative effort at the decipherment of the legends. The time has not yet arrived for any consecutive arrangement of the coins, either in the numismatic or historical sense. I trust that the future contributions of local collectors will enable me to make it more perfect hereafter.

List of Coins.

No. 1. Copper mixed with lead. Size, *full* 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 220 grains. 4 specimens. 2 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—A crude figure of a bow and broadly barbed arrow.*

Reverse—Chaitya with four rows of inverted semicircles surmounted by a half-moon (as in the Sâh coins), to the *right* a tree with seven leaves or branches, at the foot an oblong pedestal with serpent in a wavy line, and dots.

Legend—रञो मदारी पुतस सिवाल कुरस
Raño Madârî-putasa Sivâla-kurasa.

No. 2. Copper and lead. Size 7 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 228 grains. 3 specimens. 1 Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., 2 the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—Device a crude strung bow, and broadly barbed arrow set for use.

Legend—रञो वासिठो पुतस विदवाय कुरस
Raño Vâsiṭho-putasa Vidavâya-kurasa.

Reverse—A *chaitya* consisting of three layers of inverted semicircles with dots, surmounted by a *chakra* (or figure of the sun?). To the *left* a tree with seven broad leaves. At the foot, an oblong square pedestal, in which is figured a serpent, with the wavy intervals filled in with dots.

I place the children of the daughter, V â s i ṭ h î, earlier than the children of the mother, G a u t a m î, on numismatic grounds. It is possible that the greater glories and ancestral status of the grandmother eclipsed, in process of time, the subdued claims of the memory of the mother.

No. 3. Copper and lead. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale. Weights range from 180 grains to 196. The execution of the dies is inferior. Numerous specimens.

Obverse—The usual crude bow and arrow.

Legend—रञो गोतमी पुतस विदवाय कुरस
Raño Gotamî-putasa Vidavâya-kurasa.

Reverse—Chaitya device as above, but the tree is attached to the main device and rises directly from the end of the pedestal.

Many of these coins are what is technically termed 'double-struck,' *i.e.* the dies of a successor or adverse contemporary have been repeated *over* the original impression, without any re-fashioning of the piece itself.

These indications are often of much value in determining the relative priority of the conjoint rulers. In the present instance they authorize us to place the children of M a d â r î before those of G a u t a m î.

In one case a coin of the Gautamî-putras has had the identical legends of the original *obverse* repeated over the surface of the old *reverse.*

No. 4. Copper. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale. Weight 28 grains. 2 specimens, Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs.

Obverse—Bow and arrow.

Legend—रञो वास · · · तसविदवाय कुरस
Raño Vasi [ṭho-pu] *tasa Vidavâya-kurasa.*

Reverse—Chaitya, with tree growing on the summit.

In the field of one specimen, a monogram possibly composed of the letters तचा *tachâ* or तवा *tavâ* ; on the other example, a letter exactly like a Chaldæan-Pehlvi ℵ (*a*).†

No. 5. Copper and lead. Size 7. Weight 230 grains. Sir Walter Elliot.

Obverse—Device similar in some respects to No. 1, but the *Chaitya* is solid, surmounted with the usual half-moon, while the tree is replaced by a conch-shell, balanced on the other side of the field by a flower. Serpent at foot.

|| Molesworth, in his *Marâṭhî Dictionary*, notices several variants in the orthography of this word कळ कूल "the compounds changing the उ into ऊ and the ल into ळ." The interchanges of *R* and *L* and *Ṛ* and *L* may be followed in Caldwell's *Grammar*, but it is sufficient for our purpose to notice that the ancient inscriptions fully authorize the optional use of *Râja* or *Lâja*.

¶ It is remarkable how apparently complete an organization of corporate bodies and trade guilds is seen to have existed in Western India when the Nâsik cave inscriptions were put upon record.

I myself long ago suggested that some such explanation might apply to the Sâh series in a republican system of rotation, which should account for the *over-full* list of the kings whose names occur on the coins.

* The same typical form of bow and arrow occurs frequently on the earliest specimens of the ancient *punched* coins. See my Indian Weights, *Numismata Orientalia*, Part I. Plate, figs. 12, &c.

† See *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. III. (1868) p. 264. It may be as well to add that the occurrence of such a letter on the local coinage need not necessarily reduce the age of the pieces so inscribed to the modern limits assigned to extant Pehlvi inscriptions. The letters of these alphabets are found on very early specimens of the Parthian coinage.

Legend.—रञो गोतमी पुतस सरय् . .

Raño Gotamî-putasa Saraya . .

Reverse—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, joined together by cross-lines—conventionally termed the Ujjain symbol.

No. 6. Lead. Size 5. Weight 86 grains.

Obverse—Small *Chaitya*, with three inverted semicircles, and serpent at the foot.

Legend—रञ वासिठ पुतस सरय सतस

Raña Vásitho-putasa Siri Yastasa. (perhaps *Saraya*)

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 7. Similar coins, variants.

Legend—...... सठपुतससिरिवस

Raña Vásitho-putasa Sirivasa.

One coin has सिवस *Sivasa.*

No. 8. Lead. Size 4½ Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of an elephant, to the left.

Legend—रञस सिर यञ गोतमी पुतस

Rañasa Siri Yaña Gotamî-putasa.

Reverse—Four double rings joined by a cross—the conventional symbol of Ujjain.‡

No. 9. Lead. Size 4. Weight 70 grains.

Obverse—A boldly sunk die bearing a well designed figure of a horse to the left.

Legend—रञ गोतमी पुतस सरिय् . . .

Raña Gotamî-putasa Sari Y . . . .

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 10. Copper or bronze. Size 4. Weight (average) 35 grains.

Obverse—A well-outlined figure of an elephant free, with trunk erect; no trappings.

Legend—सिरिसतकणि

Siri Satakaṇi.

Reverse—Four single circles joined by cross-lines.

No. 11. *Variant.* The elephant is decorated with rich head-gear.

Legend—यञसतक

Yañasataka.

N.B.—The forms of the letters of the legends would indicate that these coins belong to a later date than the specimens previously described.

No. 12. Lead. Size 6. Weight 133 grains.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, with a half-moon in the field.

Legend—रञग ...... सतकणस

Raña G(otami-putasa) *Satakaṇasa.*

Reverse—Device indistinguishable.

No. 13. Lead. Size . Weight?

Obverse—A crude figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend—सरिवण *Sarivaṇa* or *Salivaṇa*; possibly सिरि वण *Siri Vaṇa.*

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14. Lead. Similar coins.

Legend—सिरि रुद्

Siri Rudra?

The द is sometimes given as ड, and the *R* has to be supplied.

London, 24th July 1877. EDWARD THOMAS.

Query.

HEMÂḌ PANT AND THE GAULI RÂJAS.

Who and what was "Hemâḍ Pant," who shares with the Gauli Râjas the credit of ancient buildings in the Northern Dekhan and Konkan? One story is that he was a Râkshasa! another that he was a physician, and imported the Moḍi or current Marâṭhi alphabet from Ceylon; a third that he was the Brâhmaṇ minister of a Musalmân Sultân in Bidar or Golkonda.

Professor Weber, in his paper on the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 161 and notes) mentions three "Hemâḍris":—

No. 1. Son of Charudeva, and minister of a king Mahâdeva [king of where?]; composed by his command the *Chaturvargachintâmaṇi*, "perhaps at the end of the 13th century."

No. 2. Patron of Vopadeva, and minister to king Râmachandra of Devagiri, *ergo* belonging to the same period; this is, I presume, the Râja plundered in A.D. 1295 by Ala'uddin the Parricide, and perhaps identical with Dnyânesvara's patron, Râmachandra Yâdava of Newâsa (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 354.

No. 3 was "a commentator on Vopadeva at the court of a king Râmarâja." The *locus in quo* is not given, not being, indeed, necessary to Prof. Weber's argument, but I think there are only two Râmarâjas available in this instance—the one just mentioned, and the unfortunate ruler of Vijayanagara, overborne by the Moslem confederacy of the Dekhan three centuries later.

If Hemâḍ Pant were a minister of the Devagiri Yâdavas, it would go far to confirm the conjecture already hazarded by Mr. Śrîkṛishṇa Śâstri Talekar and myself, that they were the Gauli Râjas of tradition, as the same building is often ascribed to both him and them, and even where one monopolizes the credit the style is the same. It may be well seen in the lower part of the fort of Devagiri itself; and that fort is almost in the centre of the country over which the names of Hemâḍ Pant and the Gauli Râjas are known.*

‡ See *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. plate lxi.; *Numismata Orientalia*, "Ancient Indian Weights," Part I. Plate, figs. 5, 6.

* Mr. Shankar Pâṇḍurang Paṇḍit (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 209) says the Râshtra Kûtas of Mankher were Yâdavas, but gives no authority. The Hoisala Belalas certainly were, as they state it in their inscriptions, but their dominions lie south of the range of the Gauli tradition.

Down here (Kaladgi) I have not heard of either, old buildings being generally (and often correctly) referred to "the Jainas."

It may be added that the 13th century, a period of great architectural activity, is just the natural epoch to which to refer the great builders of tradition. I should like to hunt down this Gauli Râj, and I hope that any gentlemen who can afford me help will lend it. It is a disgrace to us to accept as a mystery what cannot be a thousand years old. W. F. S.

DR. HAUG'S ORIENTAL MSS.

The collection of Oriental MSS. chiefly in Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian, and Sanskṛit, made by the late Dr. Haug when Professor of Sanskṛit at Puṇâ, has been purchased from his widow for the Royal Library at Munich, for 17,000 marks. It will be remembered that Dr. Haug acknowledged, in a public lecture, that he had obtained many valuable if not unique MSS. from Pârsîs, during a tour he made in Gujarât to collect MSS. for Government. His right, as a paid Government servant, to collect on his own account, under any pretext whatever, was strongly protested against in the Bombay newspapers in June 1863, and especially in June and July 1864, when Government was urged to investigate Dr. Haug's conduct in the matter, but no public notice was taken of it.

HEMACHANDRA'S PRÂKṚIT GRAMMAR.

The first part of Hemachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, edited by Professor Pischel of Kiel, has been published. It is the eighth section of Hemachandra's large work on Sanskṛit grammar, and is the most complete treatise on the earlier Âryan Indian dialects as yet published. An edition of the text, but quite uncritical, appeared in Bombay in 1873, edited by Mahâbala Kṛishṇa.

Prof. Th. Benfey has published under the title *Vedica und Verwandtes*, a series of papers treating mainly of a number of very nice and subtle questions of verbal criticism and explanation of difficult terms in the *Vedas*. Most of the papers are reprints from the *Göttinger gehlehrte Anzeigen*.

Mr. Murray has in the press—'A Discursive Glossary of peculiar Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, Etymological, Historical, and Geographical,' by Col. H. Yule, C.B., and Dr. A. Burnell,—a work the appearance of which will be looked for with considerable interest.

BOOK NOTICES.

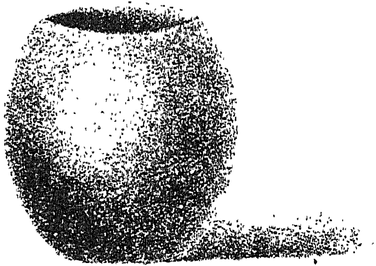
UEBER DEN URSPRUNG DES LINGAKULTUS IN INDIEN, v. F. KITTEL. (Mangalor, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1876.)

In this pamphlet of 48 pages 8vo. the Rev. F. Kittel starts a theory in opposition to that propounded by Lassen, and supported, though with reserve, by Dr. J. Muir, that Liṅga-worship is of early Drâviḍian origin. He contends that it formed no part of the Drâviḍian religion before thè influence of Brâhmaṇism in the south, and in proof of this points out that, formerly at least, Śaiva-Liṅgaïsm counted more famous shrines in Northern India than in the south; that the pretended abstention of Brâhmaṇs from its officiating priesthood is to be explained, where it really exists, by local causes alone; that the Brâhmaṇical legends make no allusion to any reception of its worship from another race; that most of the legends relative to the *Liṅga* point to the north; and, most important of all, that in the south Liṅga-worship is not met with except among the populations more or less influenced by Hinduism, while those unaffected by its extraneous influence are quite ignorant of it. The suggestion, however (pp. 46-7), that Liṅga-worship reached India from Greece seems almost entirely without foundation. This little *brochure* is full of the most interesting information on the actual position of Liṅgaïsm in the south, its divisions, the origin of its various sects, and on the archæology, literature, and ethnography of the Canarese portion of the Peninsula. It is to be hoped our able contributor will be induced to give us a second edition of it in an English dress.

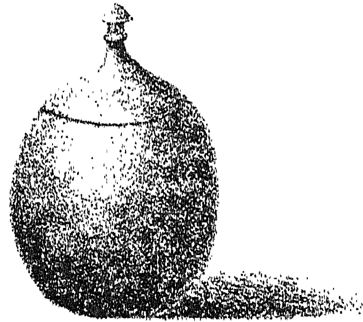
TRAVELS IN INDIA in the Seventeenth Century: by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer. (Reprinted from the *Calcutta Weekly Englishman*.) London: Trübner & Co.

The title of this work fully explains what it is: a good while ago Mr. Talboys Wheeler had *The Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies, and Observations there during his residence at the Mogul's Court as Ambassador from England*, by Sir Thomas Roe, Knt., and Dr. John Fryer's *Account of India*, reprinted in the *Calcutta Weekly Englishman*. At the same time a few copies were struck off in octavo form for separate publication. The impression, however, was overlooked for some time before it was issued. The two works are printed on thin paper and form a volume of 474 pages, but are put forth without note or comment, index or table of contents, and of course without the illustrations of the original editions. From its size this reprint may be found convenient by the general reader, but it will not supersede the earlier editions, copies of which are not scarce.

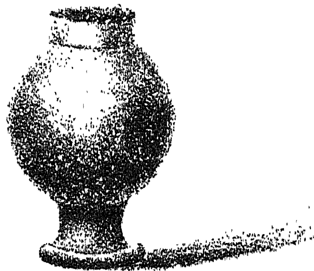
SOUTH INDIAN SEPULCHRAL URNS.



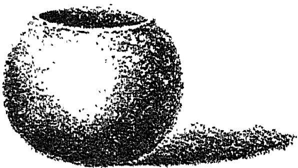
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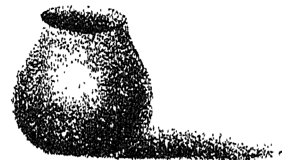
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No. 5



No. 3.



No. 4.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches

SEPULCHRAL URNS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D.

I AM anxious to obtain some information as to the extent of the area within which sepulchral urns, like those to which I am about to refer, are found, and I trust that some readers of the *Antiquary* will be so kind as to help me to obtain the information of which I am in search.

The urns I refer to are large earthenware jars containing fragments of human bones, generally in a very decayed state. They are of various sizes, corresponding with the age of the person whose remains were to be disposed of. The largest I have found was eleven feet in circumference, and the smallest have been between four and five. The shape varies a little within certain limits, so that I have not found any two perfectly alike, but the type generally adhered to is that of the large earthen jars (in Tamil *kûnai*) with which the people in this neighbourhood draw water for their cultivation. The urn is without handles, feet, rim, or cover. It swells out towards the middle and terminates in a point, so that it is only when it is surrounded with earth that it keeps an upright position. The urns do much credit to the workmanship of the people by whom they were made, being made of better-tempered clay, better burnt, and much stronger than any of the pottery made in these times in this part of India. They would contain a human body easily enough in a doubled-up position, if it could be got inside, but the mouth is generally so narrow that it would admit only the skull, and one is tempted to conjecture that the body must have been cut into pieces before it was put into the urn, or that the bones must have been collected and put in after the body had decayed. Generally decay is found to have advanced so far that these theories can neither be verified nor disproved. Fragments only of the harder bones remain, and the urn seems to contain little more than a mass of earth. In one instance I found the bones partially petrified, and therefore almost perfect, though they had fallen asunder; but this was the large eleven-feet urn referred to above, discovered at K o r k e i, so that in this instance it was conceivable that the body had been placed in it entire. At I l a ṅ j i, near Kortalum, on opening an urn some traces of the shape of a skeleton were discovered. The skull was found resting on the sternum, and on each side of the sternum was a tibia. It appeared, therefore, as if the body had been doubled up and forced in head foremost, though it was not clear how the shoulders could have got in. The bones were of the consistence of ochre, and crumbled to pieces when they were taken out. Nothing could be preserved but a piece of the skull and the teeth, which were those of an adult. Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore, who was present at the find, pointed out that the molars had been worn down by eating grain, and that the edges of the front teeth also had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulse. Afterwards, on examining the mouths of some natives, I found their front teeth worn down a little in the same manner, and, as they admitted, from the same cause. I have not noticed any distinct trace of the bones in these urns having been calcined.

In addition to human bones a few small earthen vessels are found in most of the jars. Sometimes such vessels are arranged outside, instead of being placed inside. These vessels are of various shapes, all more or less elegant, and all appear to have been highly polished. At first I supposed they had been glazed, but I have been informed by Dr. Hunter, late of the Madras School of Arts, that what I noticed was a polish, not a true glaze. Whatever it be, I have not noticed anything of the kind in the native pottery of these parts and these times. In some cases the polish or glaze is black, and the decay of these blackened vessels seems to have given rise to the supposition that the bones had sometimes been calcined.

On the accompanying plate are sketches of five of these little vessels. When these have been shown to natives, they say that No. 4 appears to have been an oil vessel, and No. 5 a spittoon. The use of No. 2, the vessel with the lid, is unknown. In these times such vessels would be made of bell-metal, not of pottery. We may conclude that the object in view in placing these vessels in the urn was that the ghost of the departed might be supplied with the ghosts of suitable vessels for eating and drinking out

of in the other world! Small stones about the size of a cocoanut are generally found heaped round the mouth of the urn, and the discovery of such stones ranged in a circle, corresponding to the circular mouth of the urn, will be found to be a reason for suspecting the existence of an urn underneath.

The natives of these times know nothing whatever of the people by whom this singular mode of sepulture was practised, nor of the time when they lived. They do not identify them with the Samaṇas, that is, the Jainas and Buddhists lumped together, about whom tolerably distinct traditions survive, nor does there appear to be anything in or about the jars distinctively Jaina or Buddhistic. There is a myth current amongst the natives, it is true, respecting the people who were buried in these jars, but this myth seems to me merely a confession of their ignorance. They say that in the Trêtâ yuga—that is, about a million of years ago—people used to live to a great age, but that however old they were they did not die, but the older they grew the smaller they became. They got so small at length that to keep them out of the way of harm it was necessary to place them in the little triangular niche in the wall of a native house in which the lamp is kept. At length, when the younger people could no longer bear the trouble of looking after their dwarf ancestors they placed them in earthen jars, put with them in the jars a number of little vessels containing rice, water, oil, &c., and buried them near the village.

The name by which these urns are called in the Tamil̤ country does not throw much light on their origin. This name assumes three forms. In the Tamil̤ dictionary it is *madamadakkat-tâl̤i*. A more common form of this word is *madamadakkan-dâl̤i*, the meaning of both which forms is the same, viz. the *tâl̤i*, or large jar, which boils over. The meaning attributed to this by some natives is rather far-fetched, viz. that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jars and sit about, as if they had boiled over out of them. The form of this word in use amongst the common people seems capable of a more rational interpretation. This is *madamattan-dâl̤i*, or more properly *madônmattan-dâl̤i*. *Madônmatta* (Sansk.) means 'insane,' but it is sometimes used in Tamil̤ to mean 'very large,' as in the Tamil̤ version of the *Panchatantra*, where it is used to denote a very large jungle. The great size of the urn being its principal characteristic, it would seem that the name in use amongst the common people is, after all, better warranted than that which is used by those who are regarded as correct speakers.

Who the people were who buried their dead in these urns is a problem yet unsolved. The only points that can be regarded as certain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns and their contents themselves. From this it is clear that the people buried in them were not pygmies, but of the same size as people of the present time. How they were put in may be mysterious, but there is no doubt about the size of their bones. The skulls were similar to those of the present time. The teeth also were worn down, like those of the existing race of natives, by eating grain. In a jar opened by Dr. Jägor, of Berlin, a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared, but the husks remained. The unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found, not one here and another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers, as would naturally be done in a burial-ground. They were also a comparatively civilized people, as is evident from the excellence of their pottery, and the traces of iron implements or weapons which have sometimes been found in the jars. The conclusion from all this which seems to me most probable is that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood. If this were the true explanation, it is singular that no relic, trace, or tradition of such a mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. And yet, if we were to adopt the supposition that they were an alien race, it would be still more difficult to conjecture who they were, where they came from, and why they disappeared.

I have myself seen those urns both in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts and in northern and southern Travancore,—that is, on both sides of the Southern Ghâṭs, and the object I have in view in sending these particulars to the *Antiquary* is to ascertain in what other districts of India they are found. If the area within which they are found can be accurately traced, some light may be thrown thereby on their history.

Idaiyanguḍi, Tinnevelly District.

ON THE KṚISHṆAJANMÂSHṬAMÎ, OR KṚISHṆA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

(*Continued from p. 180.*)

(*Translated from the German by Miss Tweedie.*)

§ 2.

We come now to the representation of the celebration of the festival itself. On the intricate questions of a calendic sort which belong to it, we do not enter further here, as they have been sufficiently discussed already. One point, however, in this respect appears of importance: the dividing of the celebration into two forms, one a simple form which consists only in the observance of a strict fast (see above, p. 163); while the other, depending on the coincidence of the date with a particular star, appears as the original celebration of the festival, with which alone we have to do here. We have seen already that in it also two forms are to be kept separate from each other; one of which keeps the god in view together with his mother, while the other presents him alone; in the former case the celebration is combined with the preparation of a shed intended for the reception of a woman about to give birth to a child, adorned with pictures from the history of the holy nativity, and in which the mother of the god, with her son drinking at her breast, is represented resting on a couch, and receiving the worship consecrated to her; in the second case the picture of the god is worshipped over a jug. As the sources for this last form of the celebration, we have only the secondary texts *Śc.* (= *Śv.* 3) *Vi. J. Ud.* In *D.* and *Ms.* both forms of the festival are brought forward. The rest of the texts recognize only the first form.

The richness and abundance of the material now before us in these various texts is so great that we are obliged to limit ourselves. I have therefore chosen as a guide the representation which the older *Bhávishya* texts *O. C. Śa.* offer, having at the same time due regard to the variations of the rest of the texts from it, but referring only, as far as seemed indispensable, to the rites and formulæ peculiar to them.

After the necessary cleansing of the teeth on the previous day (*N*) the vow of fasting is taken in a solemn manner on the morning of the feast-day. This is done, according to *R N*, after previous calling on the gods as witnesses (with the words—

sûryaḥ somo yamaḥ kálaḥ saṁdhye bhûtány ahaḥ kshapá | pavano dikpatir bhûmir ákáśaṁ khacharámaráḥ (°*rá naráḥ*, *NŚ.*) | *bráhmyaṁ* (*bráhmaṁ*, *NŚ.*) *śásanam ásthâya kalpadhvam* (*kalpantám Vr.*) *iha saṁnidhim* |)

amid sprinkling of water out of a copper vessel filled with fruits, flowers, and roasted barley, and with water, while reciting, according to *C* 24, *Śb* 54*b*, 55*a*, *D. Ms. Ud.*, the following sentence,* asking for the god's assistance:—

adya sthitvá nirâháraḥ śvobhûte parameśvara (*tu pare 'hani*, *Śb.*) | *bhokshye 'ham puṇḍarîkáksha śaraṇam me bhavá 'chyuta* ('*vyaya*, *Śb.*) ||

"Remaining without nourishment to-day, I shall feast to-morrow,
O high lord, O lotus-eyed one, be a defence to me, thou unshaken one!"

Ms. D. reads the second hemistich thus:—
bhokshyámi Devakîputra asmin janmáshṭamîvrate (the last *páda* as in *Ca* also) | , and *Ud.* has—
karishye páraṇaṁ tatra bhaktim me hy achaláṁ kuru |

Ca adds other three half-*ślokas* to this:—
sarvapátakanáśáya prasanno bhava keśava |
idaṁ vratam mayá deva gṛihîtam puratas tava |
nirvighnaṁ siddhim áyátu prasanne tvayi keśava ||

"Be gracious to me, O Keśava! to the blotting out of all my sins.
Let this vow which I have now taken before thee, O god! be accomplished without hindrance, through thy grace, O Keśava!"

B 24 has the following sentence:—
adyá 'ham puṇḍarîkáksha śraddháyukto jitendriyaḥ |
upavásaṁ karishyámi varajanmáshṭamîvrataṁ (°*vrate ?*) ||

O. Śa. Śc. give no sentence at all. Lastly *R.* (p. 26) quotes from the *Saṁvatsarapradîpa* the four following impressive verses, in the use of which *N* (fol. 30*b*) *Ś. Vi.* and *Śk.* join with him. (*Ká.* has only vv. 1 and 4):

* Compare with this the quite analogous sentence in the *Varâhapurâṇa* (Chambers 585*a*, fol. 130*ab*, on the occasion of the *matsyadvádaśî*):
ekádaśyáṁ nirâháraḥ sthitvá chaiva pare 'hani | bhokshyámi puṇḍarîkáksha śaraṇam me bhavá 'chyuta ||
The formula, it is evident, is one generally acknowledged in the *Vaishṇava* ritual. In the *Jayantî* form of the *Janmáshṭamî* (fol. 25*a*), treated of separately in *Ms.* (see p. 179), the sentence runs nearly as above, with the readings *Jayantyáṁ tu nirâháraḥ bhokshyámi puṇḍarîkáksha śaraṇaṁ charaṇaṁ tava* ||

Vásudevaṁ samuddiśya (*samabhyarchya*, *N*. fol. 26*b*) *sarvapápapraśantaye* | *upavásaṁ karishyámi krishṇáshṭamyáṁ nabhasy aham* || 1 ||
adya krishṇáshṭamîṁ devîṁ (*chaiva Vr.*) *nabhaś-chandra-sarohiṇîm* (sic! so *N* both times, thus also *Ś*. *Śk*. and *R*. p. 33, where v. 2 recurs; only *Vr*. has *chandraṁ*) | *archayitvopavásena bhokshye 'ham apare 'hani* || 2 ||
enaso (*eva cha Vr.*) *mokshakámo 'smi yad govinda triyonijam* (*triyojanam Ś*., *niyojitam Vr.!*) | *tan me muñcha tu máṁ tráhi patitaṁ śokaságare* || 3 ||
ájanmamaraṇaṁ yávad yan mayá duskkritaṁ kritam | *tat praṇáśaya govinda prasîda purushottama* || 4 ||

"To the honour of V â s u d e v a I will fast now for the expiation of all sins |
To-day, as the eighth day of the black half of the *Nabhas* moon ||
Celebrating by fasting to-day the *Krishṇáshṭamî*, the *Nabhas* month and the moon |
Together with *Rohiṇî*, then to-morrow I shall eat again ||
I wish, O G o v i n d a! to atone for the sins† of three births |
Blot them out to me, and save me who fell into a sea of trouble ||
From birth to death, whatever evil deed I have done |
Cancel it, O G o v i n d a! be gracious, P u r u s h o t t a m a! ||"

From this specimen we may form an idea of the variations of the several representations, even in those cases where substantially the same subject is treated of, and draw from it a further conclusion as to cases where real differences are dealt with.

At midday of the day of the festival a bath is to be taken in clean river—or other water (*O. C. B. N.*), making use of sesamum *Śa. N. K. D.* (white sesamum). *J* (black ditto), *Ms* (oil of black sesamum), carrying a myrobalan fruit on the head (*dhátrîphalaṁ śirasi dhritvá, J.*). In *Śb* the bath is placed before the taking of the vow of fasting: thus also in *Ud.* (*dvitîyadine brákme muhûrte utthâya tilámalakasnánam*).

After this the setting up on an auspicious spot of a *sûtikágriha* (house for a woman in childbirth) takes place. Thus according to *O. Śa. C. B. K. N.* (*Ś. Vr.*) *D. Ms.* In *R. Śk.* indeed this subject is not specially mentioned, but "the house" simply is described as the scene of the ensuing celebration (*griham upakramya*): probably, however, the same thing is meant by it. For the preparing of such a separate shed intended for the purpose of being occupied while passing safely through the time of lying in, is a constant Indian custom, which appears to have come down from pretty early times. The reason of it was probably, on the one hand the wish to keep the impurity connected with childbirth at a distance from the other members of the family as well as from the dwelling-house proper, and on the other the better opportunity thereby offered of defending and guarding the mother and child from all bad demoniacal influences. After the quotations in *K*. iii. 1 fol. 6*a*,*b*, but especially in A n a n t a d e v a's *Saṁskárakaustubha* (fol. 56*ab*), the *sûtikágriham* is, according to a text of V a s i s h ṭ h a,‡ contained in the *Párijáta* (*Madanapárijáta*, see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, pp. 274, 275) to be erected in the south-west region. A n a n t a d e v a gives also astrological information from G a r g a respecting the right time to enter it (*sûtikágáraveśanam, sûtikáveśanam*), as well as special texts from the *Pádma* respecting the erection itself, &c.§ According to him, it is to be made well defended on all sides, to be erected on a good situation, firm and secure, by people skilled in building, and to be provided with a door to the east, and one to the north. After the worship of the gods, Brâhmaṇs, and cows has taken place, the *enceinte* one enters, calling on the Brâhmaṇs for blessings, amid conch sounds and other music. Only kindred and trustworthy women afterwards enter. (Meal of *ricinus* roots mixed with *ghî* serves to facilitate the birth.) According to the *Vishṇudharma*, it is to be inhabited for ten days (precisely on the tenth the in-lying woman gets up again, see *Pár*. I. 17 *Śánkh. g*. I. 24) and

† See *Vishṇurahasya* in *M*, vide *ante*, p. 164.

‡ aindre tu vikramasthânam, âgneyyâm pachanâlayah | vâruṇyâm bhojanagṛihaṁ nairṛityâṁ sûtikâgṛiham iti ||

§ Praviśet sûtikâsaṁjnaṁ kṛitarakshaṁ samantataḥ | subhûmau nirmitaṁ ramyaṁ vâstuvidyâviśâradaiḥ ||
prâgdvâram uttaradvâram athavâ sudṛiḍhaṁ śubham- | devânâm brâhmaṇânâṁ cha gavâṁ kritvâ cha pûjanam ||
viprapuṇyâhaśabdena śaṅkhavâdyaravena cha | prasûtâ bahavas tatra tathâ kleśakshamâdayaḥ ||
hṛidyâ viśvasanîyâś cha praviśeyu(ḥ) striyaś cha tat | eraṇḍamûlachûrṇena saghṛitena tathaiva tâm (*lacuna?*) ||
sukhaprasavanârthâya paśchat kârye tu tat kshiped iti | Compare *Kâ*. iii. 1 fol. 18*b*: sûtikâpraveśo govipradevapûjanaṁ kritva mantravâdyaghoshena sâpatyastrîbhih saha kâryaḥ |

during the time is to be provided with arms, fire, links, full jugs, lights, with a pestle, and with pictures painted in water-colours (probably for protection against bad demons).¶

Śk. contains other accounts of the *sûtikâgṛiha*, under the word itself, and words of similar signification *sûtikâgeha**, *sûtikâvâsa*, *sûtikâbhavana*, *sûtigṛiha*, and *sûtîgṛiha*. According to it, *arishṭa* in Amara (&c. see *Pet. W.*, s. v.) is also to be taken as a synonym for it (so indeed *Ragh.* III. 15). According to the *Bhâvaprakâśa*† it is to be made eight hands long and four wide (that would be a very narrow measurement!). According to the *Vahnipurâṇa*, chap. *prajâpatisarga*,‡ bad demons surround it, but good spirits stay there too, who then, on the sixth (the specially critical) day after the birth, are to be worshipped with offerings. The night of that day is to be passed waking,—so according to the *Vishṇudharmottara*.§

The accounts in this place of the setting up of the *sûtikâgṛiha* agree with these statements, at the same time they also show some special peculiarities.

The pillars (*N*) made of plantain stems are to be covered with lotus-coloured (ruby red), variegated (*OC*), with white, yellow, red, striped or green (*Śa. D.*) cloths. It is to be decorated with wreaths of sandalwood, pearls and jewels (*C*, with amulets *O. Śa. N.*), with new pitchers (*kalaśa*) filled with water (*N.*), with numerous flowers and fruits, and rows of lamps, and to be perfumed with wreaths of flowers, sandalwood and agallochum. It is to be arranged quite like a *gokulam*, byre, or cowherd's cot,|| and to be filled with milk-maids (*OC.*). Fetters for women,¶ iron swords, a sacrificial post, along with a black (*N.*) he-goat are to be found inside; a pestle is to be laid down at the door, guards are to be placed in it, likewise the goddess S h a s h ṭ h î,* and all sorts of selected meats for the gods (idols) in rich abundance (*OC. Śa.*) Of the decoration of the walls with pictures from the "holy history," which *Śa.* (*Ms.*) mentions here, *OC.* treat but in the sequel, see below. According to *Śa.* the setting up of the *sûtikagṛiha* is also to be accompanied with music of all kinds, dancing and singing.

It is highly surprising, first of all, that, according to these statements, the *sûtikâgṛiham* is to be set up like a *gokulam*. For the legend itself is quite consistent throughout, in stating that D e v a k î gave birth to K ṛ i s h ṇ a in prison. Evidently a transference has here taken place to D e v a k î of those circumstances in which Y a ś o d â, who received the newly born child immediately after his birth, on her part gave birth to her own child, that magical girl who is exchanged with him. The reason of this indeed can only be that, from the beginning, the celebration of the *Janmâshṭamî* festival stood in close relation to the representation of K ṛ i s h ṇ a 's growing up among cowherds, and consequently this conception entirely preponderated over the other, according to which he was a prince born in prison.

The following is the wording of the texts belonging to this:—First of all, *OC.* (the first *śloka* also in *B.* v. 69*b*, 70):

tataḥ snâtvâ cha madhyâhne nadyâdu vimale jale |
devyâḥ suśobhanaṁ karyâd Devakyâḥ sûtikâgṛiham† || 25 ||

¶ daśâhaṁ sûtikâgâram âyudhaiś cha viśeshataḥ |
vahninâ tindukâlâtaiḥ pûrṇakumbhaiḥ pradîpakaiḥ |
musalena tathâ vârivarṇakaiś chitritena cha ||
Tinduka *Diospyros embryopteris*, Pers. (*Pet. Wört.*); *Diospyros glutinosa*, a species of ebony, from the fruit of which a kind of resin is obtained, that is used in India as pitch for caulking vessels, &c. (Wilson.)

* Compare *Brahmavaivarta*, *śrîkṛishṇajanmakhaṇḍa adhy.* 4:—
jagâma sûtikâgehaṁ nârîrûpaṁ vidhâya bhûḥ |
jayaśabdaḥ śaṅkhaśabdo hariśabdo babhûva ha ||

† ashṭahastâyataṁ châru chaturhastaviśâlakam |
prâchîdvâram udagdvâraṁ vidadhyât sûtikâgṛiham ||

‡ sarvatragân apratighân sûtikâgṛihasevinaḥ |
pṛishṭhataḥ-pânipâdaṅś cha pṛishṭhagrîvân sûraṅhasaḥ ||
evaṁvidhân piśâchaṅś cha dṛishṭvâ brahmâ 'nukampayâ |
antardhânaṁ varam prâdât kâmaśâyitvam eva cha ||.

§ sûtikâvâsanilayâ janmadâ nâma devatâḥ |
tâsâṁ yâganimittârthaṁ śuddhir janmani kîrtitâ ||
shashṭhe 'hni râtriyâgaṁ tu janmadânâṁ cha kârayet |
rakshaṇîyâ sadâ shashṭhî niśâṁ tatra viśeshataḥ ||
Râma jâgaraṇaṁ kâryaṁ janmadânâm tathâ baliḥ ||

|| Under *gokula*, *Śk.* has the following:—gosamûhaḥ | gostatparyâyaḥ | godhanaṁ, gavâṁ vrajaḥ ity Amaraḥ | gos-
thânaṁ, yathâ: gokule kanduśâlâyâṁ tailayantrekshuyan-
trayoḥ | amîmâṅsyâni śauchâni strîshu vâlâtureshu cha ||
iti tithyâditattvam Mathuraikadeśe śrî-Nandasya vâsas-
thânaṁ, yathâ: kâlena vrajatâ tâta gokule Râmakeśavau |
jânubhyâṁ saha pânibhyâṁ riṅgamâṇau vijahratuḥ | iti
śrîbhâgavatam |

¶ ? *vadhû-kârair O, veshṭakârî Śa, śṛiṅkhalâ Ms.* Probably the fetters are meant, which, according to the legend, K a ṅ s a had caused to be put on his sister D e v a k î and her husband V a s u d e v a (see above, p. 176). The pestle and the guards, on the other hand, are probably (see above, p. 282) the universal requisites of every *sûtikâgṛiha*, intended for protection against *piśâchas* and similar sorcerers. They therefore, probably, do not refer to the prison guards, who are directly mentioned further on.

* See p. 174, probably a picture of her to be painted on the wall. Compare *Saṁsk. Kaust.* fol. 59*a*, tataḥ kuḍyâdilikhitapratimâsu taṇḍulapuñjeshu vâ janmadâḥ (*namely*:) Jîvantyaparanâmnîṁ Shashṭhîṁ Skandaṁ Râkâm Sinîvâlîm Kuhûṁ khaḍgâdishu bhagavatîṁ cha shoḍaśopachâraiḥ pûjayet | janmadâbhyo nama iti nâmamantreṇa janmadânâm âvâhanâdi |

† Thus *O*, *C* has *snâtvâ tu* (*B.*) and *chitraṁ harmyacharaṁ kuryâd.*

padmarágaiḥ paṭaiś chitrair maṇḍitaṁ charchitaṁ śubhaṃ | ramyaṁ chandanamálábhir muktámaṇivibhúshitaṁ ‡ || 26 ||
sarvaṁ gokulavat káryaṁ gopíjanasamákulam | vadhúkárair (?) lohakhaḍgai(r) yúpachhágasumanvitam§ || 27 ||
dváre vinyastamuśalaṁ rakshitaṁ rakshapálakaiḥ¶ | *shashṭhyá devyá 'pi** *sampúrṇaṁ, naivedyair vividhaiḥ kṛitaiḥ* || 28 ||
evamádi yathásaktyá (°*kti C*) *kartavyaṁ sútikágṛiham* |
Then *Śa* : *tato 'shṭamyáṁ tilaiḥ snáto* (*snátvá Vr.*) *nadyádau vimale jale* || 18 ||
sudeśe śobhanaṁ kuryád Devakyáḥ sútikágṛiham† | *sitapítais tathá raktaiḥ karvurair haritair api*‡‡ || 19 ||
vásobhiḥ śobhitaṁ kṛitvá samantát kalaśairnavaiḥ | pushpaiḥ phalair anekaiś cha dípálibhir atas tataḥ || 20 ||
pushpamálávichitraṁ cha chandanágarudhúpitam | atiramyam anaupamyam§§ *rakshámaṇivibhúshitam* || 21 ||
harivaṅśasya charitaṁ g o k u l a ṁ cha vilekhayet (also in *D.* 103*b*, where however *h. cha tatha g o k u l a ṁ vilikhápayet*) | *t a t a ṁ* (*Vr.*, *tato Śa*) *váditraninádair víṇáveṇuravákulam* || 22 ||
nṛityagítakramopetam maṅgalaiś cha samantataḥ | veshṭakárílohakhaḍgaṁ (?) kṛitvá nádaṁ cha yatnataḥ || 23 ||
dváre vinyasya musalaṁ rakshitaṁ rakshapálakaiḥ | shashṭhyá devyá 'dhishṭhitaṁ cha tad gṛihaṁ chotsavais tathá || 24 ||
evaṁ vibhavasáreṇa kṛitvá tat (*Vr.*, *tu Śa*) *sútikágṛiham* |

N (*Ś. Vr.*) : *tataḥ kadalístambhavásobhir ámrapallavayutasajalapúrṇakalaśair dípaiḥ pushpamálábhir yutam agurudhúpitam (svagaru° Vr.) agni* (*agra Vr.*)-*khaḍga-kṛishṇachága-rakshámaṇi-dváranyastamusaládiyutam maṅgalopetaṁ shashṭhyá devyá 'dhishṭhitaṁ Devakyáḥ sútikágṛihaṁ vidháya* |

Ms. : *tato madhyáhne kṛishṇatailair nadyádau snátvá sudeśe Devakyáḥ sútikágṛihaṁ kuryát | tatrai(va) vaso-darpaṇa-pallavádibhis toraṇáni kṛitvá, vitánam ávadhya, tatra ghṛitatailapakváni tatkálaphaláni pushpadámáni cha va(d)dhvá, kuḍyeshu g o k u l a ṁ vilikhya, śṛiṅkhalá-lohakhaḍgachhágamusaládi dvári vinyasya, meshyá (methyáṁ?) rakshapálanolikhya* (°*pálán álikhya ?*) *tanmadhye sarvatobhadramaṇḍale......*

Now, beside this representation of the locality of the festival as a *sútikágṛiha*, there stands firstly—a second in which it is described not with this special name, but with the general name *maṇḍapa* ; that is to say as an "open (?) pavilion sort of hall" (*Pet. Wört.*). Thus *M.* itself already (see p. 163), where, unfortunately, nothing further is remarked. And thus further also *Śb. Śc. Vi* 2. (*Vi.* 1 abstains from any remark upon the locality). *Śb* it is true, has only the short notice that the *maṇḍapa* is to be decorated with fruits and flowers (with wreaths of flowers, *Śv.* 2). According to *Śc.* it is to be built of plantain stems, over a consecrated circle, which itself forms the centre of a space measured off with a cow's skin; it is to be provided with four doors, to be decorated with fruits and flowers, and a beautiful variegated awning is to be spread over it. In the same way proceeds *Vi* 2, only that here, instead of the space measured off with the cow's skin, a consecrated holy circle, called a *sarvatobhadramaṇḍala* is prescribed, with all kinds of mystic requisites, according to the manner of the *Tantra* ritual.

Lastly, excluding any account of the *maṇḍapa*, this *sarvatobhadramaṇḍalam* only is named|| in *Ud.* as the place of the celebration, an arrangement which is taken (compare *ibid.* for example 3*a*, 20*a*) from the general precepts of the V a i s h ṇ a v a ritual, as it is contained in *Ms.*, while the accounts of the setting up of the *maṇḍapa* here constitute¶ a special peculiarity of this one festival, probably appointed to form a kind of counterpoise to the *Sútikágṛiha* in the other form of the celebration. Moreover, *Ms.* itself on its part, unites here (see above) both representations, in which it recognizes the *sútikágṛiham* as well as the *sarvatobhadramaṇḍalam*,—the latter placed in the middle of the former.

‡ Thus *C*, *O* has *padmaráge paṭínetrair* and : *mályábhi rakshámaṇi°*.

§ The second hemistich is wanting in *C* : compare *Śa*. 23*b*.

¶ This hemistich also in *B.* 74*ab* ; but *sarvarákshásamanvitam* in the second *pada*.

* *?divyási O, devyaś cha tatraiva C.*

† Both hemistichs (18*b*, 19*a*) are found so in *K.* also, and as to be found *Hemádrau Bhavishye* : for the first hemistich compare *D* 97*b*, *uposhakas tu madhyáhne snátaḥ śuklatilaiḥ śubaiḥ* ; and the second occurs *ibid.* 102*b*, but with the reading *sudeśe 'laṁkṛite k.*

‡‡ Thus also in *D.* 103*a*, but with the variation *śvetaraktais tathá pítaiḥ karburair haritaiḥ prithak.*

§§ So *Vr. atikramyamanoramyaṁ Śa.*

|| In *Vi* 2 a marginal note has instead of this—"An eight-spoked circle, the middle of which is formed of eight lotuses." Compare the representation of a *sarvatobhadramaṇḍala* in *Śk.* p. 6021. In *Ca* mention is only made of an "eight-leaved lotus-flower" to be drawn (with sandal) on the ground.

¶ It recurs, also, in the *Rámanavamí*, the celebration of which, however, appears to be copied from that of the *Kṛishṇajanmáshṭamí.*

The texts run as follows:—*Śb.*, in the first place, has only—

. . . . . . *sampâdyâ 'rchanasâdhanam* || 55 ||
maṇḍapaṁ śobhanaṁ kṛitvâ phalapushpâdibhir (*pushpamâlâ° Vr.*) *yutam* |

Śc.: *sauvarṇî pratimâ kâryâ pâdyârghyâchamanîyakam* | *pâtrânt* (*pâtraṁ Vr.*) *sampâdya vidhivat pûjopakaraṇaṁ* (*Vr., jyo° Śa*) *tathâ* || 6 ||
gocharmamâtraṁ saṁlipya madhye maṇḍalam âcharet | *brahmâdyâ devatâs tatra sthâpayitvâ prapûjayet* || 7 ||
maṇḍapaṁ rachayet tatra kadalîstambhamaṇḍitam | *chaturdvârasamopetam* (sic!) *phalapushpâdiśobhitam* || 8 ||
vitânaṁ tatra vadhnîyâd vichitraṁ chaiva śobhanam |

Vi 2.*: *śuchau deśe tu saṁsthâpya gomayena vichakshaṇaḥ* | *maṇḍalaṁ kârayet tatra pañchavarṇena śobhitam* || 14 ||
navanâbhaṁ sâ-'ravindam sarvatobhadra-saṁjnitam; | *maṇḍalaṁ kârayen madhye manohlâdakaram param* || 15 ||
śvetataṇḍulapishṭena pañchavarṇena bhûpate; | *maṇḍapaṁ kârayet tatra sutoraṇasamanvitam* || 16 ||
chaturdvârânvitaṁ hy etat sthâpayet teshu devatâḥ | *prathamadvâradeśe tu varuṇaṁ sthâpayet tataḥ* || 17 ||
("*Kuvera* at the second, *Devendra* at the third, *Gaṇanâyakam* at the fourth door:" vv. 18-20)
Ud. sarvatobhadramaṇḍalaṁ kartavyam.

After the erecting and decorating of the *sûtikâgṛiha*, in the manner described above, the placing of the pictures of the gods to be worshipped at the approaching festival is to be taken in hand. In the first place a picture of Devakî, made of gold, silver, copper, brass, clay, wood, or jewels, or only painted with colours, is to be placed in the middle of the *sûtikâgṛiha*. This represents Devakî as endowed with all the characteristics of beauty, as half asleep, as radiant as burnished gold; moreover in company with her son,—as having in fact just given birth to him, and being rejoiced in consequence of this moment (of the pain overcome?) while the sleeping child, lying at her side, is drinking at her breast, his own breast furnished† with the holy *śrivatsa* sign, and the colour of his skin like the leaves of the blue lotus.

Here again is something very surprising about this representation. For while the legend throughout informs us that at Kṛishṇa's birth there was danger in delay, that his father Vasudeva had to carry the newly-born child immediately away, to escape the dangers that threatened him, the above representation, which shows us the mother and child (the former, too, "joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed repose, and stands therefore in such direct contrast to the legend that it is difficult to suppose that both representations have grown up on the same ground. The representation in this place appears as foreign as the difference discussed above (p. 283) in reference to the locality of Kṛishṇa's birth.

Now the texts relating to this now are—First in *OC Śa K*, as follows ‡:—

tanmadhye pratimâ sthâpyâ (*kâryâ B.*) § *sâ châ 'py ashṭavidhâ smṛitâ* (*kâñchanâdivinirmitâ R.*) || 29 ||
kâñchanî râjatî tâmrî paittalî mṛinmayî tathâ¶ |
dârvî maṇimayî chaiva varṇikâlikhitâ 'pi vâ*†† || 30 ||
sarvalakshaṇasampannâ (*sampûrṇâ O. Śa K.*) *paryaṅke châ 'rdhasuptikâ*‡‡ | *prataptakâñchanâbhâsâ mayâ saha tapasvinî* §§ || 31 ||
prastutâ cha prasûtâ cha¶¶ *tatkshaṇâch cha praharshitâ*** | *mâṁ cha 'pi* (*tatra Śa K.*) *bâlakaṁ sup-*

* A marginal note has only *shoḍaśâraṁ likhech chakraṁ tanmadhye châ 'shṭapaṅkajam* |

† According to *Śk.* by *śrivatsa* is to be understood a row of white hair (*vakshaḥstha-śuklavarṇa-dakshiṇâvartalomâvalî*) found on the breast, towards the right side, which is regarded as the characteristic of a *mahâ purusha;* Kṛishṇadâsa understands by it an amulet (*hṛitsaṁyatamaṇiviśeshaḥ*) to be worn on the heart after the manner of the *kaustubha.* Mallinâtha in *Raghuv.* xvii. 29 explains *śrivatsa* by *gṛihaviśesha* (!). Might not perhaps the older form of the word be *śrivṛiksha?* Compare *Varâhamih.* xxxiii. 10 in Kern (who puts *śrîvakshas* as the original form: compare however *Śk.*: *śrîvṛikshakaḥ, puṁ, aśvasya hṛidâvartaḥ, iti Trikâṇḍaśeshaḥ*, as well as Wilson, *sub voce*, and my treatise on the *Bhagavatî*, II. 312). The employing of *śrivatsa* as a sign of happiness comes down from early times, probably from the Buddhists and Jains (see again Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 608-9, 617); after all, the proper meaning of it, as well as its most ancient form and date, is still undetermined: a reference to the sign of the Cross, and to the *Agnus Dei*, as I have conjectured in the *Zeitung der Deut. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, VI. 94, does not appear to be contained in it.

‡ And v. 29*b*, 30 also in *B*; 29*b*, 31*b*, 32*b*, 33*a*, also in *R*.

§ Some of the various readings given by Dr. Weber are omitted.—Ed.

¶ paitilî *O.*, pîtalî na puṇas tathâ *B.* (!)

* vṛîkshî *Śa*, vârkshî *Śv.* 1 *N. K*, manomayî, maṇimayî *O*, lohî va mṛinmayî kâryâ *B.*

†† 'thavâ *O K*, varṇakair likhitâ tathâ *Śa. N.*, varṇikâlikhitâksharâ *B.*

‡‡ °kaṁ *O.*, p. sarvaguptikâ *C.*, p. châ 'shṭaśalyake *Śa.*, p. cha paṭâvṛite, *K.*

§§ °bhâsâṁ mahârhâ sutapasvinî *Śa* (°hâṁ susutasvinîṁ *Śv* 1), Devakî sutapasvinî *R.* The whole hemistich is wanting in *K.* where we have: Devakîṁ tatra chaikasmin pradeśe sûtikâgṛihe | which is perhaps deutorology of the account further on of Yaśodâ: see below.

¶¶ ? prasûtâ châprasûtâ vâ *C. O* (but both times *cha*), prastutâṁ (prasri° *Śv* 1) cha prasuptâṁ cha *Śa*, prastutâṁ cha prasûtâṁ cha *K.*

** ṭakshaṇâch cha *C*, tatkshaṇâd brahmaharshitâ *O* (for tatkshaṇât, see *O* v. 55), sthâpayen mañchakopari *Śa. K.*

tam paryañke stanapáyinam (prasûtánîradach havim R.) || 32 ||
śrîvatsavakshaṇopetaṁ† *nîlotpaladalachhavim*‡

B. has, according to *O* 29*b*, 30, the following verse:—

Devakîpratimá káryá bálá rûpasamanvitá || 72 ||
mátur utsaṁgasaṁsthasya hrishṭasya (*?Krishṇasya*) *stanapáyinaḥ* | (from 72*b* obviously *pratimá káryá* is to be supplied.)

N. (*Ś. Vr.*) *sûtikágrihamadhye prachadapaṭávritaṁ (prachádayapaṭṭá° Ś., prachádyavritta Vr.) mañchakaṁ sthápayitvá* (°*yet Vr.*)§ *madhyáhne nadyádijale tilaiḥ snátvá, "'rdharátre saparivára. śrîkrishṇapûjáṁ karishya" iti saṁkalpya, "kañchanî......likhitá tathe"-ty uktányatamena pratimáṁ vidháya......*

Ká. tataḥ suvarṇarajatádimayyo mṛinmayyo vá bhittyádilikhitá vá pratimá yathákulácháraṁ káryáḥ tá yathá, paryañke prasupta-Devakyáḥ stanaṁ pibantiṁ śrî-Krishṇapratimáṁ nidháya...

Independently altogether of the fact that *Śa.* is described as borrowed directly from him, we see distinctly from the following statement of *Bhd.* that this same representation is also found already in Hemâdri:—

śrî-Krishṇa-Devakî-Vasudeva-Yaśodá-Nandádi-pratimánirmáṇa-tatpûjanádiprakárádikaṁ vrata-Hemádrau spashṭam.

As we saw above (pp. 175, 176, 177 ff. 281), another representation, which makes the image of the god to be worshipped over a jug, comes alongside of the one just described of the mother lying on a couch (*paryañka*) with her child drinking at her breast. It is contained first in those texts which (see above, p. 284) do not at all mention the *sûtikágriha*, but introduce the *maṇḍapa*, or only the *sarvatobhadramaṇḍala*, namely *Śc. Vi. Ud.*; ¶ to these are added, instead, *D Ms.* (*J*), both of which texts, on one hand describe the *sûtikágriha* itself (*J* has nothing regarding it,) but also represent the worship as taking place over a jug; and secondly an addition (see note §) very awkwardly inserted by *Vr.* in the representation of *Ś.* (*N.*). Now according to *Ms.* this jug is to be placed in the *sûtikágriha*, or eventually in the *sarvatobhadramaṇḍala* drawn in the middle of it, and the picture of Krishṇa drinking at his mother's breast is to be laid directly on the jug. *Ms.* besides, leaves optional instead of it, the worship of the two asleep on a *mañchaka* (couch). Lastly, on occasion of the *Jayantî* festival, treated of separately in *Ms.* = *J.* (see above, p. 179), no mention at all is made of the last mode; Krishṇa's picture, further, is not laid directly on the jug, but a "new red" jug, "filled with consecrated water, provided with the so-called five jewels,* and adorned† with perfumes and wreaths of flowers," is in the first place to be covered by another vessel, of gold, silver, copper, or reeds (according to circumstances), filled with sesame, and it is then on this vessel that the golden picture of the god comes to lie; which has moreover to represent him as a suckling infant looking up into his mother's face.—In all these points, then, *D* agrees completely, only it adds that the child presses the point of the breast with his hands, and looks up repeatedly and lovingly into the face of the mother: after this only, according to *D*, is the *sûtikágriham* to be prepared.

Quite the same representation as in *D*, or at the *Jayantî* form in *Ms.*, is found in *Ud.*, only that it is added that the jug is to be placed in the octagon-shaped middle of the *sarvatobhadramaṇḍalam*; the Krishṇa in the picture moreover is described here as four-armed, obviously to mark especially Krishṇa's identity with Vishṇu. Lastly, *Vi.* 1-2, *Śc.* make no mention at all of the relation of Krishṇa to his mother. A golden figure of Krishṇa covered with a cloth is to be worshipped over a jug, *Vi* 1 says quite shortly, while *Vi* 2 (as well as a marginal note on it of a different wording) and *Śc*, in agreement with *D.* (*Vr.*), cover the jug in the first place with a vessel, and the image is only to be placed on the latter. *Vi.* has all kinds of specialities in regard to it; gives, among other things, the measure—that is, the value—of the golden Krishṇa-image at eight *máshas*, which does not seem

† śrîvatsavakshaḥpûrṇáṁgaṁ *O R* (p. 28), śrîvatsavakshasaṁ śántaṁ *Śa. N.* (*Ká.*)

‡ *K.* wants the whole hemistich.

§ Here *Vr.* inserts, very *mal à propos*, the description of the *kalaśa*, &c.

¶ With exception of *Śb*, where indeed the *maṇḍapa* is named as the place of worship, but regarding the mode of the latter, whether over *paryanka* or *kalaśa*, nothing is said. It is moreover addressed there to Krishṇa alone, who, at the same time, as the further details show, is represented also as newly born.

* Gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby, and pearl, Hemâdri in *Sk.*; according to the Gauḍa, gold, silver, corals, pearl, and *rájapaṭṭa* (?), *ibid.*

† All these accounts of the jug result from the adjective pûrvokte, referring back to fol. 20*a* (navaṁ lohitaṁ śuddhodakapûritam pañcharatnopetaṁ gandhákshatapushpamâlâlaṁkṛitaṁ kalaśaṁ) by which it is here (see p. 288) described, and they apply also, in like manner, to the *janmáshṭamî* also.

very high (according to Manu viii. 134 this would be only a half-*sauvarṇa*, 40 *kṛishṇala*). The addition (see p. 286 n.) made by *Vr.* describes only the preparing of the *kalaśa*, and its being set up in a *sarvatobhadramaṇḍala*, both quite as *D. Vi* 2 and *Śc.;* regarding the use to be made of it for the worship of the image of Kṛishṇa *Vr.* is altogether silent: as the author cannot well set himself too much in opposition to the other texts quoted by him, as well as to his sources *S N.;* he borrows, however, in the course of the discussion two more additions from the *kalaśa*-ritual, namely the 16 *upachâras* and the *angapûjâ* (see below, p. 291).

Now this worship over the jug is a highly peculiar feature, the cause of which, as well as the object of it, is still not quite clear to me. I have first met with it in that festival-cycle which (see p. 179) the *Varâhapurâṇa* consecrates to the ten or eleven *avatâras* of Vishṇu, which are all to be worshipped in the same manner (as above in *Vi.* and *Śc*). Perhaps just in this lies the explanation of the riddle. At the head of these *avatâras* stands the incarnation of Vishṇu as a *fish*, and in this the worship in or over a jug is of course fully justified :‡ perhaps the celebration of the other festivals of this kind may have been regulated according to the type of the first *avatâra*-festival? The jug in which, according to the tradition,—see *Śatap. Br.* I., 8. 1. 3 (*kumbhyâm*), *Ind. Stud.* vol. I. p. 163,—the first progenitor Manu brought up the fish which saved him from the flood would then be the original§ of this.

From the accounts in *Ms.* of the festivals of the *Vaishṇava* ritual it further follows with certainty that this same type recurs in them throughout, and this harmony after all is not confined merely to the worship over the jug, but extends itself to the whole habitus of the celebration, *viz.* to the *añgapûjâ*,—that is, the worship of the separate members of the idol's body,—to the watch kept through the night, and to the giving away of the idol to the *âchârya* on the next morning at the breaking of the fast. In *Ms.*, it is true, several further specialities appear, as the placing of the jug in the *sarvatobhadramaṇḍalam*, the detached explanation of the *añgapûjâ*, &c., and the coincidence of *Vi. Śc.* also in them shows that their representation, while it keeps aloof from the special peculiarities of the *Janmâshṭamî* celebration, is founded on an adaptation to the general forms of the *Vaishṇava* ritual.

The connected texts run thus:—

Sb. maṇḍapaṁśobhanaṁkṛitvâ phalapushpâdibhir yutam | tasmin mâm pûjayed bhaktyâ gandhapushpâdibhiḥ pṛithak || 56 ||
upachâraiḥ shoḍaśabhir dvâdaśâksharavidyayâ |

Ms. (fol. 32*b*) *tanmadye sarvatobhadramaṇḍale pûrvokte kalaśe haimîṁ râjatâṁ tâmrîm paittalâṁ* (!) *maṇimayâṁ* (!) *vârkshîm mṛinmayîṁ lekhyarûpâṁ vâ sambhavantîm śrî-Kṛishṇapratimâṁ Devakîstanaṁdhayâṁ vinyasya, mañchake vâ prasuptamâtṛistanam pivantaṁ suptaṁ śrî-Kṛishṇaṁ vinyasya.* . . .

J. tataḥ pûrvoktakalaśasthâpite haime raupye tâmre vaiṇave vâ tilapûrṇapâtre haimaṁ Devakîstanaṁdhayam jananîmukham avalokayantaṁ kshîrâdisnâpitaṁ devam avasthâpya. . . .

D. uposhakas tu madhyâhne snataḥ śuklatilaiḥ śubhaiḥ || 97 ||
kṛitvâ "hnikaṁ tataḥ karma sthâpayed avraṇaṁ ghaṭam | pañcharatnasamâyuktampavitrodakapûritam || 98 ||
tasyopari nyaset pâtraṁ sauvarṇaṁ vâ 'tha râjatam | tâmraṁ vâ vaiṇavaṁ vâ 'pi kṛitvâ śaktyanusârataḥ || 99 ||
nyûnaṁ vâ 'py adhikaṁ vâ 'pi vittaśâṭhyaṁ na kârayet | tasyopari¶ *nyased devaṁ sauvarṇaṁ lakshaṇânvitam* || 100 ||
pibantaṁ stanataḥ kshîraṁ kuchâgraṁ pâṇinâ spṛiśan (nomin. !) | *âlokayantam premṇâ tu mukham mâtur muhur muhuḥ* || 101 ||
evaṁ kṛitvâ tu govindam mâtrâ saha jagatpatim | sudêśe 'laṁkṛite kuryâd Devakyâḥ sûtikâgṛiham || 102 ||

Ud. sarvatobhadramaṇḍalaṁkartavyam | madhye ekaṁ kumbhaṁ sthâpya, tathâ parito dvâdaśa kumbhânt sodakânt sapallavân phalaratnahiraṇyavâsobhir alaṁkṛitân pratishṭhâpya, tadupari śrîparṇîtham pâtraṁ tâmra-rûpya-vaṁśajaṁ mṛinmayaṁ vâ nidhâya, tatra sugandhinirmitasarva tobhadramadhye ashṭadale śrîkṛishṇapratimâṁ suvarṇamayîṁ Devakîstanaṁ dhâvayantîṁ (should we read *dhayantîm?* see *Pet. Wort.*) *chaturbhujâm*

‡ In the middle of four jugs which represent the four seas, in the *matsyadvâdaśî* (in *Mârgaśira* month, Chambers 585*a*, fol. 131*a*) a stand is placed covered with a cloth (*teshâm madhye śubham pîṭhaṁ sthâpayed, vastragarbhitam* also a golden, silver, copper, or wooden vessel (*pâtram*); and in this the idol in the form of a golden fish is laid. The statement that then further this *pâtram* with the idol is to be set down upon a jug (*kumbha, ghaṭa, kalaśa,* &c.) is indeed not found here, but in the following *avatâra* (as Kûrma), from which it uniformly recurs in all the following *avatâras*.

§ Or, is there perhaps a reference here to the witchcraft ritual, where the writing down of a formula on a jug appears to pass for a magical means of fastening? Compare Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 97*b*, *saṁlikhet stambhanaṁ kumbhe.*

¶ Similarly before in the legend of Hariśchandra *ghaṭasyopari tadvach cha pâyayante stanaṁ harim* || 88 ||

ekaṁ karaṁ tu stane vyâpârayantîṁ Devakîmukham âlokayantîṁ sthâpayet |

Vi 1. *Krishṇamûrtiṁ cha sampâdya sauvarṇaṁ kalaśopari | chandanaṁ chá 'guruṁ dhûpaṁ pushpâṇi kamalâni cha* || 123 ||
vastreṇa veshṭitaṁ Krishṇaṁ pûjayed vividhais tadâ |

Vi 2. *madhye cha sthâpayet kumbhaṁ sauvarṇaṁ râjataṁ tathâ* || 21 ||
abhâve tâmrajaṁ vâpi mṛinmayaṁ vâ 'tha kârayet | *sudhâdhavalitaṁ kṛitvâ chandrasûryâṅkitaṁ śubhaṁ* || 22 ||
nâmâṅkitaṁ cha Krishṇasya jalapûrṇaṁ saratnakam | *gandhapushpâdisaṁyuktaṁ sapallavaphalaṁ tathâ* || 23 ||
pâtraṁ cha kârayet paśchâd dhemnâ va rajatena vâ | *abhâve tâmrapâtraṁ tu kumbhasyopari vinyaset* || 24 ||
sarve samudrâḥ saritas tîrthâni jaladâ nadâḥ (!) |
âyântu yajamânasya duritakshayakârakâḥ || 25 ||
sthitaṁ tvayi jagat sarvaṁ sasurâsuramânusham |
âtmanaḥ kâryasiddhyarthaṁ sthâpayâmi ghaṭopari || 26 || *kalaśasthâpanamantraḥ* |
murtiṁ cha kârayet tatra Krishṇasâsyaivaṁ vichakshaṇaḥ | *ashṭamâshapramâṇaṁ tu vittaśâṭhyaṁ tathâdhikam* || 27 ||
tadardhârdhena vâ śaktyâ yathâvat kârayed budhaḥ âvâhayet prayatnena pâtre kalaśasaṁsthitam || 28 ||

Vi 2 (marg.)...... *châ 'shṭapaṅkajam* | *tasyopari nyaset kumbhaṁ vartulaṁ tâmramayaṁ śubham*||
râjataṁ tâmrapâtraṁ vâ devaṁ tasyopari nyaset |
Devakîm sarvatobhadre, Yaśodâm pûjya paṅkaje ||...

Śc. maṇḍale sthâpayet kumbhaṁ tâmraṁ vâ mṛinmayaṁ śuchim || 9 ||
tasyopari nyaset pâtraṁ râjataṁ vaiṇavaṁ tu vâ |
vâsasâ "chhâdya Kaunteya pûjayet tatra mâm budhaḥ || 10 ||
upachâraiḥ shoḍaśabhir......

Vr. °*mañchakaṁ sthâpayet* (see above, p. 285 n.) |
. . . . (several statements here not to the point)
kalaśârchanaṁ śaṅkhârachanaṁ cha kuryât |
purushasûktena nyâsaṁ kuryat |
raṅgavallîsamâyukte sarvatobhadramaṇḍale | *avraṇaṁ sajalaṁ kumbhaṁ taṁram mṛinmayam vae vâ*||
saṁsthâpya vastrasaṁvîtaṁ kaṇṭhadeśe suśobhitam | *pañcharatnasamâyuktam phalagandhâkshatair yutam* ||
sâhiraṇyaṁ samâsâdya tâmreṇa paṭalena vâ | *vaṁśamṛinmayapâtreṇa yavapûrṇena chaiva hi* ||
âchhâdayet tach chailena, likhed ashṭadalaṁ tataḥ |
madhyâhne nadyâdijale. . . (see above, p. 286).

Now follows the preparation and erection of the remaining pictures which relate to the sacred history of the nativity of Krishṇa. The accounts regarding them are of a somewhat varying kind in the several texts: obviously a favourite subject lies before us here, which has consequently experienced numerous additions and variations. Only *Śc. Ud. Vi* 2: have nothing at all about it,* as throughout them Krishṇa's relationship to his mother, as well as all the special birth-ritual, is entirely wanting (see above, pp. 178, 171). According to *Kâ.* in the *Jayantî* form of the festival there is necessary, in the first place, a second Devakî-picture where Krishṇa is represented as held on her lap, while a Lakshmî-picture rubs the feet of Devakî resting on the couch. The other texts do not mention this second Devakî-picture; on the other hand, they place before us, and with perfect propriety, a picture of Yaśodâ, who is to be represented quite in the same manner as Devakî in the *sûtikâgṛiha* (*Śa. K.*), and in fact as just delivered of a beautiful girl. At Krishṇa's side stand with bowed head, from the tops of which wreaths of flowers hang down, all kinds of gods, demi-gods, demons, and spirits, represented as wandering through the air in various positions. His father Vasudeva also stands by, armed with sword and shield. Likewise dancing, happy *Apsarâs* and singing *Gandharvas.* The serpent-prince Kâliya in his Yamunâ-bed is also to be painted† there. Thus‡ *OC. Śa.*; while *C. Śa* add besides some verses according to which Kaṁsa's servants, Devakî's prison-guards, are to be represented in armour, but asleep, overcome by the magic slumber; likewise all kinds of armed *Dânava*-demons,§ especially such as Krishṇa when a child

* According to *Vi* 1, pictures of the ten *avatâras* of Vishṇu are to be put up, and also Devakî, the shepherds, and Yaśodâ, to be honoured: but whether this "also" (*tathaiva cha*) really refers to the putting up of their pictures is not clear.

† In a subsequent passage (*O* 53, see in the sequel) Krishṇa himself, the two pairs of parents, and his brother Baladeva are described as "to be set up" (to these a picture of the moon also, and its favourite star *rohiṇî*): so that there it is not probably paintings that are treated of.

‡ With the insertion of some verses which enumerate the gods and demigods as incarnations of whom the personalities of the "holy family" are to be regarded. Krishṇa's parents, Vasudeva and Devakî, are Kaśyapa and Aditi (he himself is Vishṇu); his foster-parents, Nanda and Yaśoda, are the *prajâpati* Daksha and Aditi (*O Śa.*, the earth *C K viz. kshiti* in *K*, *dharâ* in *C*); his brother Valabhadra (Valadeva) is the serpent-prince Śesha; his uncle and persecutor Kaṁsa has arisen out of the Asura Kâlanemi; the saint Garga (what has he to do here?) is Brahman (*chaturmukha*) himself. The milk-maids are *Apsaras,* and the cowherds also are inhabitants of heaven.

§ These bear here the curious names 'cow' (or 'ox'), 'milch-cow', 'elephant', and in *C* at least 'horse' also.

overcame, namely Pralamba, Dhenuka, Arishta, and the two wrestlers Chânûra and Mushtika. Indeed, whatever else, says *Śa*, is anyhow connected with Krishṇa's deeds (as a child), it is all to be painted there and worshipped devoutly.—According to *B.* particularly of the cowherds and the *gokulam* are also to be made, as well as, according to *D* and *Śa* 22*a*, the whole history of the Hari race and the *gokulam* to be painted. In *Śb* an image of Rohiṇi (second wife of Vasudeva) with her son Valadeva is especially required, as well as images of the milkmaids, cowherds, and cows, of the *gokulam*, of Yamunâ, and of the magical girl (the incarnation of *yogamâyâ*) whom Yaśodâ has just given birth to; all these images are either to be made of gold, silver, copper, metal, clay, wood, stone, or only to be painted.—According to *N.* (*Ś. Vr.*) it is only the ornamenting of the walls of the *sûtikâgriha* with such paintings that is required.—*Ms.* says nothing directly of the material of which the images are to be made, but describes them as to be put up (*avasthâpya*),—therefore, not as paintings; it adds besides, to Yaśodâ (with the child), Rohiṇî, Nanda, Valabhadra, Vasudeva, and the cows, also Kaṅsa, the *Pûtanâ* (see above, p. 176), asses and such like. According to *Kâ.* Vasudeva and Nanda, the milkmaids and cowherds, are to be painted on the walls (of the *sûtikâgriha*), &c.; upon another part of it Yaśodâ on a couch with her child; and again, on another stand, seven more images are to be put up, namely the two pairs of parents, Krishṇa himself, his brother Râma, and Chaṇḍikâ.|| Whoever cannot make so many images, let him at least be careful to put up the last-named seven, according to custom and ability; the others let him contemplate devoutly.

The related texts are as follows:—In the first place *OC. Śa.* (33*b*, 35*b*, 36; also in *K.* 33*b*, 35*a*, 36*b*; also in *R.*)

Yaśodâṁ châpi tatraiva prasûtâṁ varakanyakâm¶ || 33 ||
*tatra devâ grahâ nâgâ yakshaviprâsurâ narâh** |
saṁcharanta ivâkâśe prakârair uditoditaih† || 34 ||
Vasudevo 'pi tatraiva khaḍgacharmadharaḥ sthitaḥ |
Kâsyapo Vasudevo 'yam‡ *aditiś châpi*§ *Devakî* || 35 ||
śeshanâgo Valabhadro¶¶ *Yaśodâ ditya jayata*** |
Nandaḥ prajâpatir Daksho, Gargaś châpi chaturmukhaḥ†† || 36 ||
nrityantyo 'psaraso hrishṭa‡‡ *gandharvâ gîtatatparâḥ* |
lekhanîyaś cha tatraiva Kâlîyo§§ *Yamunâhrade* || 37 ||

C. inserts three more verses between 36 and 37 (40 in *C.*):—

esho 'vatâro devânâṁ Kaṅso 'yaṁ Kâlanemijaḥ |
tatra Kaṅsaniyuktâ ye dânavâ vividhayudhâḥ || 37 ||
te cha praharinas tatra suptâ nidrâvimohitâḥ |
Godhenuḥ Kuñjaro 'śvaś cha Dânavâḥ śastrapâṇayaḥ || 38 ||
Pralamvo Dhenuko 'rishṭo mallau Chânûra-Mushṭikau | *anye 'pi dânavâs tatra mânâpraharaṇodyatâḥ* || 39 ||

Śa. has instead of it the following verses (of which 36*b* is in *K.* also):—

gopyaś châ 'psarasaḥ sarvâḥ (°*śchaiva Śv* 1) *gopâś châ 'pi divaukasaḥ* || 34 ||
esho 'vatâro râjendra Kaṅso 'yaṁ Kâlanemijaḥ |
tatra Kaṅsaniyuktâś cha mohita yoganidrayâ (*Śv* 1, *roga*° *Śa*) || 35 ||
Go-dhenu-kuñjarâś ¶ *chaiva dânavâḥ śastrapâṇayaḥ* |

and inserts after v. 37 (= 36 in *Śa.*) the following verse in addition (which is also quoted in *K*):
*ity evam âdi yat kiṁchid vidyate** *charitam mama* | *lekhayitvâ prayatnena pûjayed bhaktitatparaḥ* || 37 ||

|| By Chaṇḍikâ here must surely be meant Balarâma's mother Rohiṇî, for the usual meaning of the word Durgâ does not suit at all. In *R.* p. 28, indeed, Rohiṇî and Chaṇḍikâ are named beside each other (.. *Yaśodâ-Nanda-Rohiṇî-Chaṇḍikâ-Valadevân pûjayet*)—probably however, only by mistake, as some such occur also elsewhere in *R.* (see above, p. 167). Perhaps a different name than the usual one has been given here to the mother of Balarâma, because later still another *rohiṇî*, namely the star which passes for the wife of the Moon, comes in for adoration (see note † p. 288, and below, p. 293).

¶ prasûtavarakarṇikâṁ *O*, Yaśodâ prasûtavarakanyakâ *R.*—*Śa. K* read (and rightly, as a verb is wanting to govern the accusative in 32*b* 33): Yaśodâm tatra chaikasmin pradeśe sûtikâgrihe || 29 ||
tadvach cha kalpayet Pârtha prasûtâṁ varakanyakâm (prasûtavara° *K*) |
tathaiva mama pârśvasthâḥ kritâñjalîputâ nripa || 30 ||
devâ grahâs tathâ nâgâ yakshavidhyâdharâmarâḥ |
praṇatâḥ pushpamâlâgrachâruhastâḥ śurâsurâḥ || 31 ||

* *yakshavidyâdharoragâḥ. C*, where another hemistich:—*praṇatâḥ pushpamâlâgrahastaḥ kâryâḥ surâsurâḥ.*—*Śa.* has three hemistichs:

† ? *uditedinaiḥ O, prâkâśair uditodite C, prakârair uditoditaiḥ Śa.*

‡ *'tha C.*

§ *chaiva Śa. K.*

¶¶ *śeshenâgâ Valîbhadro O, Valadevaḥ śeshanâgo C, śesho vai Valadevo* (°*bhadro K.*), *'yaṁ Śa. K.*

** Thus *O ditr* (*kshitir, K*) *anvabhût Śa. K, sâ dharâ 'bhavat C.*

†† *Valabhadras tathâ Nando Daksho Gargaś chaturmukhaḥ, R. Śk.*

‡‡ *nrityanto O, nrityanty C, nrityantaś châ 'psarobhis te Śa.*

§§ *kâliyo C. Śa. K.*

¶ *Gaur Dhenuḥ Kuñjaraś K.*

* *kiṁchichhakyate, K.*

B. Vasudevasya† *Nandasya gopânâṁ gokalasya cha* || 73 ||
Yaśodâ châpi‡ *tatraiva prasûtâ varakanyakâ(m)* | *dvâre vinyastamuśalaṁ sarvarakshâmanvitam*§ || 74 ||
Yamunâṁ¶ *nimnagâṁ tatra pushpamâlâvibhûshitâm* |

D. harivaṅśasya cha tathâ gokulaṁ vilikhâpayet || 103 ||

*Śb. sadyaḥprasûtâṁ jananîṁ Vasudevaṁ** *cha mârisham* || 57 ||
Valadevasamâyuktâṁ Rohiṇîṁ guṇaśobhinîm†† |
Nandaṁ Yaśodâṁ gopîś cha gopân gâś chaiva sarvaśaḥ || 58 ||
gokulaṁ Yamunâṁ chaiva yogamâyâṁ cha dârikâm | *Yaśodâṁ śayane suptâṁ sadyojâtâṁ varaprabhâm* || 59 ||
evaṁ sampûjayet samyaṅ nâmamantraiḥ prithak prithak | *suvarṇarûpyatâmrâramṛidâdibhir*‡‡ *alaṁkṛitâḥ* || 60 ||
kâshṭhapâshâṇarachitâś chitram apy atha lekhitâḥ | *pratimâ vividhâḥ proktâs tâsu châ 'nyatarâ yajet*§§ || 61 ||

NŚ. Vr. tasya (i.e. the *sûtikâgṛiha*) *samantâd bhittishu sakusumâñjalîn devagandharvâdîn khaḍgacharmadhara Vasudeva-Devakî-Nanda-Yaśodâ-Garga-gopî-gopân, Kaṅsaniyuktân Go-Dhenu,-Kuñjarân, Yamunâm, tanmadhye Kâliyam, anyach cha tatkâlînaṁ gokulacharitaṁ yathâsambhavaṁ likhitvâ* |

Ms. kvachit pradeśe sakanyakâṁ Yaśodâ(m) Rohiṇî(ṁ) Nanda(ṁ) Valabhadraṁ gâś chopakalp(ay)e(d), Devakîsamîpe khaḍgahastaṁ Vasudevaṁ stuvantaṁ (*sru°* MS.) *vâ* | *Kaṅsa-Pûtanâ-râsabhâdîni châvasthâpya kaulam* (?) *anusmṛitya* (?) *°spṛityâ* MS.) *Devakyai pushpâñjali(ṁ) dâdyât* |

Kâ. Jayantîsattve tv anya-Devakyâ utsaṅge dvitîyâṁ śrîKṛishṇamûrtiṁ nidhâya paryaṅkastha-Devakîcharaṇasaṁvâhanaparâṁ Lakshmîṁ nidhâya, bhittyâdau khaḍgadharaṁ Vasudevaṁ Nandaṁ gopî-gopân likhitvâ, pradeśântare mañchake prasûtakanyayâ saha Yaśodâpratimâm, pîṭhântare Vasudeva-Devakî-Nanda-Yaśodâ-śrîKṛishṇa-Râma-Chaṇḍikâ iti sapta pratimâḥ sthâpayet | *etâvatpratimâkaraṇâśaktau Vasudevâdi-Chaṇḍikântâḥ sapta vâ yathâśakti vâ kṛitvâ, anyâḥ sarvâ yathâyatham dhyâyet* |

Vi 1. matsyaḥ kûrmo 'tha varâho nârasiṁho 'tha vâmanaḥ || 125 ||
Râmo Râmaś cha Kṛishṇaś cha Bud(d)dhaḥ Kalkî cha te daśa | *sthâpayed daśa rûpâṇi, Devakîṁ* (an akshara wanting) *tathaiva cha* || 126 ||
gopâlâṅś cha Yaśodâm cha pûjayech cha prayatnataḥ |

After the *sûtikagṛiham* is put up and decorated in this manner, when night begins to come on (*Kâ.* 'in the night,' *D*) the adoration of the holy family takes place in it. First of all Devakî is worshipped. Perfumes, incense, roasted barley, and beautiful fruits, as cucumbers, cocoanuts, dates, pomegranates (*C.*), and citrons, betel-nuts, oranges, bread-fruit, or as time and place afford, are offered to her, and after the (whole history of the) incarnation as above (see note on p. 288) given has been devoutly meditated upon, the following prayer,¶¶ composed in the artificial measure *sragdharâ*, is addressed to Devakî:—

"Hail to the goddess, mother of the god,* to Devakî of the beautiful countenance and lovely form, who with her son, highly rejoiced at heart,† sits here on a couch in sweet slumber,‡ constantly surrounded by troops of singing *kiṅnara* who sound flutes and lutes, and taken care of by servants who carry golden jars of consecrated water,§ looking-glasses, jugs,|| and garments in their hands."

A short salutation is also to be addressed to Śrî, Vishṇu's wife, whom we have to think¶ of as sitting on a lotus and diligently rubbing the feet of Devakî. And now follow more such short salutations to Devakî herself and to the other members of the holy family, namely to Vasudeva, Valadeva, Kṛishṇa himself, Nanda, and Yaśodâ; *C* adds also Kṛishṇa's sister Subhadrâ, *Ca* Rohiṇî

† Namely, *pratimâ kâryâ* is to be suppressed from 72*b* (see above, p. 286).

‡ ? *Yaśodayâpi*, MS.

§ This hemistich is evidently transposed.

¶ A blank! For on what do these accusatives depend?

* So *Śv.* 2, *°vasya Śb.*

†† So *Śv.* 2, *gunarohiṇîm Śb.*

‡‡ *sûpya, mṛitsnâdi° Śb., raupya Śv* 2.

§§ *vividhâ Śb. Śv.* 2.; *proktâ tâsu mâṁ cha naro yajet Śv.* 2.

¶¶ By women and by *Śûdras*—that is when they prepare the festival—the prayers are omitted. According to *O* 15 the festival is appointed expressly for all castes, including *Śûdrâs* and other pious people:
punar janmâshṭamîṁ lokâḥ kurvantu brâhmaṇâdayah |
kshatriyâ vaiśyajâtiyâḥ śûdra ye 'nye 'pi dharmiṇaḥ (so *Śu*, ntyaye O_1, bhyaye O_2, śûdrâś châ 'nye 'pi dhârmikâḥ *C*).

* *devamâtar* might also be 'mother of gods;' thus it is, for example, to be understood on p. 291 as a surname of Aditi.

† So *O* 'with happy countenance' in the other texts.

‡ So according to *O*; the other texts have 'on a well-furnished couch.'

§ Or, according to another way of reading, 'sweet-smelling powder': *bhṛiṅgâra* is, however, the *lectio doctior*, which would scarcely have been put in the place of *śṛiṅgâra* (*bh* and *c* change indeed in the MSS. frequently).

|| 'Jugs' a second time? but what to make of *kuṁta, kula* I do not know.

¶ *Kâ.* desires (see above, p. 288) a figurative representation of her also.

instead of these two *N. Kâ* have Chaṇḍikâ alone. The idols are, according to *Śa. Kâ.* (where in detail), to be bathed with milk and such like, and to be anointed with sandalwood. *Ms.* knows only of a distribution of flowers to Devakî (with the above prayer) and to Kṛishṇa. *N.* (*Ś. Vr.*) adds here already the verses given at the presenting of water for bathing, &c., which follow in *O.* below (see pp. 293, 295), and *Vr.* particularly brings in sixteen such offerings of gifts (*upachâra*) to Kṛishṇa (see above, pp. 176, 287) inserting between them moreover the worship of the members of his body (*aṅgapûja*). Both these latter proceedings are mentioned also in a second account in *Kâ.*, which for this purpose makes special use of the 16 verses of the *purushasûkta*, as well as in *Śc.*,* where, however, the *aṅgapûjâ* is only found in *Śv.* 3. In *Śc.* there follow then more name-prayers to some persons of the holy family, viz. Devakî and Vasudeva, Rohiṇî and Bala; after them similar ones to Sâtyaki, Uddhava, Akrûra, Ugrasena, and other Yâdava heroes, further to Nanda, to the newly-delivered Yaśodâ, to the cowherds and milkmaids, to Kâlindî, that is Yamunâ, and to Kâliya (the serpent prince). *Vi.* 1 mentions quite shortly (see above, pp. 288, 290), that, along with the ten *avatâras*, images of whom are to be set up, Devakî, the cowherds, and Yaśodâ shall also be worshipped. Likewise *Śb.* (see p. 290). *Vi.* 2 has nothing at all relating to this, and brings in only prayers and gifts referring to Kṛishṇa alone.—Thus also *B.*, according to which flowers, all kinds of ointments and perfumes, tapers, and beautiful fruits are to be offered to him.—*Ud.* among a large crowd of invocations and offerings addressed partly to Kṛishṇa alone, partly also to the ten *avatâras* of Vishṇu, has at least twice a *Devakîpûjâ* also, in which, among others, she is worshipped also by the names which belong to the wife of Śiva. A prominent *rôle*, on the other hand, is played by Devakî again in *D. Ca. J.*, where some beautiful prayers are addressed only to her and her son. And according to *Ca.*, the members of the holy family are previously to be called on by name-prayers; *D. J.* however, have nothing about this. According to *D.*, Hari (that is Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa) is previously to be honoured with flowers and fruits, &c. amid reciting of the *Purushasûkta* (*Ṛik.* x. 90), &c.; an arbour is to be put up, singing, music and dancing to be indulged in, and all sort of legends of Kṛishṇa and Vishṇu, especially of his *avatâras*, are to be related (see above, p. 176). The prayer to Devakî begins with the *sragdharâ* verse just translated, (p. 290) which is here described as *paurâṇika*, and then proceeds in the usual *śloka* measure thus:

Honour to thee, to Devakî, who hast borne Kṛishṇa to us! |
The goddess blotting out sins be appeased, be worshipped by me ||
The mother† of gods Aditi, art thou, annihilating all guilt. |
Therefore I will honour thee now,—be gracious, lovely-countenanced one!— ||
As only the gods honour thee. Show kindness to me, gracious one. |
Even as thou attainedst highest happiness when thou gottest Hari for a son. ||
Just that happiness, O thou goddess, let me see—the beautiful son |

And now follow the prayers to Kṛishṇa himself:—

A thousand incarnations makest thou indeed, O Madhusûdana! |
No one anywhere on the earth knows the number of thy incarnations; ||
The gods themselves, Brahman at their head, know not thy real nature. |
Therefore will I honour thee now as thou restest on thy mother's lap. ||
Fulfil my wishes, God! cancel my wickedness. |
Make purification for me, O God, blotter-out of the fear of earthly pain! ||

The following are the passages belonging to this. First from *O.*‡ *C. Śa.*:

ramyâm evaṁvidhâṁ kritvâ Devakîṁ navasûtikâm,§ tâm Pârtha pûjayed¶ bhaktyâ gandhadhûpâkshataiḥ phalaiḥ*†† || 38 ||

* *Śb.*, too, has the 16 *upachâras*: see above, p. 287. These, along with the *aṅgapûjâ*, probably belong to the *kalaśa* ritual.

† *devamâtar* is probably to be so understood here: see above, p. 290 n.

‡ 40 also in *DNK Ms.* 38*b*, 41 in *R*, 41 also in *K*.

§ *Śa.* 1 joins 38*a* and 39*a* as follows:—*ramyâm* (*ramyâm*, *Sv.*) *evam vîjapûraiḥ pushpamâlâdiśobhitaiḥ* | probably there is a blank here after *ramyâm evam*:—39*b* in *Śa.* stands before 38*b*.

¶ *pâdyârghyaiḥ pûj. Śa, evam sampûj. R* p. 26, *pûjanîyâs tathâ R* p. 28.

* *gandhapushpâ°* *C Śa R.* (both times).

†† °taiḥ saha *Śv.* 1., °tair jalaiḥ *R* p. 28.—*C.* adds to this: kûshmâṇḍair nâlikelaiś cha kharjûrair dâḍimîphalaiḥ |

vîjapûraiḥ pûgaphalair nâraṁgaiḥ‡ *panasais tathâ*§ | *kâladeśodbhavair mṛishṭaiḥ pushṭaiś*¶ *châpi Yudhishṭhira* | *dhyâtvâ 'vatâram prâguktam mantreṇâ 'nena mantrayet** || 39 ||
gâyadbhiḥ kiṁnaraughaiḥ† *satataparivṛitâ*‡‡ *veṇuvîṇâninâdair bhṛiṅgârâdarśakumbhapravarakṛitakarair kiṁkarair sevyamânâ*§§ | *paryaṅke sâ sushuptâ muditataramanâ(ḥ)*¶¶ *putriṇî samyag âste sâ devî devamâtâ jayati*** *suvadanâ*†† *Devakî kântarûpâ*‡ || 40 ||
pâdâv abhyañjayantî Śrîr§ *Devakyâś*¶ *charaṇântike** | *nishaṇṇâ*† *paṅkaje pûjyâ*‡‡ *namo devyai Śriyâ iti*§§ || 41 ||
oṁ Devakyai namaḥ, oṁ Vasudevâya namaḥ, oṁ Valadevâya namaḥ, oṁ Nandâya namaḥ¶¶ | *ity evam âdi nâmâni*** *samuchchârya*†† *pṛithak pṛithak* || 42 ||
pûjayeyur dvijâḥ sarve, strîśûdrâṇâm amantrakam |

Instead of 42.43*a*, *Śa.* has the following verses:
devavatse namas te 'stu, Kṛishṇotpâdanatatparâ || 42 ||
pâpakshayakarâ (°*rî Śv* 1) *devî tushṭiṁ yâtu mamâ 'rchitâ* | *praṇavâdi namo'ntaṁ cha pṛithaṅ nâmânukîrtane* (*naṁ Śv* 1) || 43 ||
kuryât pûjâṁ vidhijnaś cha sarvapâpâpanuttaye | *Devakyai Vasudevâya Vâsudevâya chaiva hi* ||44 ||
Valadevâya Nandâya Yaśodâyai pṛithak pṛithak | *kshîrâdisnapanaṁ kṛitvâ châdanenâ 'nulepayet*‡ ||45||

N. agnyuttâraṇaṁ kṛitvâ pratimâkapolau spṛishṭvâ taddevatânâmamûlamantram (*Vr.*, °*tânâṁ mûla*° *N* in *Ś* omitted) *praṇavâdi chaturthyantaṁ nâma vâ, asmai* (!) *devatvasaṁsthâyai* (*Ś*, °*khyâyai N*) *svâheti cha* (*cha* omitted in *Vr.*) *mantraṁ paṭhan prâṇapratishṭhâṁ kuryât* | *asmâ ity asya sthâne tattaddevatânâma grâhyam* |

· *gâyadbhiḥ . . . Devakî divyarûpâ* || *iti Devakîm mâṁ châ 'pi* (*N.*, *mañchakopari Ś. Vr.*) *vâlakam . . . nîlotpaladalachhavim iti* (*N. Ś.*, *evam Devakî* [sic] *saha Vr.*) *śrîKṛishṇaṁ cha* (wanting in *Vr.*) *dhyâtvâ, oṁ namo devyai śriye* (*śriyai Vr. śriyai nâma Ś.*) *iti Śriyam, Devakîsahitaṁ Vasudevam, Yaśodâsahitaṁ Nandam, śrîKṛishṇasahitaṁ Valadevam, Chaṇḍikâm cha, namo'ntair mâmamantraiḥ pûjayet* |

Śc. vâsasâchhâdya Kaunteya pûjayet tatra mâm budhaḥ || 10 ||
upachâraiḥ shoḍaśabhir . . . these sixteen *upachâra* follow, to which in *Śv* 3. another *aṅgapûjâ* is added, after which the text proceeds:) *atha parivâradevatâpûjâ:*
Devakîṁ Vaśudevaṁ cha Rohiṇîṁ sa-Balâṁ tathâ | *Śâtyakiṁ cho 'ddhavâkûrâv Ugrasenâdi-Yâdavân* || 27 ||
Nandaṁ Yaśodâṁ tatkâle prasûtâṁ gopagopikâḥ | *Kâlindîṁ Kâliyaṁ chaiva pûjayen nâmamantrataḥ* || 28 ||

Ms. . . Devakyai pushpâñjaliṁ dadyât | *tatra mantraḥ: gâyadbhiḥ . . kântarûpâ iti* || *viśveśvarâya viśvâya tathâ viśvabhavâya cha* | *viśvasya* (*vinyasya MS.*) *pataye tubhyaṁ Govindâya namo namaḥ iti Kṛishṇâya pushpâñjaliṁ dadyât* |

Kâ. niśîthâsannaprâkkale snâtvâ | "*srî Kṛishṇaprîtyarthaṁ saparivâraśrîKṛishṇapûjâṁ karishya*" *iti saṁkalpya nyâsân* (with *ârâma*) *śaṅkhâdi pûjântaṁ nityavat kṛitvâ* ||
paryaṅkasthâṁ kinnarâdyair yutâṁ dhyâyet tu Devakîṁ | *śrîKṛishṇaṁ bâlakaṁ dhyâyet paryaṅke stanapâyinam* ||
śrîvatsatsavakshasaṁ śântaṁ nîlotpaladalachhavim | *saṁvâhayantîṁ Devakyâḥ pâdau dhyâyech cha tâṁ Śriyam* ||
evaṁ dhyâtvâ "*Devakyai nama*" *iti Devâkîm âvâhyâ, mûlamantreṇa purushasûkta-ṛichâ vâ* "*śrîKṛishṇâya namaḥ, śrîKṛishṇam âvâhayâmîty*" *âvâhya, Lakshmîṁ châ* "*vâhya,* "*Devakyai Vasudevâya Yaśodâyai Nandâya śrîKṛishṇâya Râmâya Chaṇḍikâyai*" *iti nâmnâ* "*vâhya likhitâdidevatâḥ* "*sakalaparivâradevatâbhyo nama*" *ity âvâhya mûlena sûkta-ṛichâ vâ 'trâ* "*vâhita-Devaky âdiparivâradevatâsahita-śrîKṛishṇâya nama ity âsanapâdyârghyâchamanîyâbhyaṅgasnânâni dattvâ pañchâmṛitasnânânte chandanenâ 'nulepayet, śuddhodakâbhishekânte vastrayajnopavîtagandhapushpâṇi dhûpadîpau cha . . . dadyât* | . . . . |

athavodyâpanaprakaraṇokta§-*vidhinâ pûjâ* | *sâ yathâ* | *uktaprakâreṇa dhyânâvâhane kṛitvâ, D* 117[b] 118[a] (see p. 293) "*purusha evedam*" (*Ṛik* X, 90,2) *âsanam* | D 116[b] 117[a] "*etâvân asyeti*" (*Ṛik* X, 90,3) *pâdyam* | *D* 129[b] 130,131[b] (see p. 295) "*tripâd ûrdhva*" (*Ṛ.* X, 90,4) *ity arghyam* . . . . | in the same way follow also *snânam, pañchâmṛitam, vastram, yajnopavîtam, gandham, pushpam* . . . . . each introduced by a verse of the *purushasûkta* and another verse, then an *aṅgapûjâ*, after that again in

‡ °*phalaiḥ O, phalai pakvânnaiḥ C.*
§ *panasair api C.*
¶ *pushṭîś O, mukhyaiḥ pushpâiś C, bhavaiḥ pushpaiḥ phalaiś Śa.*
* *pûjayet C.—mantreṇâ 'nena Kaunteya Devakîm pûjayen narah Śa. K.*
† So *C., kinnarâdyaiḥ O. Śa. D. N* (*Ś Vr.*) *K. Ms.*
‡‡ So *K. D, parivṛitau O. parivṛitaṁ C, parigataṁ Śa., parigatâ Śv.* 1.
§§ So *DN.Ms., kinnaraiḥ sevyamânâ C Śa K., kinnarair gîyamânâ O.*
¶¶ °*mukhî C Śa N K Ms.,* °*varamukhi D.*
** *janayatu Śa, jayatu Śv* 1. *Ms., diśatu D.*
†† *sasutâ Śa, sutanayâ K. Ms., sutanujâ D.*
‡ So *C Śa. K D.Ms., kântirûpâ O. divyarûpâ N.*

§ *Śrî O, sâ Śv* 1, *pâdâmav* (!) *abhyañjayantî Śa, pâdau saṁvâhayantî K., pâdâv amuñchayantî R* (p. 28).
¶ So *R. K., Devakyâ O, devasya C, śrîdevyâś Śa.*
* *charaṇântikâ O.*
† *niśîthe Śv.* 1.
‡‡ *Śa.* inserts here *divyagandhânulepanaiḥ* | *paṅkajaiḥ* (*pañchakaih Śv.* 1) *pûjayed devîm.*
§§ *śrîye O, śriyeti cha C, śriyai iti Śa. R. K.*
¶¶ *oṁ* is wanting in *C* throughout. After *Valadevâya namaḥ C.* has: *śrîKṛishṇâya namaḥ, Subhadrâyai namaḥ, Nandagopâya namaḥ, Yaśodâyai namaḥ.*
** *ity evam âdi vâ O* 2, *vâsudevâdinâmâni C.*
†† *uchchâryaivaṁ, C.*
‡ So *Śv.* 1, °*nânuvilepayat Śa.*
§ Neither *Ud.* nor *Śc.* is meant by this, for both differ.

the same manner *dhupá, dípa, naivedya, áchamanam* and *karodvartanam, támbúla, nírájana, pushpáñjali.*

D¶ *evaṁ kṛitvá vidhánena yathávibhavasárataḥ* || 110 ||
niśi púja vidhátavyá Devakyáḥ śiśavasya (*! śiśoḥ ?*) *cha* | *mantreṇá 'nena deveśíṁ dhyáyet pauráṇikena cha* || 111 ||
gáyadbhiḥ . . . . kántarúpá || 112 ||
*Devakyai te namas tubhyaṁ Krishṇotpádanatatpare** | *pápakshayakarí deví tushṭíṁ yátu mayá 'rchitá* || 113 ||
aditir† *devamátá tvaṁ*‡ *sarvapápapraṇáśiní* | *at as tvám pújayishyámi prasída tvaṁ varánane* || 114 ||
pújitá 'si yathá devaiḥ prasádaṁ kuru suvrate | *yathá*§ *Hariṁ sutaṁ labdhvá práptá cha*¶ *nirvṛitis tvayá* || 115 ||
*táṁ eva nirvṛitiṁ dehi***suputráṁ darśayasva me*†† | *avatárasahasráṇi*‡‡ *karoti madhusúdanaḥ*§§ || 116 ||
na kaśchid avatáráṇáṁ saṁkhyáṁ jánáti te bhuvi¶¶ | *devá brahmádayo vápi** *svarúpaṁ na vidus tava* || 117 ||
atas tvám pújayishyámi mátur utsaṅgasaṁsthitam† | *vañchhitaṁ kuru me deva dushkṛitaṁ cha vináśaya*‡ || 118 ||
pavitraṁ kuru me§ *deva saṁsárártibhayápaha* |

B. tat Pártha pújayed bhaktyá pushpair nánávidhaiḥ śubhaiḥ || 75 ||
chandana(ṁ) vimalaṁ śubhraṁ dadyád vá kuṅkumaṁ tadá | *karpúrágarudhúpaṁ cha dípadánaṁ tathaiva cha* || 76 ||
pítavastreṇa dadyách cha bhaktibhávena vá punaḥ | *dáḍimair bíjapúraiś cha nárikelair mahatphalaiḥ(!)* || 77 ||

Ud. Devakípújá | *ehy ehi devi durge tvaṁ Krishṇapuryádhivásini* (!) | *Vasudevena sahitá mama saubhágyadáyini* || *áváhanam* | *sarvatírthamaye deva* (!) *sarvagandhamayeti* (!) *cha* | *toyená 'nena su* (! sic) *snátvá puṇyadurge prasída me* || *snánam* | . . . . . *Devakípújá* | *Devakyai° Vasudeváya° Yaśodáyai° Rohiṇyai° Nandáyai* (!)° *gopáláyai*(!)° *śaṁkarapriyáyai° parameśvaryai° annapúrṇáyai° lakshmyai° yogamáyáyai° jaganmátáiyai*(!)° *sukhadáyai°rudráṇyai° párvatyai° kámadayai° rukmiṇí* (!) *Gaṅgáyai° raṇádevyai*(!)° *Yamunáyai° sarvasaubhágyai*(!)° *Jánakyai° Umáyai° sarasvatyai*(!)° *putradáyai* (!) *revatyai° brahmáṇyai° mahákályai°* |

"Some wish here still another rite": with these words *O C Śa* introduce the statement about a gift of honour (*argha, argham, arghyam*) to be addressed to the moon at its rising. It is to be preceded by a similar one to Kṛishṇa himself, in which he is first invoked by forty of the names of Vishṇu, whereupon amid reciting of prayers prepared in a peculiarly solemn form, water for bathing, gifts of honour, sandalwood, incense, and a couch are offered to him. The prayer to the moon invokes it to accept the *argha*-gifts in company with *rohiṇí*, and by this is meant here not Balaráma's mother, but that star, the favourite station of the moon, Aldebaran, whose coinciding with the date of the festival itself gives to the latter, as we have already seen, the *Jayantí*-form. After this Kṛishṇa himself, *rohiṇí* and the moon, Kṛishṇa's two pairs of parents, and his brother Valadeva—that is, probably, images of all them,—are to be put up on a place prepared and suitable for offerings (see above, p. 174), and to be worshipped.

What is put down here as only the opinion of some is, according to *M* (f. 83*b*: *atra Jayantyáṁ chandrárghyasyá 'vaśyaṁkartavyatvát*) necessary; and the rest of the texts also, as far as they mention at all this gift of honour to the moon (*Ca. Śb. Vi* 1. *Vi* 2, *Ud. J* have nothing regarding it), bring it in as an integral part of the celebration. They differ, however, from *O C Śa*, first of all in this, that as far as they at all recognize the birth-ritual (see imme-

¶ *Ca.* introduces the verses *D.* 115-119*a* in the following way (compare above, p. 284):
iti niyamaṁ gṛihîtvâ ashṭadalam padmam chandanena likhitvâ tasmin padme
Kṛishṇam cha Valabhadraṁ cha Vasudevaṁ cha Devakîm | Nandagopaṁ Yâsodâṁ cha Subhadrâṁ Rohiṇîṁ tathâ ||
svasvanâmnâ pratishṭhâpya karṇikopari Devakîm |
pûjayitvâ yathâ śaktyâ prasâdaṁ kuru suvrate ||
yathâ tvayâ vrataṁ labdhvâ. . . .
so that here any mention of a figurative representation of the holy family is entirely left out, only their spiritual presence is assumed.

* *Kṛishṇotpalana°* *Cod.*, but see *Śa.* v. 42 above, p. 292.

† The following verses are brought in later in *Ms.*, on the occasion of the *argha* to *Devakî*, in the description of the *Jayantî* (= *J*) here also however at the *pûjâ*, and introduced with the following words: *tataḥ surabhichandanenâ 'nulipya pushpâṇi vastrayugaṁ samarpya Devakîm pûjayet* | *tatra mantraḥ.*—v. 114*a* is wanting in *Ms.*, 114*b* and 115*a* are blended there into one verse:
pûjitâ tvaṁ ('si *J.*) yathâ devaiḥ prasannâtvaṁ varâpûjitâ tu mayâ (metathâ *J.*) bhaktyâ prasâdaṁ kuru suvrate. In *J.* however, the half-verse *atas tvam 'pûjayishyâmi sâto* (?) *bhavabhayasva* (!) *va* goes before.

‡ *adite sarvamâtâs tvaṁ, J.*

§ 115*b*, 116*a*, also in *K.*

¶ *te K. Ms. J. 'sau Ca.*

** So also *K.*, *devi Ms. J. Ca.*

†† *supatrâṁ, K Ca.*—*Ms.* adds to this *namo devyai iti di* (!) *mantreṇa Devakyai* gandhâdîni *samarpya*; and *J.* has *°yasva ma iti* | *tato devam samarchayet:*

‡‡ 116*b*-118*a* in *Kâ.*

§§ *karoshi Madhusûdana, Ms. J. Ca. Kâ.*

¶¶ *na te saṁkhyâvatârâṇâṁ* (*! Ca J. Kâ.*, *°vatârâmova Ms.*) *kaśchij jânâti vai bhuvi* (*tattvataḥ Kâ.*) *Ms. J. Ca. Kâ.*

* *ye cha Kâ.*

† *°gam âsthitaṁ Ca. °gavâsinam Kâ.*

‡ *duḥkritaṁ vaṁ Ms.* (breaks off) *duḥkṛita naiva nâśaya* (*°tam chaiva ?*) *J.*

§ *kurushva me priyaṁ Ca. kurushva me dayâṁ J.*

diately; *D. Ca. Śc. Vi* 1. *Vi* 2. *J. Kâ.* leave it quite out of view) they make it precede this celebration addressed to the moon (*Ms. Ul.* take up a peculiar position in regard to this); and also distribute somewhat differently the prayers given by *O C Śa*, giving them not here, but at an earlier stage (see p. 292), and introduce other prayers instead of them.

According to *D.* a cocoanut in a shell is first of all to be offered as *argha*-gift to Kṛishṇa in company with Devakî, with the following prayer :—

Hail to thee, O son of Devakî, who givest desired fruits. |
Thou wast born for Kaṅsa's death, for the lightening of the earth's burden,||
For the destruction of the Kauravas, for the annihilation also of the Daityas,
And for the good (welfare) of the Pâṇḍavas, for the re-establishing of the right, ||
For the destruction of the Dânavas, thou scion of Vasudeva's stem! |
Take, Hari, thou with Devakî, the gift offered thee by me.||

After this, water is poured into the shell, they put flowers, roasted barley, and sandalwood into it, kneel down on the earth, and offer this as *argha* to the moon. Also according to *B.* (quite briefly) the *argha*-gift to Kṛishṇa precedes that to the moon. According to *R N K Ms. Kâ.* however, the *argha*-gift (water in the shell, &c.) to the moon is offered first. Moreover *K.* makes a similar one to Devakî alone to come after this one, with the prayer (see p. 291), "Even as thou attainest highest happiness . . ."; and her worship is repeated at each watch through the night. According to *Ms.* the *argha*-gift to the moon, which is to be solemnized outside, is to be followed directly by a birth-celebration, (see immediately below) inside (that is, in the house), after that an *argha*-gift to Kṛishṇa with the prayers, "Thou wast born for Kaṅsa's death . . .", then offerings of perfumes and such-like to Devakî with the same prayer as *K.*, and then new prayers to Kṛishṇa conclude, "A thousand incarnations indeed . . . ." (see p. 291, *D.* 116*b*ff). In *Kâ.* after the *argha*-gift to the moon a similar one follows to Kṛishṇa with the prayers, "Thou wast born. . . ." (as above), and thereafter an ardent prayer to him for deliverance from sin and need. Lastly, *RN* do not make any more such gifts follow the *argha*-gift to the moon, but only prayers to Kṛishṇa,—in the first place, namely, those prayers with the forty names of Vishṇu (along with a finale specially belonging to it), and then the same beautiful prayer, as *Kâ.* It runs thus:

Save me, Lord of all the worlds! Hari! (from) out of the *saṁsâra*-sea! |
Snatch me away, blotter-out of all guilt, from the flood of pain and grief, O Lord ! ||
Lord of all worlds! save me, who fell into the stream of life, |
O son of Devakî! Lord of salvation! Hari! out of the *saṁsâra*-sea! |
Snatch me away, blotting out all pain, from the flood of sickness and trouble, Hari !||
Thou Vishṇu, helpest the miserable if they think only of thee. |
I, God, am very miserable. Save me out of the sea of trouble!
Lotus-eyed one! I am sunk in the sea of delusion and folly. |
Save me, God, Lord of gods! Besides thee there is indeed no protector !||
As child,¶ as young man, or as old man, what good (deed) |
I may have done, bring it to perfection now
Blot out my faults, Halâyudha! |

The texts belonging to this are as follows first in *O. C.** *Śa.*

vidhyantaram† *apîchanti kechid atra dvijottamâḥ*‡ || 43 ||
chandrodaye śaśâṅkâya argham dadyâd dhariṁ smaran§ | *anaghaṁ*¶¶*vâmanaṁ śauriṁ****vaikuṇṭham purushottamam* || 44 ||
vâsudevaṁ hṛishîkeśam mâdhavam madhusûdanam | *varâham*†† *puṇḍarîkâkshaṁ nṛisiṅhaṁ daityasûdanam* || 45 ||
dâmodaram‡‡ *padmanâbhaṁ keśavam garuḍadhvajam*§§ |

¶ This verse is, according to *R.* from the *Śivarahasya; M.* has a similar one from the *Vishṇudharmottara* (see above, p. 163).

* Where, however, 44*b*-52 are wanting; they are found again in *Ca.* 49*b*-51, with important variant readings. In *D* are also found further 45*b*-47*a*, 52; in *R.* (pp. 28, 29) 44*b*,-52. *N.*, 52 in *Śc. K. Bhd.*

† *vṛidhyaṁtaram O.*

‡ So *C* °*ttamaḥ O* 1., °*ttama O* 2, *atraiva sûrayaḥ Śa.*

§ Sa *C Śa R, smaret O.*

¶¶ *anargham O* 2, *anarhyaṁ O* 1, *anataṁ Śv* 1.

** *saurim.*

†† *vârâhaṁ O Śa D.*; this hemistich is wanting in *Ca.*

‡‡ *V.* 46 is wanting in *Śa.*

§§ *tvâ "dyaṁ, D.*

govindam achyutaṁ kṛishṇaṁ¶ *anantam aparájitam* || 46 ||
*adhokshajaṁ jagadvíjam** *sargasthityantakáraṇam* |
anádinidhanaṁ viśvaṁ† *trailokyeśaṁ*‡ *trivikramam* || 47 ||
náráyaṇaṁ chaturváhuṁ śaṅkhachakragadádharaṁ |
pítámvaradharaṁ nityaṁ§ *vanamálávibhúshaṇam*¶¶ || 48 ||
*śrívatsáṅkaṁ jagatsetuṁ śrídharaṁ śrípatiṁ harim*** *yogeśvaráya*†† *yogasambhaváya yogapataye*‡‡ *govindáyanamo*§§ *namaḥ* ||49|| *snánamantraḥ*
yajneśvaráya yajnasambhaváyayajnapataye govindáya namo namaḥ | *argha-chandana-dhúpamantraḥ*¶ | *viśveśvaráyaviśvasambhaváya** *viśvapataye govindáya namo namaḥ* || 50 || *naivedyamantraḥ* |
dharmeśvaráya dharmasambhaváya† *dharmapataye g. n. n.* || 51 || *śayanamamantraḥ*‡ |
kshírodárṇavasambhúta Atrinetra§*-samudbhava* | *gṛihâṇá 'rghaṁ*¶¶ *śaśáṅkeśa rohiṇyá sahito mama* || 52 ||
*sthaṇḍile*** *sthápayed*†† *devaṁ sachandráṁ*‡‡ *rohiṇiṁ tathá*§§ | *Devakíṁ Vasudevaṁ cha Yaśodáṁ Nandaṁ eva cha*¶ || 53 ||
*Valadevaṁ** *tathá pújya sarvapápaiḥ pramachyate* |

B. patrapúgais(!)*tu saṁdadhyád arghaṁ śríkeśavasya* (an akshara wanting) | *pakvánnáni* (an akshara wanting) *sarváṇí havishyánnáni sarvaśaḥ* || 78 ||
naivedyaṁ kárayet tatra pújáṁ kṛitvá vidhánataḥ |
dadyád arghaṁ chandramase rohiṇísahitáya cha || 97 ||

D. begins in 119b-123, by prayers to accompany offerings of incense, lamps, and meats, in the way stated in *O*; then as follows) :
váráhaṁ puṇḍa° (*O.* 45^b. 46^a) || 124 || *govindam achyu°* (*O* 46^b. 47^a) || 125 ||
námány etáni saṁkírtya bhaktibhávakṛitáñjaliḥ |
evaṁ samprárthya govindam pátre támramye sthitam || 126 ||) (The verses 127-134 now following stand in *Sc.* as 37-42) :
tatas tu dápayed argham† *indor udayataḥ śuchiḥ* |
Kṛishṇáya prathamaṁ dadyád Devakísahitáya cha || 127 ||
nálikeraphalenaiva‡ *dadyád evaṁ*§ *vichakshaṇaḥ* |
Kṛishṇáya parayá bhaktyá śaṅkhenaiva¶¶ *vidhánataḥ* || 128 ||
*namas*** *te Devakíputra váñchhitárthaphalaprada* |
játaḥ†† *Kaṁsavadhárthâya bhúbhárottáraṇáya cha* || 129 ||
Kauravánáṁ‡‡ *vináśáya-daityánáṁ nidhanáya*§§ *cha* | *Páṇḍavánáṁ*¶ *hitárthâya dharmasaṁsthápanáya cha* || 130 ||
*dánavánáṁ** *vináśáya Vasudevakulodbhava* | *gṛiháṇá 'rghyam mayá dattaṁ Devakyá sahito hare*† || 131 ||

¶ *amarorjitaṁ D.*
* *jagannáthaṁ. R, gapiśaṁ puṇḍaríkâksham Śa.*
† *devam Ca. vishṇuṁ Śa. R N.*
‡ *trilokeśam R. N.*
§ *pítámvaraṁ jagannátham Ca.*
¶¶ *bhúshitaṁ Ca. Śt. R N.*
** *Ca* adds to this : upendraṁ Devakîsûnum praṇamâmi jagatpatim | trâhi mâṁ deva deveśa hare saṁsârasâgarât || 18 ||
In *R.*, where 44b-49a occur also earlier (p. 27) introduced, by the words Garuḍa-Bhavishyottara-vachanâni Râjamârtaṇḍa-Kṛityachintâmaṇidhṛitâni, yathâ : tam evopavaset kâlaṁ râtrau kuryâch cha jâgaram | ekâgreṇaiva bhâvena Vishṇor nâmânukîrtanam|| the following verses are added here (so also in *N*, with exception, however, of 1b, 2b ; vv. 3-7a also in *Kâ.*)
prapadye 'haṁ sadâ devam sarvakâmaprasiddhaye (śaraṇaṁ tu prapadye 'haṁ sarvakâmârthasiddhaye N.) | evaṁ paṭhitvâ varadaṁ Kṛishṇam vandeta bhaktitah || 1 ||
praṇamâmi sadâ devaṁ vâsudevaṁ jagatpatim | nâmâny etâni saṁkîrtya gatyartham prârthayen narah || 2 ||
trâhi mâṁ sarvalokeśa (*see above Ca*) hare saṁsârasâgarât | trâhi maṁ sarvapâpaghna duhkhaśokârṇavât prabho || 3 ||
sarvalokeśvara trâhi patitam mâm bhavârṇave | Devakînandana śrîśa hare saṁsârasâgarât (*this hemistich is wanting in Kâ*) || 4 ||
trâhi maṁ sarvaduhkhaghna (°pâpaghna N.) rogaśokârṇavâd dhare | durgatâṅs trâyase vishṇo ye smaranti sakṛitsakṛit || 5 ||
so 'haṁ devâ 'tidurvṛittas trâhi mâṁ śokasâgarât | (*this verse is wanting in* Kâ) pushkarâksha nimagno 'haṁ mâyâvijnânasâgare || 6 ||
trâhi mâṁ deva deveśa tvatto nâ 'nyo 'sti râkshitâ ||
†† The readings in 49b-51 differ so considerably in *Śa. Ca.* that I give up communicating them. Other variations also in *D.* 119b-122a. in *R.* (p. 28). in *N*, (where vv. are formed after the analogy of the *Śatarudriya*-prayers. *Vs.* xvi, 17-21, with special reference, moreover, to the *Gâruḍa-Purâṇa*), and in *Kâ*. In all these texts (*D R N. Kâ.*) these verses however are not introduced here, but earlier, as belonging to Kṛishṇa's *pújá*.
‡‡ *?râya yogeśaṁ O;* the above reading is borrowed from the parallelism.

§§ *namo* is wanting.
¶ *arghaṁ° O.*
* *viśvaṁsaṁ° O,*
† From *viśvapataye* to *dharmasambhavâya* is wanting in *O* 1.
‡ *gáyana° O.*
§ *Atrigotra, Śa. D. K. Śv.* 3. *Vr. Kâ.*
¶¶ *'rghyaṁ, Śa. D. R. N. K. Bhd. Sc.*
** In *Śx.* as well as in *Śc. R. N. K. Bhd. Ka.* there follows first another sentence (quoted also in *Ms*) :
jyotsnâpate namas tubyaṁ (jnotsnâyâḥ pataye tubhyam *R. N.*) jyotishâm paṭaye namaḥ (namas te jyotishâm pate *K. Ms. Bhd. Śc. Ms.*) |
namas te rohiṇîkânta arghyam naḥ (argo me, *Ms.*) pratigṛihyatâm (sudhâvâsa namo 'stu te *R. N*, gṛihâṇâ 'rghyaṁ namo 'stu te *Śc.*) || 58 ||
†† *khyâpayed O.*
‡‡ *sachandrâṁ O, śaśâṅkaṁ Śa.*
§§ *rohiṇîyutaṁ, Śa,*
¶ *Nandâṁ chaiva Yaśodayâ, Śa.*
* This hemistich stands in *Śa.* thus:
Valadevam mayâ sârdham bhadrayâ parayâ (bhaktyâ paramayâ *Śv.* 1) nṛipa | sampûjya vidhivad dehî kiṁ nâpnoty atidurlabham || 60 ||
ekâdaśînâṁ viṅśatyaḥ koṭayo yâḥ (gâḥ *Śv* 1) prakîrtitâḥ | tâbhiḥ kṛishṇâshṭamî tulyâ tato 'nantachaturdaśî || 61 ||
(This verse is evidently a gloss).
† *arghyaṁ, Śc.*
‡ *nârikelena* (°*reṇa, Śv.* 3) *śuddhena, Śc.*
§ *arghyam, Śc.*
¶¶ *śaṅkhe kritvâ, Śc.*
** *Śc.* wants this hemistich.
†† vv. 129b-131 (with variations) also in *Bhd. Ms. Kâ.* (twice, f. 20b and f. 21a; v. 129b, 130a, 131b, in *J.* also.
‡‡ The two hemistichs of this verse are transposed in *Bhd. Kâ.* (f. 20b) the first hemistich is wanting in *Ms.*
§§ *Pândâvânam hitâya cha, Kâ.* f. 20b.
¶ *daivatânâṁ, Ms. devânâṁ cha Kâ* f. 20b.
* This hemistich is wanting in *Sc. Bhd. Ms. Kâ.* (both times).
† *sahito mama, Ms.*—*Śc.* adds : *Kṛishṇârghyamantrah* | and *Bhd.* : *iti śrîKrishṇârghyaṁ dadyât, tatraiva Bhavishye chandrârghamantrau*—(see p. 295) *kshirodâ,° jyotsna.°*

dadyád‡ yaḥ sakalám urvîṁ sasâgarasabhûdharâm | arghyadânena tat puṇyaṁ labhate mânavo bhuv || 132 ||
śaṅkhe kṛitvâ tatas toyaṁ§ sapushpâkshatâchandanam | jânubhyâm avaniṁ¶ gatvâ chandrâyâ 'rghyaṁ nivedayet* || 133 ||
kshîrodârṇava°. . . sahitaḥ śaśin† || 134 ||
dadhi‡‡ dûrvâkshatair arghyaṁ dattvâ Kṛishṇa-śaśâṅkayaḥ | . . .
R. (pp. 28. 29; and *N*, as well as *Ś. Vr.*, agree with this in almost all particulars):
chandrodaye (*O* 44*a*) . . *harim smaran* | *tadvidhiś cha: śaṅkhe toyaṁ* (*D* 133) . . . *nivedayet* ||
arghyamantraḥ: kshîrodârṇava° (*O* 52) . . *sahito mama* || *somâya someśvarâya somapataye somasambhavâya govindâya namo namaḥ* | *praṇâmamantro, yathâ jyotsnâyâḥ°* (*Śa.* 58) . . *namo 'stu te* ||
nâbhomaṇḍaladîpâya§§ śiroratnâya dhûrjateḥ¶¶ | *kalâbhir vardhamânâya namaś chandrâya chârave* || *tataś châ: 'naghaṁ vâmanam* (*O* 44ᵇ-49ᵃ) *ity-âdinâ praṇamâmi sadâ devaṁ Vâsudevaṁ jagatpatim ity antena nâmakîrtanapraṇâmau* |
trâhi mâm (see above, p. 295) *ity-âdinâ tvatto nâ 'nyo 'sti rakshitety antena, yad vâlye yach** cha kaumâre vârddhake yach cha yauvane yauvane yach cha vâr° N. Kâ*) | *tat puṇyaṁ vriddhim âpnotu* (*âyâtu Kâ.*) *pâpaṁ hara* (*daha Kâ.*) *halâyudha* || *iti śivarahasyîyena prârthanaṁ kuryât* (*iti mantraiḥ prârthayet N*) |

K. tato (. . *nâmâdeḥ karaṇam*) *mantreṇa vai dadyâch chandrâyâ 'rghyaṁ samâhitaḥ* | *śaṅkhe toyam°* (*D.* 133), *kshîrodârṇava°* (*O.* 52), *jyotsnâpate°* (*Śa.* 58), *yathâ putraṁ°* (*D.* 115ᵇ. 116ᵃ, see above, p. 293) *iti Devaky-arghaḥ* | *tataḥ pushpâñjaliṁ dattvâ yâme-yâme prapûjayet* |

Ms. chandrodaye vahiḥ sasmâjyaṁ (?) *padmopari pushpâkshatanârikelopetena śaṅkhenâ 'rghyaṁ dadyât* | *tatra mantraḥ, jyotsnâpate°* (*Śa* 58) | *tato 'ntar âgatya, jayaghaṇṭâdinâ śrîKṛishṇajanma paribhâvya, tam adbhutaṁ vâlakam ity âdîn janmaślokân* (see *Bhâgavata Pur.* X. 3, 9ff.) *paṭhitvâ śrî-Kṛishṇâyâ 'rghaṁ dadyât* | *tatra mantraḥ:*
jâtaḥ Kaṁsa° (*D.* 129ᵇ 130ᵇ 131ᵇ) *sahito mameti* | *atho yogeśvarâya Devakîsahitâya cha* (there is probably a blank here | *pûjitâ tu mayâ bhaktyâ prasâdaṁ°*(*D.* 115. 116ᵃ, see above, p. 293) *namo devyai iti di* (!) *mantreṇa Devakyai gandhâdîni samarpya, avatâra°* (*D.* 116ᵇ-118, where *Ms.* breaks off in the middle of the verse) |

Kâ. dvâdaśâṅgulavistâraṁ raupyamaya(ṁ) sthaṇḍilâd ilikhitaṁ vâ rohiṇîyutaṁ chandraṁ: someśvarâya somâya tathâ somodbhavâya cha | *somasya pataye nityaṁ tubhyaṁ somâya vai namaḥ* ||
iti sampûjya sapushpakuśachandanaṁ toyaṁ śaṅkhenâdâya, kshîrodâ° jyotsnâ° iti mantrâbhyâṁ chandrâyâ 'rghyaṁ dadyât | *tataḥ śrîKṛishṇâyâ 'rghyaṁ dadyât, tatra mantraḥ: jâtaḥ Kaṁsa° sahito hare iti* | *tataḥ prârthayet: trâhi mâṁ °pâpaṁ daha· halâyudheti* |

And now midnight has come, the time at which, according to the legend (see *Vishṇudharmottara* in *M.*, above, p. 164), Kṛishṇa's birth took place; now therefore the celebration of the solemn birth-ritual follows. First of all the gift (see p. 173 above) called 'a pouring out of riches,' made of melted butter mixed with sugar according to taste, is to be offered in the fire, and thereupon the whole ritual connected with a birth, *vardhâpanam*, or *jâta karma*† is to be performed, especially the cutting of the navel, the worship of the goddess Shashṭhî, and the ceremonial of giving the name, etc.: all this and one after the other, 'immediately,' (*tatkshaṇât*) still in that night. Under other circumstances the Shashṭhî celebration is accomplished precisely on the sixth day; the *nâmakarman*,‡ on the other hand, not before the tenth day (various other dates besides are given for it, see *K.* iii, 1 f. 10*b*, *Saṁskâra Kaustubha* 95*b*, 96*a*). Both days, the sixth as well as the tenth, are, moreover, according to the customary ritual, specially celebrated by watching during the whole night and by the repeated offering of gifts to the tutelary deities of the birth (see pp. 174, 283 above); the men, indeed, are to keep themselves armed during the night (perhaps in the event of bad demons to be able to repulse them); the women, on the other hand, dance and sing: thus *K.* iii, 1 f. 9*a*, according to Mârkaṇḍeya in the *Mitâksharâ:*
rakshaṇîyâ tathâ shashṭhî niśâ tatra viśeshataḥ | *râtrau jâgaraṇaṁ kâryam janmadânâṁ tathâ baliḥ* || *purushâḥ śastrahastâś cha nṛityagîtaiś cha yoshitaḥ* | *ratrau jâgaraṇaṁ kuryur daśamyâṁ chaiva sûtake* ||
Thus, then, it may be explained how *O C Śa* do

‡ *Sc.* wants this verse.
§ *śaṅkhe toyam samâdâya*, *R N K.*
¶ *dharaṇîm R N S K. avaniṁ Vr.*
* *rghyaṁ R N K Sc.*
† *sahitasya cha Sc., sahitaḥ prabho Sv.* 3.—*Sc.* makes the word *jyotsnâpate°* (*Sa.* 58) follow here; and has after it the word *chandrârghyamantraḥ.*
‡‡ This hemistich is wanting in *Sc.*
§§ *namo maṇḍala° N* (*S Vr.*)
¶¶ This adjective referring to Śiva, characterizes the verse which occurs besides only in *N* as one of those Śaiva outbursts which are found in *R.* and elsewhere (see above, pp. 167, 289; below p. 298.)
** *yad vâ kvachana Kâ*—*M.* quotes the first hemistich from the *Vishṇudharmottara*, see above, p. 168.
† To this belongs also (see *K.* iii., 1 f. 6*b*) a *śrâddham* to the manes, and to this probably the passage of the *Brahmaivaivarta* quoted by *R.* p. 26 (above, p. 167*a*,) refers.
‡ *Madanaratne Nâradîye: sûtakânte nâmakarma vidheyaṁ svakulochitaṁ*, quoted in *K.*

not mention anything about this; for them this watching through the night, with its accompaniment of dancing and singing, is probably just an integral part of the birth-ritual; still their complete silence regarding this point is somewhat surprising, inasmuch as there are added here some special peculiarities (see immediately below). The more specially all this is treated of in the other texts. In the first place *M.* himself (see f. 80*b*, p. 163 above) mentions the *jâgaraṇam* as an integral part of the celebration; he also brings in a special passage regarding it (see p. 164) from the *Nâradîyasaṁhitâ: uposhya janmachihnâni*§ *kuryâj jâgaraṇaṁ tu yaḥ.*—*R* too, quotes similar passages from the *Gâruḍa-* and *Brahmavaivarta-Puraṇas* (see p. 167*b* above), as well as from an unnamed work of the same kind (see p. 298 below) according to which V â s u d e v a is now¶ to be praised with all sorts of songs of praise,* and then the night to be further spent in singing, music and dancing. *N* says shortly the listening to old legends, &c. as belonging to it. Thus also *Śb*, in bringing into prominence the festive character of the whole celebration. *B* appoints that, in particular, legends of K ṛ i s h ṇ a's nativity shall be listened to, and shell-music accompany the dancing; also now at midnight rich presents, among others, a cow with her calf, are to be given. The remaining texts leave the birth-ritual quite out of view, but they dwell the more specially on the festive watching through the night. Only *Vi* 1. *Ca* have nothing at all about it. *Ms.* likewise; but this probably only because the manuscript lying before us breaks off in the middle; if we are allowed to supply the omission from *J*—and this appears quite allowable. The *jâgaraṇam* takes place also according to *Ms.*, and it does so with listening to the description "of the games of young K ṛ i s h ṇ a." Hereby probably the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* is specially to be thought of, as *Ms.* indeed desires, also in the immediately preceding phase of the festival (see p. 296 above), that walking within (in the house) amid shouts of victory and sound of bells, one "should imagine to himself mentally K ṛ i s h ṇ a's birth while reciting of the following verses referring to it:—*tam adbhutam bâlakam.*" Now these verses are described† in *Ud.* as borrowed directly from the *Bhâgavata*, where in fact they are really found (X, 3, 9-13); according to *Ud.* they are to be recited at the very moment at which the birth of K ṛ i s h ṇ a is fixed; and the watch through the night is to be spent in reciting hymns against the *Râkshasas*, &c.—*D* too denotes the reciting of legends about K ṛ i s h ṇ a's life, as they are found in the *Bhâgavata* and in the *Harivaṁśa*, as forming an integral part of the festive watching through the night, and extols with full tones the merit of such recitals for readers and hearers. To singing, music, and dancing, which, along with the listening to legends, also *Śc. Vi* 2. bring into special prominence, are to be added according to *D* also other amusements, incense, lamps, selected meats, &c.—In *Kâ.* first a passage from the *Agnipurâṇa* is produced, which adds other pretty tales ("in the local dialects," *Kâ.* explains), as well as spectacles in general ("dancing and such-like" explains *Kâ.*) to the *Purâṇa* legends, singing, and music as the enjoyments of the night. After listening to the legends of the nativity and childhood, those who take part in the festival shall pour milk on each other, and sprinkle each other with it, for which pastime a passage from the *Bhâgavata* (which I cannot verify) is quoted. In this form the festival is said to bear now in the Marâṭhâ country the name of *Gopâlakâlâ* (°*lîlâ ?*).

The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in *O C Śa.* (also in *R* p. 26. *K.*):—

ardharâtre vasordhârâṁ kuryâd vai tatra sarpishâ ‡ || 54 ||

§ Are the astrological characteristics of the nativity, or is it the ritual itself, that is meant by this?

¶ After the *argha*-gift to the moon which *R. N. K. Ms.*, differing from *O C Śa* (see p. 293 above) place after the birth-ritual. These "songs of praise" follow here immediately after the prayer given above, p. 294.

* To this probably refer also the quotations *rohiṇyâm ardharâtre. . . abhyarchanaṁ śaureḥ* from the *Vishṇu-rahasya* in *M.* (p. 167 above), and *ardharâtre 'rchanaṁ hareḥ* from the *Garuḍa* in *R.* above (p. 164).

† In another place (f. 19*a*), also, *Ms.* appeals directly to the *Bhâgavata*, places it before the *Râmayaṇa* and the *Bhârata* (the *Kṛishṇa-vâlalîlâ* is, however, brought forward there along with these three works as a separate text). The passage runs thus: devapûjâṁ samâpya. . . sarvebhyaḥ pradâya svayam prâśyopaviśya sahasranâmâdîni stotrâṇi japtvâ, śrîBhâgavata-Râmâyaṇa-Bhâratakathâṁ Kṛishṇa-vâlalîlâṁ dhruvacharitraṁ cha śrutvâ, nâlikerâdinâ mahârghyaṁ dattvâ svayaṁ gîtanṛityâdîni kuryât | anadîyâni cha paśyet, net tu (ta ne tu *MS.*) nivârayed upahased vâ | evaṁ râtrim ativâhya prabhâte kośakîm(?) gâyet |

‡ *pâtayed guḍasarpishâ C. R. K., pâtayed dravyasar-pishâ Śa.*

tataḥ sampûjyatâṁ§ shashṭhî,¶ nâmâdikaraṇam mama.| kartavyaṁ tatkshaṇâd râtrau.†* . . ‖ 55 ‖

B. ardharâtre tadâ deyâ savatsâ gauḥ payasvinî ‖ 80 ‖
athâ 'nyâni (cha) dânâni deyâni nijaśaktitah | gîtavâdyaṁ tathâ nṛityaṁ śaṅkhadhvanisamanvitam ‖ 81 ‖
tathâ bhagavatas tatra śrotavyâ janmasambhavâ | tato vardhâpanaṁ shashṭhîṁ (*ṣh.ṭair* MS.) *jâtakarma cha kârayet* ‖ 82 ‖

Śb. râtrau jâgaraṇaṁ kṛitvâ (*kuryâd Śv.* 2) *gîtanṛityâdibhiḥ saha | purâṇaiḥ stotrapâṭhaiś cha jâtanâmâdishûtsavaiḥ* ‖ 62 ‖

R. (p. 28) *tato* (after the *śrîpûjâ* with *O* v. 41) *guḍaghṛitair vasordhârâṁ nâḍîchhedanaṁ‡ shashṭhîpûjanaṁ nâmakaraṇâdikaṁ cha kuryât | pûjayeyur°* (*O* 43₂) *amantrakam chandrodaye. . . .* (see p. 296) *prârthanaṁ kuryât |*
tataḥ stotraiḥ stutiṁ kṛitvâ vâsudevaṁ janârdanam | gîtavâditranṛityaiś cha śeshaṁ kâlaṁ yathâsukham ‖
nayed iti śeshaḥ |

N. tato gavyaghṛitenâ 'gnau vasordhârâh (*râṁ Vr.*), *kvachid guḍaghṛiteneti | tato jâtakarma-nâlachhedashashṭhîpûjâ-nâmakarmâṇi saṁkshepeṇa kâryâṇi | tataś chandrodaye. .* (see p. 296), *iti mantraiḥ prârthayet | tataḥ stotrapaṭhanapurâṇaśravaṇâdi jâgaraṇaṁ kṛitvâ. . .*

MS. (see above, p. 296) *tato 'ntar âgatya jayaghaṇṭâdinâ śrîkṛishṇajanma paribhâvya "tam adbhutaṁ vâlakam" ity âdîn janmaślokân paṭhitvâ śrîkṛishṇâyâ 'rghaṁ dadyât. . .*

J. (preceding is a *pûjâ* to Devakî with *D.* 114-116*a*, goes before, and to Kṛishṇa with *D.* 116*b*-119*a*):

evaṁ sampûjyâ 'rghaṁ dadyât, tatra mantraḥ : jâtaḥ Kaṁsa° (*D.* 129*b* 130*a* 131*b*.) *sahito hareti* (!) *| tato dhûpa-dîpaghṛitapakvâdyanekanaivedya-kûshmâṇḍâdiphalatâmvûlâni samarpya Kṛishṇavâlalîlâ varṇanâkarṇanapradhânaṁ jâgaraṇaṁ kṛitvâ. . .*

Ud. śrîKṛishṇajanmasamaye Bhâgavatoktena (X, 3, 9-13) *stutiḥ :*
tam adbhutam bâlakam ambujekshaṇam, chaturbhujaṁ, śaṅkhagadâdyudâyudham | śrîvatsalakshmaṁ galaśobhikaustubham, pîtâmvaraṁ, sândrapayodasaubhagam ‖ 9 ‖
mahârgha§§-vaiḍûryakirîṭakuṇḍala-, tvishâ parishvaktasahasrakuntalam | uddâmakâñchyaṅgadakaṅkaṇâdibhir, virochamânaṁ Vasudeva aikshata.‖ 10 ‖
savismayotphullavilochano Hariṁ sutaṁ vilokyâ "nakadundubhiḥ sadâ | Kṛishṇâvatârotsavasambhramo 'spṛiśan,¶ mudâ dvijebhyo 'yutam âpluto gavâm ‖ 11 ‖
athainam astaud avadhârya pûrusham, pare natâṅsaḥ kṛitadhîḥ kṛitâñjaliḥ | svarochishâ Bhârata sûtikâgṛihaṁ virochayantaṁ gataḅhîh prabhâvavit* ‖ 12 ‖
Vâsudeva† uvâcha : vidito 'si bhavân sâkshât purushaḥ prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kevalânubhavânandasvarûpaḥ sarvabuddhidṛik ‖ 13 ‖
idaṁ vishṇur iti pradakshiṇâ . . . brâhmaṇabhojanena trayodaśa brâhmaṇân yajamânaḥ tarpayishye. . . . . | jâgaraṇaṁ râtrau, sûktam paṭhitvâ râkshoghnaṁ nânâsûktaṁ |

D. tatas tu parito vishṇor niśâṁ tâṁ yatnato nayet ‖ 135 ‖
gîtaiś cha vividhair vâdyair nṛityair nânâvidhair api | dhûpair dîpaiś cha naivedyais tâmbûlaiś cha muhur muhuḥ ‖ 135 ‖
charitaṁ Devakîsûnor vâchanîyaṁ vichakshaṇaiḥ | . . evaṁ jâgaraṇaṁ kṛitvâ śâstrapaṭhâdibhir naraiḥ ‖ 145 ‖

Śc. itthaṁ samprârthya deveśaṁ râtrau jâgaraṇam charet | gîtanṛityâdinâ chaiva purâṇaśravaṇâdibhiḥ ‖ 44 ‖

Vi 2. *evaṁ pûjâ cha kartavyâ râtrau jâgaraṇaṁ tathâ* ‖ 41 ‖
gîtavâditrasaṁyuktam purâṇapaṭhanena cha |

Kâ (. . *halâyudheti*—see p. 296) | *atha pûjânantarakṛityam Agnipurâṇe :*
ity evam pûjayitvâ tu purushasûktaiḥ (?) *savaishṇavaiḥ | stutvâ vâditranirghoshair gîtavâditramaṅgalaiḥ* ‖
sukathâbhir vichitrâbhis tathâ prekshaṇakair api | pûrvetihâsaiḥ paurâṇaiḥ kshipet tâṁ śarvarîṁ nṛipeti ‖
atra kathâsu vaichitryaṁ deśabhâshâkâvyakṛitam, sûktânâm prâg-ukteḥ, purâṇakathânâm ante 'bhidhânât, prekshaṇakâni nṛityâdîni | tathâ cha vaidikasûktakaraṇakastutiviśishṭaḥ paurâṇetihâsamiśrito gîtanṛityayutadeśabhâshâkâvyapramukhakathâkaraṇako jâgaro viprâdivarṇatrayasya vidhîyate, śûdrâdîn prati etâdṛiśajâgarasya vidhâtum ayogyatvâd vachanântareṇa tu sûktâdirahitagîtâdiviśishṭo varṇachatushṭayasâdhâraṇo vidhîyate ‖ *gokulasthajanmalîlâdiśravaṇottaraṁ vaishṇavaiḥ parasparaṁ dadhyâdibhiḥ sechanaṁ kâryam, dadhikshîraghṛitâmbubhiḥ âsiñchanto vilimpanta ityâdi-śrîBhâgavatavachanena tathâ vidhikalpanât* ‖ *ayam utsavo 'dhunâ Mahârâshṭradeśe gopâlakâleti* (or possibly *lîleti ?*) *vya(va)hriyata iti me bhâti | etat sarvam Kaustube śrîmad-*Anantadevaiḥ *spashṭîkṛitam astîti na mahyam asûyâ kâryâ | etâdṛiśakathâyuto jâgaro 'nyatra*

§ *tato vardhâpanaṁ C R., tato vardhâpayen nâlam Śa, nâḍîvardhâpanaṁ* K.—For *nâla*, 'navel-string,' compare *viparîtaprasûtau tu nâbhinâlena veshṭitah* K. III, 1 fol. 8*a*.

¶ *shasṭhyâ C, shashṭhîṁ R.*

* *shashṭhî nâmâdikam mama, Śa., nâmâpeḥ karaṇam mama RK.*

† *takshaṇâd eva, C.*

‡ *R.* p. 27, *vardhâpanaṁ nâḍîchedanam.*

§§ *mahîrya* MS., *mahârha Chamb.* 569*c*. (= *A.*) and 586*c*. (= *B.*).

¶ *gavâm ayutam aspṛiśat, manasâ dâtavân, Kaṁsanigṛihîtasya dânâsambhavât | âplutaḥ vyâptaḥ snâtaḥ* schol. in *Bhâgav.*

* So *AB.*, *paragatâṁgaḥ* MS.

† So MS., *Valadeva* (sic!), *AB.*

Râmanavamyekâdaśyâdyutsaveshv apy 'ûhyaḥ, pûjâjâgarâdiviśishṭavratotsavasâmyât, Mahârâshṭrîyeshu tathâ ''châráḍch cha |

Now then, when the morning breaks, a festival, as great as that which has (just) been held to Kṛishṇa is to be consecrated to Devakî.‡ At it the Brâhmaṇas are feasted, and rich rewards are given to them in gold, possessions in land, cattle, clothes, flowers, and whatever each most desires, in order to please Kṛishṇa thereby. He then dismisses them with the salutation—

"Hail to him, the god whom the goddess Devakî has begotten of Vasudeva |

For the protection of the earthly Brâhmaṇhood (hail to him!) the Brahman-souled! ||

Good luck be to Vâsudeva, for the good of cows and Brâhmaṇas! |

Peace be! Promise of happiness be!"—

Thus *O C Śa.*, with addition of all sorts of promises of reward for those who thus celebrate the high festival of the goddess Devakî every year. In *Śa.* there is another addition found, according to which the relatives, as also the miserable and helpless, are to be feasted, before he (the master of the house) may eat anything himself. *R N* give also a formula for this *pâraṇam*, breakfast, and *N* contains the important direction that previously the image (of the god) shall also be presented to a Brâhmaṇa. It is surprising that this direction should be wanting in *O C Śa*, for *M.* recognizes it also (see above, p. 163) as an integral part of the *Jayantî* celebration. According to *Vi.* 2, J. it is the *âchârya*, 'teacher,' to whom the image, along with numerous other presents, regarding which particularly *Vi* 2. treats very much in detail, is to be given. The accounts in *Ms.* on occasion of the *Râmanavamî* etc. show, too, that a similar giving away of the image of the gods worshipped at the festival to the teacher, is in fact a universal custom of the Vaishṇavas, as we find it again throughout the *Varâhapurâṇa* also, on occasion of the ten or eleven *avatâra*-festivals.—According to *D*, too, in the morning, when the sun has driven all the darkness away, in the first place the necessary morning-ritual is to be accomplished; thereupon the god, in company with Devakî, is to be worshipped once more, quite as before, and then, "all this" (obviously all that had been made use of at the festival, the images included) is to be given to a Brâhmaṇa who is an inmate of the house; after this only the other Brâhmaṇas too—are to be fed, and to have presents given them, and then may he, the giver of the feast, himself eat too. *N* (*C. Vr.*) does not in this case make any special mention at all of Devakî, but appoints quite generally that "the worship"—or if we prefer *C. Vr.*'s way of reading, specially only "the worship of the god," that is of Kṛishṇa, shall take place "as before." *R.* makes the *bhagavant* (by which obviously Kṛishṇa is meant) be worshipped first of all in the regular way, and after that, by a misunderstanding, as we saw already, (see p. 167) makes a festival to Durgâ follow!—*Śc.* has nothing about a festival to Devakî; but gives several specialities regarding the worship of the 'Lord of the Universe,' with various distributions and prayers, among them a hundred and eight distributions of ghee, along with reciting of the *purushasûkta*. Quite like this, only more in detail, *Vi* 2. *J. K. Kâ.* leave the worship of Kṛishṇa or of Devakî quite out of view, only making mention of the feasting and giving presents to the Brâhmaṇas; but *K. Kâ.* also say on this occasion that the festival could be celebrated for a whole year every month during the second quarter, for which arrangement *K.* refers to two passages of the *Vahnipurâṇa*, which he cites (see above, p. 169) from the *Madanaratna*. Lastly, *B. Vi* 1. *Ud.* have nothing at all about what has to be done on the morning after the festival.

The texts belonging to this are as follows, first of all in *O C Śa.*§

. . . . . *prabhâte navamîdine* || 55 ||
yathâ mama tathâ kâryo¶ *bhagavatyâ mahotsavaḥ** |
brâhmaṇân† *bhojayechhaktyâ*‡ *tebhyo dadyât sudakshiṇâm*§§ || 56 ||
hiraṇyaṁ¶¶ *kâñchanaṁ*** *gâvo*†† *vâsâṅsi kusumâni cha*‡‡ | *yad yad ishṭatamaṁ tat tat*§ *Kṛishṇo me prîyatâm iti* || 57 ||
yaṁ devaṁ Devakî devî Vasudevâd¶ *ajîjanat* | *bhau-*

‡ *O.* 60, Bhagavatî in *O.* 56, what *R.* erroneously understands as Durgâ; see above, p. 167 (289. 296).

§ v. 55-61, 66, also in *R. Śk.*, 56*b*, 57 in *M* (81*a*), 58. 59 in *N.*, 56*b*. 58. 59 in *D*, 59 in *K.*

¶ *karyo, Śv* 1. R. *Śk.*, *kâryam OC Śa.*

* °*tsavaṁ, O Śa.*

† *brâhmaṇaṁ, O* 2.

‡ °*yet paśchât D*,° *yed bhaktyâ C Śa M R Śk.*

§§ *tato dadyâch cha dakshiṇâm C.M.*, *tebhyo d. cha d. Śa D R Śk.*

¶¶ *suvarṇam R. Śk.*

** *rajataṁ C.*, *medinîṁ Śa M.* and in *R.* quoted as *pâṭha.*

†† *gâś cha, R. Śk.* ‡‡ *vividhâni C.* § *lôke C. R. Śk.*

¶ *devîṁ Vaśudevîpy, O.* Compare *M.* 81*a*: *yoge 'smin Vasudevâd dhi Devakî mâm ajîjanat.* |

masya brahmaṇo guptyai tasmai brahmâtmane namaḥ* || 58 ||
sujanma† Vâsudevâya‡ gobrâhmaṇahitâya cha | *śântir astu śivaṁ châ 'stu ity uktvâ tân§ visarjayet¶* || 59 ||
*evaṁ** yaḥ kurute devyâ Devakyâḥ†† sumahotsavam* | *varshe varshe bhâgavato‡‡ madbhakto§§ dharmanandana* || 60 ||
naro vâ yadivâ nârî yathoktam phalam âpnuyât¶¶ | *putrasaṁtânam* ârogyaṁ dhanadhânyarddhimad gṛiham†* || 61 ||
. . . . . *parachakrabhayaṁ‡ nâ 'sti tasmin râjye 'pi Pâṇḍava§* | *parjanyaḥ kâlavarshî syâd îtibhyo na bhayam bhavet* || 63 ||
*yasmin¶ gṛihe Pâṇḍuputra likyate Devakîsutam*** | *na tatra mṛitaniḥkrântir na garbhapatanaṁ bhavet* || 64 ||
na cha vyâdhibhyaṁ tatra bhaved iti matir mama | *na vaidhavyaṁ na daurbhâgyaṁ na dantakalaho†† gṛihe* || 65 ||
samparkeṇâ 'pi yaḥ kaśchit kuryâj janmâshṭamîvratam | *vishṇulokam avâpnoti so 'pi Pârtha na saṁśayaḥ* || 66 ||

R. (pp. 26. 27): *prabhâte°* (*O* 55-61. 66) *na saṁśayaḥ* || *Jayantyâṁ°* || *tushṭyartham°* || *akurvan°* (see above, p. 164 in *M.* fol. 81*a*) | Some short explanations to it also, for example: *suvarṇam atrâ 'śîtiraktikâparimitaṁ hema, kâñchanaṁ* | *tato nyûnam* | *kâñchanam ity atra medinîm iti kvachit pâṭhaḥ* (so in *M. Śa*) *bhaumasya pṛithvîsambandhinaḥ* | *tân brâhmaṇân* |
ibid. p. 29: *paradine prâtar bhagavantaṁ yathâvidhi sampûjya durgâyâś cha mahotsavaḥ kâryaḥ* | *tato brâhmaṇân bhojayet, tebhyo dakshiṇâṁ cha svarṇâdi yat kiṁchid ishṭatamam "Kṛishṇo me prîyatâm" ity uktvâ dadyât* | *tataḥ "yaṁ devam" ity-âdi "śântir astu śivaṁ châ" 'stu iti mantram paṭhitvâ brâhmaṇân visarjayet* | *tataḥ pâraṇaṁ kuryât, tanmantraḥ: sarvâya sarveśvarâya sarvapataye sarvasambhavâya govindâya namo namaḥ* | *pâraṇânantaraṁ samâpanamantram bhûtâya* (!) *ity-antam paṭhet* |

N. dvitîye 'hni prâtaḥkâlînaṁ (*NŚ.*, *prâtaḥkâle snânâdi Vr.*) *nityaṁ kṛitvâ pûrvavad eva* (*devaṁ Ś Vr.*) *pûjayitvâ brâhmaṇân bhojayitvâ* (*°yet Vr.*) *tebhyaḥ suvarṇadhenuvastrâdi* (*°strâdi dattvâ Vr.*) *"Kṛishṇo me prîyatâm" iti dattvâ* (*vadet Vr.*) | *yaṁ devaṁ°* (*O.* 58) || *sujanma* (*namas te Vr.*) *Vâsu°* (*O.* 59) *śivaṁ châ 'stv ity uktvâ pratimâm udvâsya* (*Ś. Vr.*, *uddhâsya N.*) *tâm brâhmaṇâya dattvâ pâraṇaṁ kṛitvâ vrataṁ samâpayet* | *sarvâya sarveśvarâya sarvapataye* (*sarvesham pataye namaḥ Vr.*) *sarvasambhavâya govindâya namo nama iti pâraṇâyâṁ* (*Ś. °nâryâ N*, *°ṇaṁ Vr.*) *bhûtâya bhûtapataya* (*Ś. Vr.*, *bhûtânpa° N*) *ity-âdi samâpane cha* (wanting in *Ś.*) *mantraḥ* (*bhûtapataye nama iti namaskara iti pûjâvidhiḥ Vr.*) | *udyâpanam anuktatvân nâsti* (*udyâ°* is wanting in *Ś. Vr.* which contain rather a piece described in *Sc. Śv.* 3 directly as an *udyâpana*) |

K. prabhâte brâhmaṇân śakyâ bhojayed bhaktimân naraḥ | *oṁ namo Vasu°* (*O.* 59) ||

D. tataḥ prabhâtasamaye bhânunâ vimale kṛite | *kṛitvâ paurvâhṇikaṁ karma prayataḥ śraddhayâ 'nvitaḥ* || 146 ||
pûrvavat pûjayed devaṁ Devakîsahitam mudâ | *yaṁ devaṁ°* (*O* 58. 59) *iti devaṁ visarjayet* ||
kuṭumbine brâhmaṇâya dâpayet sarvam eva tat || 149 ||
brâhmaṇân bhojayet paśchât tebhyo dadyâch cha dakshiṇâm | *tatas tu svayam aśnîyâj Jayantîsamuposhkaḥ* || 150 ||

Śb. svobhûte pâraṇaṁ kuryâd dvijân (*Śv* 2.) *sambhojya yatnataḥ* |

Sc. pratyûshe vimale snâtvâ pûjayitvâ jagadgurum | *pâyasena tilâjyaiś cha mûlamantreṇa bhaktitaḥ* || 45 ||
ashṭottaraśataṁ hutvâ tataḥ purushasûktataḥ | *idaṁ vishṇur iti proktâ* (*prokva?* for *prochya*) *juhuyâd vai ghṛitâhutîḥ* || 46 ||
homaśeshaṁ samâpyâ 'tha pûrṇâhutim ataḥ param | *âchâryam pûjayed bhaktyâ bhûshaṇâchhâdanâdibhiḥ* || 47 ||
gâm ekâm kapilâṁ dadyâd. . . . | *kapilâyâ abhâve tu gaur anyâ 'pi pradîyate* || 50 ||
tato dadyâch cha ṛitvigbhyo 'nyebhyaś chaiva yathâvidhi | *brâhmaṇân bhojayet paśchâd ashṭau tebhyaś cha dakshiṇâm* || 51 ||
kalaśâṁ (!) *tatra sampûrṇâm* (!) *dadyâch chaiva samâhitah* | *dînâṅś cha kṛipaṇâṅś chaiva yathârham pratipûjayet* || 52 ||
prâpyâ 'nujnâṁ tathâ tebhyo bhuñjîta saha bandhubhiḥ | . . .

Vi 2. *tataḥ prabhâtasamaye snâtvâ śuddhaḥ kṛitâhnikaḥ* | *pûrvavat pûjayed devam paśchâd dhomaṁ samâcharet* || 43 ||
svagṛihyoktavidhânena pratishṭhâpyâ 'nalaṁ tataḥ | *aśvatthasya samidbhiś cha âjyaiś cha charuṇâ tathâ* || 44 ||
. . . *ato mahâvyâhṛitayo homamantrâḥ prakîrtitâḥ* || 48 ||

* *brâhmaṇo, O. R. Ś. Vr.*
† *namas te Śa. Vr.*, *subrahma R. Sk.*, *oṁ namo K.*
‡ *Vâsudevâya O* 2. *D.*
§ *tâm C.*, *mâṁ Śa. K.*, *iti devam D.*
¶ *uktvâ pratimâm uddhâsya, N.* (*udvâsya, Ś. Vr.*)
** *Śa.* inserts a verse: tato vandhujanaughaṁ cha dînânâthâṅś cha bhojayet | bhojayitvâ suśântâṅs tân (*Śv* 1., suśîtâya *Śa*) svayam bhuñjita vâgyataḥ || 67 ||
†† *Devakyâ O.*, *devyâḥ purushah, C.*
‡‡ ? *bhâgavato, O R Ś K.*, *cha niyato C.*, *vidhânena Śa.*
§§ *sa bhakto Śv.* 1, *madukto R.*, *madbhaktyâ Sk.*

¶¶ *labhate phalaṁ, Sk.* * *putrasaubhâgyam Śa.*
† *saubhâgyam atulam bhavet Śa.*
‡ *iha 'mutra bhayaṁ C.*
§ *tatra na kadâ 'pi bhavet punaḥ, Śa.* In *Śa.* between v. 61 and v. 63 (there 69 and 74) four verses are inserted, the *Al.* (see above, p. 166) quoted as from the *Bhavishye*.
¶ vv. 64-65 have their places supplied in *Śa.* by two other verses, the former of which is quoted by *Al.*
** ! Thus *O.*, *Devakîvratam, C.*
†† Thus *O. C.*, *chaiva kalaho C.* marg., *na châ 'pi kalahaṁ D.* 152.

japet purushasûktaṁ tu smared devam anantakam |
. . . arghapushpapradánena ácháryaṁ tu prapûjayet
|| 50 ||
. . . sopaskaráṁ cha pratimám ácháryáya nivedayet || 63 ||
Kṛishṇáyá 'nantarûpáya dadámi pratimám imám |
. . . || 64 || iti pratimádánam |
áchárydrdham‡ *tato bhaktyá brahmaṇe vinivedayet |*
bráhmaṇebhyo (sic! °*bhyas*) *tadardhaṁ cha śaktyá tebhyo nivedayet || 65 ||*
. . . bráhmanán bhojayet paśchád vratî vibhavasáratah̤ || 69 ||
mishṭánnam páyasádíṁś cha ácháryaṁ cha sadakshiṇam | dínánáthasvánugatán bráhmaṇáṁś cha viśeshatah̤ || 70 ||
bhuñjîta vágyato bhûtvá mishṭánnaṁ sa tu bhojayet |
áchamya (*cha*) *śuchir bhûtvá chintayet taddine harim || 71 || . . .*

J. prátar nityakarma nirvartya ácháráya devaṁ samarpya vastrakaṁvusho (*kambalo?*)*-shṇîshamudrikádi śaktyá dakshiṇaṁ cha dattvá bráhmaṇán bhojayitvá pûrvavad vrataṁ samápayed | iti Jayantimahádvádaśîvratam |*

Ká. tato navamyám bráhmaṇán bhojanadakshiṇádibhih̤ saṁtoshyoktapáraṇánirṇîte kále bhojanaṁ kuryát || asyaiva Jayantîvratasya saṁvat sarasádhyah̤ prayogah̤ śrávanakṛishṇáshṭamîm árabhya pratimása(ṁ) kṛishṇáshṭamyám uktavidhiná pûjádirûpah̤ puráṇántare uktah̤ tatrodyápanavidhir granthántare jneyah̤ |

[For § 3 see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 21ff. 47ff.]

(*To be continued.*)

‡ Sic! evidently the half of that which the *áchárya* has received.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. WEBER ON THE MAHÂBHÂSHYA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

I have read with intense interest Professor Kielhorn's article on the *Mahábháshya* in vol. V. pp. 241 *et seq.* But, with all respect for the scholarship which we are wont to find in Professor Kielhorn's writings, I am sorry to say that I felt rather disappointed with the result of my perusal of this deduction of his. For instead of giving us *positive proofs* for his decided opinion that "we are *bound* to regard the text of the *Mahábháshya* as given by our MSS. *to be the same* as it existed about two thousand years ago," he has not even tried to do so, but proceeds merely in a negative way, and his exertions only tend to show (1) that the statements in the *Vákyapadíya* and the *Rájataranginî* are *not* to be interpreted in such a way as to impeach the authenticity of that text; (2) that the external evidence brought forward against it is not sufficient to impeach it. Now, even *if he had* succeeded thus far (as in my opinion he has not), what would be won for the position he himself maintains? *Two thousand years* is rather a long time, and to warrant for such a period the *sameness* of a Sanskṛit text which has meanwhile had to undergo so many *ordinary* vicissitudes, if it were only the constant change of the copies, and of the characters in which they were written, is really a piece of some boldness and audacity. But in this instance we know also of some *extraordinary* vicissitudes. For, whatever interpretation Professor Kielhorn may give to the statements of Hari (or as he is also called Bhartṛihari) and Kalhaṇa,—whether he refers the *vyákaraṇágama* of the former not to the text of the *Bháshya*, but only to the traditional knowledge of its meaning, or whether he explains his *viplávita* by 'perverted' instead of 'devastated,' and Kalhaṇa's *vyáchakshána* by 'interpreter' instead of 'reciting,' 'knowing by heart,' as well as his *vichinna* by *vichinnasampradáya* instead of 'split into pieces, incomplete,'—even under adoption of all that, *two facts* remain:—(1) that Hari testifies to *hostilities* practised against the "*ársha grantha*," as well as to a *break* in its traditional interpretation for a certain indeterminate space of time during which its text existed only in *Dekhaṇ MSS.*, and it was only by the (superhuman! see *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. pp. 165-166) intermediation of Parvata that "Chandrâchârya and others" regained that "traditional knowledge;" and (2) that Kalhaṇa testifies to *two* introductions of the *Bháshya* into Kaśmîr,—the one by the said "Chandrâchârya and others" under Abhimanyu; the second, after it had been meanwhile *vichinnam* under Jayâpîḍa. It is seldom enough in India that we have so many critical criteria for the history of a literary work at hand. Are we really entitled, *in the face of them*, to cling to the *unchanged* condition of a text which would be a wonder in itself, even if we did not know anything of these its various fates?

Of course, I am far from swearing to the exact correctness of those dates as given by both authors (the presence of Parvata alone, *if he is to be taken* as the helpmate of Nârada, at once forbids such a proceeding); but, on the other hand, such particulars as those given by Hari *must* have some real foundation, cannot well be wholly sucked out of the fingers. Now, it is true Professor Kielhorn too does not deny this, but he certainly, on the one hand, does not take them into *full* account, and he tries on the other to explain away their critical purport. If there should have been (and I will not deny that there may be some truth in that) some exaggeration of this purport on the part of those who have previously treated on

this subject, in my opinion Professor Kielhorn on his part goes very much too far in the opposite direction. Nor do I think that his very ingenious interpretation of *vichinnam* by *vichinnasampradáyam* (!) and Punyarâja's explanation of *viplávita* by *ábhásîkrita*, 'perverted,' are really acceptable, or that व्याचक्षाण is restricted to the meaning of 'interpreter.' But I shall not enter here more particularly into these details, for, as I have remarked already, even under the direct adoption of these and all the other explanations, partly offered already by Professor Stenzler, the aspect of the whole case is not materially altered. A book of which even Hindu tradition affirms that it had been *viplávita*—let us say 'perverted'—by its adversaries, that its traditional interpretation had been *bhrashṭa*, 'lost' to the pupils of its author, that it had ceased for some time to be handed down orally, and remained only in written form in the *Dekhan*,—a book which, moreover, had to be introduced twice into Kaśmîr on account of its having become *vichinnam* after its first introduction, dating about six or eight centuries earlier than the second one (which of course must have been made from a country where it had been kept meanwhile: *avichinnam*),—such a book has, in my opinion, *no claims whatever* to our regarding its text as "unchanged and the very *same during two thousand years*."

Nor do I think that Professor Kielhorn has been more successful in his polemic against the *internal* evidence brought forward broadly by Dr. Burnell, and before him, but more diffidently, by myself, as to the (so to speak) *conglomerate* character of the *Bhâshya*. It is a pity that he had not been able, at the time he wrote, to weigh also the arguments of a third scholar going nearly in the same line with us, viz. of Böhtlingk, who in the second of his two papers on this subject (*Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. XXIX. pp. 185 ff. 483 ff.) arrives at the following conclusion (p. 490):—"The form of the dialogue brings us again close to the supposition that the redaction of the *Mahâbhâshya* does not come at all from Patanjali himself (*gar nicht von Patanjali selbst herrührt*)." The question as to the different component parts of the *Bhâshya* is indeed a very intricate one. Professor Kielhorn has devoted to it great care and study, and his opinions are entitled to all consideration and respect, but I may be allowed to state here my impression that he appears to me rather *too* much inclined in favour of the entire *oneness* of the work; and, in order to put *your* readers into a position to judge more freely on the merits of the case, I beg to subjoin a translation of what I have said on this part of the question in my paper on the *Bhâshya* in vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.* pp. 314-330. But before I proceed to do so I have to examine some statements made by Professor Kielhorn, in the course of his deduction, which require some rectification.

(1) Professor Kielhorn accuses me of "two slight inaccuracies" in my remarks concerning the history of the *Bhâshya*, in so far as, firstly, I had spoken repeatedly of *three* different occasions on which it had received the epithets *viplávita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichinnam*, whereas in reality there were but two; and as, secondly, the epithet *bhrashṭa* had been applied in the *Vâkyapadîya* not to the text of the *Bhâshya*, as maintained by me, but to the *vyâkaraṇâgama*—the traditional knowledge of grammar. I do not think that the word 'inaccuracies' has been well chosen by Professor Kielhorn in this instance, as it would be correct only under the condition that I interpreted the passage in the *Vâkyapadîya* in the same way as he does. But the fact is that our interpretations *differ*, and what he calls 'inaccuracies' is simply to be laid to the account of this difference. Of course he is fully entitled to criticize and rectify my interpretation, but not to charge me with 'inaccuracy' for drawing conclusions *in harmony* with *my* conception of the sense of the passage. Now in my translation of it the word *vyâkaraṇâgama* is given by 'Grammatik-*Text*' as referring to Patanjali's work itself, and I have also explained *in extenso* this *my* translation of *âgama* by '*text*, doctrinal system (*Lehrsystem*), doctrine (*Lehre*),' as in opposition to that given by Professor Goldstücker, who takes it as 'document or manuscript of the *Mahâbhâshya*:' see *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. pp. 162-165. Moreover, the word *pratikañchuka*, purposely omitted by Professor Kielhorn on account of its reading and meaning being as yet uncertain, is *not* left out by me, as the dots in Professor Kielhorn's quotation on p. 244 would seem to imply, but is translated (in harmony with Punyarâja) by 'adversary' (*widersacher*). In consequence of both these differences in my translation of the two verses in question, the words *viplávita* and *bhrashṭa* in them, though relating *to the same work*, still do not relate to *one* fact, but to *two*:—*firstly*, to its *devastation* ('destruction, destroyed,'—*zerstört*, as Professor Kielhorn has, is rather *too* strong: '*verwüstet*' is my expression) by the adversaries of its author; *secondly*, to its having been *lost* to his pupils, very probably indeed on account of these assailments. If we now add to these *two* facts the statement of Kalhaṇa about the *vichinnatva* of the *Bhâshya* in Kaśmîr in Jayâpîḍa's time, I think I was right when I spoke of "*three* different occasions......" But I am *at present* quite willing to reconsider my translation itself; and I concede,

before all, that Professor Kielhorn's explanation of *vyakaraṇâgama* as *not* relating to the very text of the *Bhâshya*, but only to its traditional interpretation, deserves as full attention as the one given by myself.

(2) Professor Kielhorn states (p. 246) that the views of Dr. Burnell on the *Bhâshya* have been *somewhat misrepresented* by myself in my review of his work. Now *here* the simple fact is that in my short quotation from Dr. Burnell's essay the final *s* of the word *works* has been dropt, it may be by a clerical blunder, or perhaps (!) only by a misprint overlooked by me in my revision of the proofs. What I there say on this subject is (see *Jenaer Literatur Zeitung*, 1876, p. 205), "In Burnell's opinion this work is indeed 'rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pâṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original *work*,'" not *works*, as Dr. Burnell has. It was not my intention to enter there more fully on his particular views on the subject, and I hope he himself will acquit me of having really 'misrepresented' them by that unlucky oversight with regard to the *end* of the last word in the sentence.—On the other hand, I cannot acknowledge it as a quite correct representation of my views on the *Bhâshya* when Professor Kielhorn says, "According to Professor Weber, some such work as the *Mahâbhâshya* which we possess was *actually composed by Patanjali*." For, as your readers will see below (and I beg to refer them also to the earlier statements of my views contained in vol. II. of the *Ind. Ant.* pp. 64, 209), my opinions as to this very point are not yet settled *in quite distinct form*, for there are to be weighed and put aside before such a decision several items which speak rather forcibly for a composition of the work rather *by the school* of Patanjali than by Patanjali himself.

(3) With regard to my statement that "the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see preface to the *Vaṁśabr.* p. xxii. note), appear to differ considerably," Professor Kielhorn remarks (p. 243) that *all* he finds Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding such differences is this, that in the introductory *âhnika* "the South-Indian MSS. omit the quotation from the *Atharvaveda*; whereas in one of his later works Dr. Burnell too states that "the Northern and Southern MSS. of the *Bhâshya* *differ to no great extent*, though various readings occur"; and Professor Kielhorn himself, moreover, can add, from his own perusal of such MSS., that he has "not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of the work". Of course, both these latter (and *later*) testimonies are of great value; but on the other hand I think I was fully justified at *that* time in my supposition, as given above: for the omission in the South-Indian MSS. of the quotation from the *Atharvaveda* in the introductory *âhnika* is indeed a matter *of some importance*. The *Atharvaveda* is quoted twice (fol. 3*b* and fol. 10*a*), and both times in a very peculiar position, viz. *at the head* of the four Vedas and *as their chief representative*: see *Ind. Stud.* vol. XIII. p. 431. If *such passages* are *omitted* in one group of MSS., I think we *have* a right to say that the MSS. appear to differ considerably. (It would be interesting to know how the matter *really* stands in this case.)

(4) Professor Kielhorn is very desirous (p. 248) to exculpate Nâgeśa from having made a wrong statement as to the meaning of the word *âchârya* in the *Bhâshya*. And after having examined for himself the remark in question, he found indeed that it admitted of a very different interpretation: for according to him the sentence भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राध्यापको भाष्यकृदेव विवक्षितः would relate only to that particular passage of the *Bhâshya* to which Nâgeśa has attached it, and which begins तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्न, and it would imply that *in this passage alone* "*âchârya* denotes *exceptionally* the author of the *Bhâshya* himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Paṇini or Kâtyâyana)." But I am afraid such an interpretation cannot well be grafted on the words as they stand above: for, in order to convey *that* meaning, which Professor Kielhorn intimates them to convey, they ought to be भाष्ये अत्रैव आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राध्यापको भाष्यकृद्विवक्षितः but there is no *atrai 'va*, or even only *atra*, in the text, and the *eva* stands distinctly after भाष्यकृत्, so that the sentence cannot well, according to common usage, be translated otherwise than by "in the *Bhâshya* by the word *âchârya* is meant *only* the author of the *Bhâshya*, the teacher of the शास्त्र (compare Ballantyne's translation, p. 35). Moreover, the very addition of this otherwise somewhat superfluous epithet शास्त्राध्यापक appears to imply that Nâgeśa wished to give a general and formal rule; it contains at the same time his own explanation for the fact he states—*because* Patanjali is the teacher of the *śâstra*, *therefore* is he called in it by the title *âchârya*, *κατ' ἐξοχην*. Finally also the phrase आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे is not restricted to *this particular* passage, of which it forms a part, but is a solemn one, which recurs rather frequently in the course of the work: see below.

I proceed now to the promised translation :—

". . . . On account of all this, we must be content at present to lay the time of the composition of the *Bhâshya* between the two limits;

Menandros-Pushyamitra on one side, Abhimanyu on the other,—or, in round numbers, between 140 B.C. and 60 A.D. The statements about Pushyamitra's sacrifices would lead us nearer to the first term, whereas those on the 'Yavana'—if Kanishka is to be understood—nearer to the second; or if, after all, a Greek prince is to be sought under the 'Yavana,' we are drawn of course quite near to the first term. But all this only *under one condition*, viz. that these statements are certainly *not* to be subjected to the possibility that they also represent examples *found* by Patanjali in *previous* works !! Even in this very indistinctness this result is still a very important one, if we consider the unhappy state of the chronology of Indian literature in general; and the other statements contained in the various examples thus acquire also a prominent value."

"It is true that here also the critic must still for the present raise his warning voice and ask, What guarantee have we that the work, as we now have it, is really still the same as that which, according to the *Vâkyapadîya*, was reconstrued (*wieder hergestellt*) by the efforts of "Chandrâchârya and others," after misfortunes of some duration by which it was *viplâvita*,—what happened, according to the *Râjataranginî*, just under king Abhimanyu (see *Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 159-160)? And if the assumption is decidedly not to be denied that already at this reconstruction there may have crept into the work secondary additions, originally foreign to it,* how is it further with regard to that second statement of the *Râjataranginî*, according to which in Jayâpîḍa's time, the end of the eighth century, the work was, in Kaśmîr, again *vichinna*, and was introduced there anew by skilled men, whom the king ordered to come from another country? Already, in treating of this question for the first time (*Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 168-169), I have pointed out these difficulties, and called it "audacious to judge on the thorough authenticity of the present text of the *Bhâshya* already at this time, when we have before us only so small a piece of it." But even now, though we have the whole work before us, I must abide by the same opinion, and I feel obliged to single out the *possibility* that one or the other statement, which in the sequel we will draw out of the context of the work, does *not* testify for Patanjali's time, nor for that of Abhimanyu, but merely for that of Jayâpîḍa. On the other hand, we are allowed at present to speak also of an impression founded on the *totality* of the work, and *that* is decidedly favourable to its originality. As Goldstücker has already stated it, and was the first to do so, the red thread going through the whole work is the polemic against the *vârttikakâra*. Now one may ask indeed, Was this really so also originally? or may not rather the fact that we have in it, after all, not so much a commentary on Pâṇini, as one to the *vârttikas* of Kâtyâyana, be simply the consequence of the work being preserved to us only partially, in such fragments as were still procurable in the eighth century, when it was *vichinna* again? Such a question could not, indeed, be negatived directly, still there is one point against it which appears of considerable importance. And this is just the special restriction of the work essentially to those *sûtras* which had been assailed by Kâtyâyana. Its deductions thus attain a *unitary* character, viz. that of *selection*. In case the present text was really only a text of fragments, collected in the eighth century, of a commentary on the *whole* work of Pâṇini, such a restriction would be very difficult to explain; we ought then to miss some books and chapters wholly, and have others complete, but we should not have something out of all of them, and moreover not those parts only which relate to the *vârttikas*. Truly one may object here,—Well, how do we know that Kâtyâyana did not write *vârttikas* to the other rules of Pâṇini also? should he not rather have written such to *all* rules which gave anyhow occasion for it? and when there are preserved only those we have, should this not be simply explained by the *Bhâshya's* having been preserved to us only in fragments? Now all this might really happen to be so; but the *unitary* character of the work would not suffer on account of that, as it would continue even then just in that special relation to Kâtyâyana; and it is this very restriction, after all, that appears to testify for its composition by *one* author, and thus also for its authenticity and originality.

"Truly, it might even thus, in its present form, be "*more the work of his pupils* than of Patanjali himself." Though one of the arguments which I brought forward in this respect (*Ind. Studien*, vol. V. pp. 155, 168), viz. that in the body of the work "Patanjali is spoken of *only in the third* person, and his opinion is introduced several times by तु, that is, by पश्यति त्वाचार्यः," no longer holds good. For on one hand we now find in it also many statements expressed in the *first* person, in the singular or the plural form, in the present or relating to the sequel in the future: thus for instance ज्ञास्यामि IV. 66*b*, प्रत्यायायिष्यामि III. 13*b*, VIII. 7*b*, वक्ष्यामि very often, for 'I,' I. 84*a*, 122*a*, 150*a*; III. 7*a*; IV. 20*a*; V. 3*b*; VI. 4 f. 11*a*; VIII. 2*b*; अनुक्रमिष्यामः I. 113*a*; भाषयिष्यामः VII. 49*b*,

* They would argue, after all, though not for Patanjali himself, still for the time of Abhimanyu.



118*b*; VIII. 37*b*; इच्छाम: I. 112*b*, निगमयाम: VIII. 40*b*; पश्याम: very often, *e.g.* III. 9*a*, VII. 50*a*, VIII. 34*a*; विज्ञास्याम: I. 9*a* विशेषयिष्याम: I. 38*a*, 67*a*, 140*a*; IV. 29*a*; VI. 5*a*; VI. 4f. 31*a*; व्याख्यास्याम: I. 239*b*, अपेक्षिष्यामहे I. 144*a*; मन्यामहे I. 169*b*; नैताद्विवदामहे I. 134*b*; समर्थयिष्यामहे I. 141*a*; and, on the other hand, according to Bhâṇḍârkar, in such sentences as पश्यति त्वाचार्य: we are to understand by आचार्य *not Patanjali at all, but Pâṇini!* And in a great number of passages he is undoubtedly in the right, though certainly not throughout. For on one hand this would be, after all, rather too glaring a contrast to Nâgeśa's distinct assertion to the contrary (Ballantyne, p. 36), viz. that by *âchârya* in the *Bhâshya only* Patanjali is to be understood: भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राध्यापको भाष्यकार *eva* विवक्षित:, and on the other hand in many of such cases their relation to the text, not of Pâṇini's *sûtras*, but to the very deduction of the *Bhâshya*, is quite manifest and apparent. The real state of things in this respect wants at present a special inquiry still. But, in spite of these two corrections, this much certainly remains of my previous assertion, that on the whole those cases where the opinions of the *bhâshyakâra* are presented to us in the *first* person are *relatively* rare, and that generally his assertions are given in the *third* person. Sometimes in such cases he is called even *by name* directly, though not as Patanjali,—a name which, as far as I can see, is not mentioned at all in the work,—but (and this four times) as Gonardîya, explained by Kaiyaṭa as '*bhâshyakâra*,' and once, according to Nâgeśa, as Goldstücker informs us, also under the metronymic name Goṇikâputra (see I. 4. 51f. 290*b*), against which latter identification, however, I have some real doubts (see these *Studies*, vol. V. p. 156).† Whether now this quotation of the author in the third person should be taken in a similar way as with Cæsar, or whether, like other self-quotations in Sanskrit texts, it should rather be ascribed to the tradition of the work *by the school* he founded,‡ see my *Academic Lectures on Indian Literature*, p. 216 (2nd ed. p. 258),—even by the latter supposition the *unitary* character of the work is not disparaged so far that it would not still serve us as a warrant for its authenticity as being in its *essential* context the work of *one* author,—with all reserve, of course, for any modifications of this assumption which may possibly still become necessary on the basis of a more special study of the work than I have yet been able to devote to it. With regard, for instance, to the rather numerous cases where we find a sort of self-commentary following a sentence just quoted before, I refer to my remarks in *Ind. Studien*, vol. V. p. 169; there we might indeed be induced, before all, to seek secondary glosses *of the school;* here we may adduce, for instance, also the case mentioned above, at p. 315 (viz. the gloss to यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु). On the other hand, we must still, however, emphasize that, even from the *mere formal* view, the very manner and style of proceeding in the *Bhâshya*, the connexion and annexion of all those manifold corrections, objections, explanations, *versus* (*kârikâ*) *memoriales*, &c., appears as of *one* cast. And this principally on account of a merely *external* moment, viz. of the very frequent repetition throughout the whole work of some, as it were, fixed expressions as well as stock examples; whether consisting of single words, or of short or lengthy sentences. In the first respect, for example, the way in which the आचार्य is mentioned (whether in a given case we have by him to understand Patanjali or Pâṇini) is characteristic. Thus, for instance, the formula तदाचार्य: सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे ... इति I. 143*b*, 271*b*, II. 316*a*, 401*b*, III. 96*b*, 97*a*, IV. 76*b*. V. 12*b*, 19*b*, 55*a*, 57*a*, or, as we read in the introduction, सुहृद्भूत्वा आचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे I. 10*a*;§ further the partly very frequent solemn phrases—आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति ...इति। ज्ञापयत्याचार्य:। पठिष्यति ह्याचार्य:। पश्यति त्वाचार्य:। एवं चैव हि कृत्वा आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितं। न चेदानीमाचार्या: सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति। एवं ह्याह। अपरस्त्वाह। यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु। विषम उपन्यास:। माङ्गलिक आचार्य: ... मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि अथवा मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकारा:। तद्यथा। मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वत् I. 51*b*, II. 402*b*, V. 32*b*, VI. 16*b*, 98*b*, VII. 109*a*, बह्वर्या अपि धातवो भवन्ति। (a long passage), उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि. Solemn examples are,

† To my remarks on both names in this passage I add here that Mallinâtha quotes in his schol. of *Kumâr.* VII. 95 (see Stenzler's note in his edition) a passage from the *Ars Amandi* of Gaunarda.

‡ Rather odd in the mouth of the author, but quite in order, indeed, in the mouth of his school, is the fact that we find in several passages in the *Bhâshya* the work itself quoted by *this very* name, whether it refer to a passage in the foregoing *vârttikas*, or to one in the sequel, as for instance उक्तो भावभेदो भाष्ये III. 4. 67f. 106*b* (सार्वधातुके यगित्यत्र बाह्याभ्यन्तरयोर्भावयोर्विशेषो दर्शित:, Kaiyaṭa—see III. 1. 67f. 40*b et seq.*).

§ Here it is that Nâgeśa remarks that under आचार्य *always the bhâshyakâra* is to be understood, and indeed *here* this explanation suits remarkably, for though इदं शास्त्रं alone might very well refer also to grammar in general, that is to Pâṇini, there still follow here after अन्वाचष्टे the words इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति, which go back to the words in the beginning of the deduction (fol. 6*a*)—इमानि च भूय: शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि. And similarly also with a great number of the other passages where this formula recurs.

for instance, निष्कौशाम्बिः निर्वाराणसिः । the statement about the punishment of the G a r g â s by the kings; on the preëminence of the P â ṭ a l î p u t r a k â s over the S â ṁ k â ś y a k â s; on the circuit of the Âryâvarta; the comparison of the wealth in corn of the M a d r â s with that of the U ś î n a r â s; the simile समुद्रः कुण्डिका...विन्ध्यो वर्धितकं; the conclusions उच्चानि देवदत्तस्य गृहाण्यामन्त्रयस्वैनं देवदत्तमिति गम्यते and । देवदत्तस्य गावोऽश्वा हिरण्यं च आढ्यो वैधवेयः देवदत्त इति गम्यते । and similar examples taken from common life, as पुराकल्प एतदासीत् । गङ्गायां गावः कूपे गर्गकुलं । दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय । मातृवदस्याः कलाः सन्ति न सन्ति ? ।अधरोरुकमेतत्कुमार्याः ...। अलोमिका एडका अनुदरा कन्या । आदित्यं पश्यति हिमवन्तं शृणोति ग्रामं गच्छति। तद्यथा धूमं दृष्ट्वाग्निरत्रेति गम्यते। त्रिविष्टब्धकं दृष्ट्वा परिव्राजक इति। नहि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते। ¶ तद्यथा कश्चित्कंचित्तन्तुवायमाह अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति । न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्स्रुघ्ने मथुरायां च संभवति। यथा* कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात्। स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति। तथा* कश्चिन्मांसार्थी मत्स्यान्सशकलान्सकण्टकानाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शलाककण्टकान्युत्सृजति, and others more.

Finally we have to mention here also certain direct peculiarities in *the language* of the *Bhâshya*, which also go through the whole work, and involve *a certain unity* of it. There is, indeed, not much of this kind that I have at hand to adduce, and if it stood alone it would not matter much, but in connexion with the foregoing deduction, even that has its value and appears as characteristic. A more accurate study of the bulky work will probably yield considerably more of the kind. Thus, in the first instance, the plural सुमनसः is used repeatedly in the same way as in the *grihyasûtras* in the sense of 'flowers:' thus निष्कीर्णास्वपि सुमनःस्वन्वयाद्विशेषणं भवत्ययं मल्लिकापुटः अयं चम्पकपुट इति II. 1. 1f., 313*a*; बह्वयस्ताः सुमनसः III. 1. 22f., 21*b*; आरण्याः सुमनसः IV. 2. 104f. 72*a*. Further the word निष्कारण appears in the Introduction (f. 5*a*) in the sense of 'without *visible* ground, merely from one's own impulse:' ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो† धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च and in the same sense we find used अगृह्यमाणकारणाः VI. 3. 109f. 104*b*. The words शिष्य and अशिष्य 'to be taught,' and 'not to be taught,' (*i. e.* 'superfluous'), are particular indeed, though derived more properly, as it seems, from the *vârttika* style: thus, for instance, योगश्चाप्ययमशिष्यः I. 1.50f. 124*b*, अशिष्य एकशेष एकेनोक्तत्वात् I. 2. 64f. 220*a*;—the same is to be said of इष्टि 'dictum of an authority' (*Petersburg Dictionary*) in इष्टिज्ञ, अनिष्टिज्ञ 'familiar with the use of speaking,' II. 4. 56f. 405*a*; VIII. 2. 106f. 46*b*,—and of सिध्यति 'is self-evident:' for instance, I. 1. 1f. 46*a*, III. 2. 123f. 77*a*. On the solemn juxtaposition of वृषल and ब्राह्मण see the sequel. Further, the peculiar use of the word तत्रभवत् is to be mentioned, which is used as in the dramas as a compound, though specially as a sort of honorific title, 'master' as it were, and this in allocution as well as in the third person, thus:—प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः Introd. f. 70; तत्रभवन्तो गार्ग्यायणाः भवन्तो वात्स्यायनाः IV. 1. 163f. 58*b*; तत्रभवानृषिः संपन्नः IV. 1. 104f. 53*a*; पार्षदकृतिरेषा तत्रभवतां, Introd. f. 31*a*; I. 1. 48 f. 120*b*; तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि, IV. 1. 79f. 35*b*; तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः VI. 3. 109f. 104*b*; compare V. 3. 14 *vârtt.* f. 54*b*, 55*a*, according to which rule तत्र and ततस् may thus be composed not only with भवन्त, but also with दीर्घायु, । देवानां प्रिय and आयुष्मन्त्; but examples of these latter compounds are not to hand. Finally, देश्य for देष्टव्य V. 3. 55f. 59*a*, लैङ्ग as relating to the genus, and सांख्य as relating to grammatical number, II. 2. 24f. 360*b*, are peculiar words; but I have at present no other passages to adduce for their use.

"When I am now going to single out from the statements contained in the *Bhâshya* those that appear to me of particular interest, I do so under a double reservation, viz. that (1) all those reserves and doubts adduced in the foregoing as to their absolute cogency for the time of Patanjali himself may be kept always in sight, and (2) that I do not attempt to give a complete image of all that may be elicited from the contents of the work. Such a task is to be left as yet to the future, and would be best connected with a general *Pâṇini glossary*, which ought to combine the whole *copia verborum* to be found in Pâṇini himself and in

¶ A *very* curious translation of both these sentences, which have been inserted also in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, § 1, occurs in the *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* XIV. 520: "they are indeed no stags, they are no mendicant friars;" "with such thoughts polecats (the translator reads सालयो) are not chased, and kettle-bearers not fed." The learned (!) translator has changed conjecturally नोप्यन्ते into नोष्यन्ते, and translates this as just quoted. Both sentences are, moreover, to be found also in Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra*, and are quoted there directly by इति वात्स्यायनः see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, f. 216*b*. One comes here involuntarily to the supposition whether they may not have stood already in Gonardîya's (*i.e.* Patanjali's!) *Kâmasûtra*.

* Both these sentences recur too in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, § 1, immediately before the two noticed in the foregoing note.

† One ought to expect निष्कारणं ! दृष्टं कारणमनपेक्ष्य Kaiyaṭa, 'independently of a motive'—Ballantyne. [The words निष्कारणो धर्मः are to be taken as a parenthesis.]

the literature immediately connected, and in which the authority for the single words,—that is to say, if they are taken from Pâṇini, from the *várttikas*, from the *Bháshya*, from the *Gaṇapáṭha*, &c.,—ought to be signalized by certain marks. For such a task there are indeed still required some previous operations of wide extent, viz. besides an exact working through of the whole *Bháshya* generally, also especial inquiries *on the gaṇas*. According to Böhtlingk (Introd. p. xxxix.) the *gaṇas* of the *Káśiká* differ from those of the Calcutta edition to such a degree (and both the MSS. at his disposal were, moreover, sometimes so incorrect) that he preferred not to give the various readings at all. Still undoubtedly just in this case such a comparison and verification is very particularly desirable. I venture therefore to express here in all humility the pious wish—*l'appetit vient en mangeant*—that the two learned and highly-gifted professors of the Banâras College, to whom we owe the present edition of the *Bháshya*, may publish also the *Káśiká*, which takes its name from their celebrated ancient city, if not on the model of the Calcutta edition of Pâṇini, which of course would be preferable, yet at least in the same way as they have published the *Bháshya*. According to Colebrooke's testimony (*Miscell. Essays*, vol. II. pp. 9, 40) the *Káśiká* is "a perpetual commentary, and explains in perspicuous language the meaning and application of each rule," adding examples, and quoting in their proper places the necessary emendations from the *Várttikas* and the *Bháshya*. He calls it, *disertis verbis*, the best of all extant commentaries on Pâṇini, a judgment in which Böhtlingk also (p. liv.) concurs. An additional advantage is its relatively great age, as it may eventually belong (*Ind. Stud.* V. 67) to the very time when, according to the *Rájataranginí*, the *Mahábháshya* was re-introduced into Kaśmîr, after being for a while *vichinnam* there (*ib.* V. 167)."*

Berlin. A. Weber.

THE BARISÂL GUNS (*ante*, p. 214).

While at one time a resident of Barisâl, I shared the general curiosity on the subject of the singular gun-reports heard there, and frequently took occasion to make inquiries of the natives concerning them. Though they professed ignorance as to the cause of the more distant explosions, they invariably attributed the nearer ones to the firing of guns at native weddings, which they said was a custom of the district, and they could sometimes supply the name of the person in whose honour the firing in question was proceeding. There seems no reason to doubt that the same explanation applies to the more distant sounds also.

The statement in your last number that the sounds are heard not only from the southerly and south-westerly directions, but also from the north, corresponds with the statement I have met with, that the sounds are heard even as far north as Ḍhâkâ. I never myself, however, heard them from any other directions than the south and south-west.

I do not remember to have heard the sounds at any period of the year excepting at the beginning of the rainy season. During the whole of the rainy season a very large extent of the low-lying country there is under water, and the people pass from village to village in boats over the flooded rice-fields,—the southern portion of the district being the portion more especially inundated. Now, we have on record some most remarkable instances of the sound-conducting power of large surfaces of water; as, for example, the mysterious sounds of guns, and other noises, heard sometimes by men becalmed at sea when far away from the ordinary possibilities of hearing.

Now, what the Shabi-barât is to Muhammadans the month Âshâḍha is to Hindûs—the period when marriages are most frequent. This month is the first month of the rainy season, and the weddings are celebrated chiefly during the Kṛishṇapaksha half of the month. Not only in Eastern Bengal, but also in other parts of Hindûstân, gun-firing is quite common at Hindû weddings at this season of the year. No mystery appears to exist in connexion with the reports excepting in that part of India which is so generally submerged at this season.

Query:—Is it not at least *possible* that 'the Barisâl guns' may be simply the reports of guns fired on the occasion of weddings in distant parts, conveyed to hearing by means of the vast expanse of water which floods the entire Sundarbans at the period mentioned?

Could not some of the enlightened Bangâlî gentlemen, whose minds are unfettered by fables about the gigantic gates of Râvaṇa's palace, help us in our endeavours to trace the phenomenon to some rational cause?

Allahabad. J. D. Bate.

HINDU SACRIFICE.

"Sacrifice is described as a ship, boat, or ark, pretty much in the same way as 'the Church' in the baptismal service—'that they, being delivered from Thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, and may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that they may finally come to the land of everlasting life,' &c. In *Rig-veda* x. 113, 10, there is a *mantra* to this effect:

* *Ind. Stud.* vol. XIII. (1873) pp. 319-330.

—'Give us, O Indra, multitudes of good horses, with which we may offer our oblations by the repetition of the proper sentences—by the prospering of which we may escape all sins. Do thou now accept our service with much regard.' 'Do thou lead us safe through all sins by the way of sacrifice.' And we have, in viii. 42, 3, 'O illustrious Varuṇa, do thou quicken our understanding —we that are practising this ceremony—that we may embark on the good ferrying boat by which we may escape all sins.' On this the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* remarks :—'Sacrifice is the good ferrying boat. The black skin is the good ferrying boat. The Word is the good ferrying boat. Having embarked on the Word, one crosses over to the heavenly world.' *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, p. 10. The commentator of the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ* remarks thus on the same passage :—'May we also embark on that safe and good ferrying boat of black skin, by which we may at once get over all sins that beset us.' It was not unusual in those days for ferry boats to be made of leather. . . .

"Another reason for assimilating the saving boat with 'the Word' is that there was actually a hymn which was called *plava*, 'raft' or 'boat,' and it was to be used daily. 'The *plava* is used daily. Those who complete the *saṁvatsara* sacrifice have to dip in the Sea [so called from the "excessive depth" of the Sacrifice, according to the commentator]. He who dips in the sea without a *plava* or raft never gets out of it. Where there is the *plava*, it leads to the attainment of the celestial world.'—*Tandia Mahâ Brâhmana*, p. 293. Sacrifice has accordingly been held in all Vedic treatises as the great remedy for sins and trespasses. It is at the same time both a satisfaction for heinous and moral offences, and an atonement for trivial mistakes and transgressions. Kâtyâyana says that sacrifice procures heaven, and 'heaven' is a word which stands for the highest happiness. The commentator of the *Taittirîya Saṁhitâ* tells us that it is Nirriti, or the Sin deity, that is a disturber of sacrifices. . . .

"It is manifest that the sacrificial ritual did not tranquillize the Brâhmaṇical mind. It still brooded over theories of many kinds, it betook itself to philosophy, and even submitted to accept lessons from its hated rival, Buddhism, but without any tranquillizing result. They seem to have had an idea that there must be a really saving sacrifice, and that their own ritual was but its distant reflection. We repeat an expression we have already cited above, that 'Prajapati, or the Lord of creatures, is Sacrifice, for he made it a reflection (*pratimâ*) of himself. And he is further called '*atmada*,' or giver of self, whose shadow, whose death, is immortality (to us)."—Banerjea's *Âryan Witness*.

NÂMAMÂLÂ AND PÂLI GRAMMARS.

Subhûti Unnânse, the Buddhist priest of Waskaduwa, in Ceylon, is already well known as the careful editor of the *Abhidhânappadîpakâ*, a native Pâli glossary, which, until the appearance of Childers's great work, was the only lexicographical help available to Pâli students. He has now published a work entitled *Nâmamâlâ*, or "The Garland of Nouns," a treatise in Siṅhalese on the grammar of Pâli nouns and adverbs. The introduction—extending to more than a hundred pages—contains a most valuable summary of all that is known to the native paṇḍits concerning the history of Pâli grammar, and gives the author's name and date, the length in stanzas or cantos, and quotations of the first and last verses of no less than sixty-four Pâli grammars still known in Ceylon.—*The Academy*.

Prof. F. Wüstenfeld has completed his autolithographic edition of El-Bekry's *Geographical Dictionary*, in 864 pages. The work of writing it for the lithographic press must have been a severe labour, and it must be admitted that the edition is a marvel of clearness, and far pleasanter to the eye than a *printed* Arabic book. Prof. Wüstenfeld has added an excellent index, which will obviate the trouble caused by the author having arranged the articles in the order of the Maghraby alphabet.—*The Academy*.

NOTES.

The Spanish Government has founded a Chair for Sanskṛit in the University of Madrid, to which the first Professor appointed is Francisco Maria Rivero, a gentleman who has studied Sanskṛit in Germany, France, and England, and is at present engaged in preparing a Sanskṛit Grammar for his Spanish pupils, and is editing the *Hitopadeśa*, with Spanish notes and a Glossary for the same.

Mr. Redhouse has issued a pamphlet in "Vindication of the Ottoman Sultan's title of 'Khalif,' showing its antiquity, validity, and universal acceptance." In it the author holds recent assertions to the contrary to be erroneous, "from the title being no new assumption, but dating from A.D. 1517, and gradually and generally admitted by the *orthodox* world of Islâm since; and futile, even were the legal argument solid, because, after 300 years of possession, it would be too late to question the right." (*Vide ante*. p. 231.)

Mr. A. Giles, of H. M. China Consular Service, has published at Shanghai a translation from the Chinese, entitled *Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Râmâyana of Tulsi Dâs. Translated by F. S. Growse, M.A., B.C.S., Fellow of the Calcutta University. Book I.—Childhood. (Allahabad: N. W. Provinces Press, 1877.)

Last year the author of this volume contributed a specimen episode of his translation of the *Râmâyaṇa* of Tulsi Dâs to the pages of this journal (see vol. V. pp. 213-221), with a few introductory remarks, and we gladly welcome this first instalment of an excellent version of the most popular of Hindi poems. A handsome edition of the text, we are told, was issued by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta many years ago, but it has long been out of print, and the original is now only to be read in lithograph or bâzâr type. Though the subject is the same as that of the great epic of Vâlmîki, it is, as Mr. Growse remarks, "in no sense a translation of the earlier work; the general plan and the management of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail; and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians. Even the coincidence of name is an accident; for Tulsi Dâs himself called his poem the *Râm-charit-mânas*, and the shorter name, corresponding in form to *the Iliad* or *Æneid*, was only substituted by his admirers as a handier designation for a popular favourite." Further, "in both, the first book brings the narrative precisely to the same point, viz., the marriage of Râma and Sîtâ. But with Tulsi Dâs it is much the longest book of the seven, and forms all but a third of the complete work, while in the Sanskrit it is the shortest but one." (Introd. pp. i. ii.) The two "agree only in the broadest outline. The episodes so freely introduced by both poets are for the most part entirely dissimilar; and even in the main narrative some of the most important incidents, such as the breaking of the bow and the contention with Parasurâm, are differently placed and assume a very altered complexion." (p. iv.) Of Tulsi Dâs himself little is known, but what information is available has been collected by Mr. Growse in his introduction. The earliest notice of him is in the *Bhakt-mâlâ*, usually ascribed to Nâbhâ Jî, "himself one of the leaders of the [Vaishnava] reform, which had its centre at Brindâban; but the poem as we now have it, was avowedly edited, if not entirely written, by one of his disciples named Nârâyan Dâs, who lived during the reign of Shâhjahân. A single stanza is all that is ordinarily devoted to each personage, who is panegyrized with reference to his most salient characteristics in a style that might be described as of unparalleled obscurity, were it not that each such separate portion of the text is followed by a *ṭîkâ* or gloss, written by one Priya Dâs in the *Sambat* year 1769 (1713 A.D.), in which confusion is still worse confounded by a series of the most disjointed and inexplicit allusions to different legendary events in the saint's life." Mr. Growse then gives the text both of Nâbhâ Jî's stanza and of Priya Dâs's *ṭîkâ*—the latter in 44 ślokas,—with translations, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's notice of Tulsi Dâs, founded apparently on a prose redaction of the *Bhakt-mâlâ*. We quote the translation of the first of these :—

"For the redemption of mankind in this perverse Kali Yug, Vâlmîki has been born again as Tulsi. The verses of the *Râmâyaṇa* composed in the Treta Yug are a hundred crores in number: but a single letter has redeeming power, and would work the salvation of one who had even committed the murder of a Brâhmaṇ. Now again as a blessing to the faithful has he taken birth and published the sportive actions of the god. Intoxicated with his passion for Râma's feet, he perseveres day and night in the accomplishment of his vow, and has supplied as it were a boat for the easy passage of the boundless ocean of existence. For the redemption of man in this perverse Kali Yug, Vâlmîki has been born again as Tulsi."

From his own works and from tradition, Mr. Growse gathers that he commenced the composition of his *Râmâyaṇa* at Ayodhyâ in 1575 A.D., and that he studied for some time at Soron. He was a Kanaujiyâ Brâhmaṇ; and in the *Bhakt-Sindhu*—"a modern poem of no great authority"—it is said "that his father's name was Atmâ Râm, and that he was born at Hastinapur. Others make Hâjipur, near Chitrakûṭ, the place of his birth. The greater part of his life was certainly spent at Banâras, though he also passed some years in visits to Soron, Ayodhyâ, Chitrakûṭ, Allahâbâd, and Brindâban. He died in the *Sambat* year 1680 (1624 A.D.)." Two MSS of his great work are said to exist in his own handwriting—one at Râjapur, and the other in the temple of Sîtâ Râma which he founded at Banâras. Besides the *Râmâyaṇa* he wrote at least six other poems, all with the object of popularizing the worship of Râma. They are the *Râmgîtâvali* (used as a text-book in the Government examinations in Hindi), *Dohâvali*, the *Kabitsambandh*, the *Binay Patrikâ* (printed for the college of Fort William in 1826). the *Pad Râmâyaṇa*, and the *Chhandâvali*. To these are sometimes added "the following minor works, as to the genuineness of which there is considerable doubt, viz. the *Râm-Salâkâ*, the *Hanumân Bâhuka*, the *Jânaki Mangal*, the *Pârvatî Mangal*,

the *Karká Chhand*, the *Rorá Chhand*, and the *Jhulná Chhand*." (pp. xii. xiii.)

The translation of this Hindi epic appears to be executed in a scholarly style, and is carefully edited throughout with footnotes explanatory of the mythological allusions. While thanking the translator for this instalment of so important a work, we trust he will be encouraged to hasten the completion of it.

NARRATIVES of the MISSION of GEORGE BOGLE to TIBET, and of the JOURNEY of THOMAS MANNING to LHÂSÂ. Edited with Notes, an Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning, by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C. B., F.R.S. (Demy 8vo, pp. clxi. and 354.) London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

The great Warren Hastings was a statesman far ahead of his age, able to appreciate heartily, and willing to encourage to the extent of his powers, whatever tended to increase the reputation and influence of his country, or add to human knowledge and comfort. When the Teshu Lama, therefore, in 1774, sent to intercede on behalf of the Bhutânese, whom he had found it necessary to chastise for their raids upon our north-eastern frontier, he lost no time in sending a return mission under George Bogle, a young Scotchman, whose energy and capacity he well knew, and, with his instructions, gave him a quantity of potatoes that he might plant a few at each favourable halting-place, in the hope of introducing the cultivation of so useful an article of food into Central Asia. We shall probably never learn whether it was from this experiment or not that the Tibetans did come to use the vegetable as they now do. Mr. Bogle resided for a considerable while with the Teshu Lama, who became warmly attached to him. Warren Hastings was greatly pleased with his success, and, had he been allowed, would have followed it up, but when Bogle returned in 1775 he found a sad change at Calcutta: the great statesman was deprived of all power by the malignant opposition of Philip Francis and the other members of Council, whom he made tools of to frustrate the designs of the Governor-General, and nothing more was done for four years. In 1779 Bogle was again appointed to proceed to Bhutân and Tibet, but the visit was postponed owing to the Teshu Lama being absent at Pekin. Bogle died early in 1781. Hastings sent Captain Turner on a second mission in 1783, but afterwards had weightier matters to attend to; and the narrative of Bogle's mission to Tibet, of which Hastings had sent a copy to Dr. Johnson in 1775, was never published. Fortunately Bogle's papers were sent home to his family and preserved, and, thanks to the perseverance of Mr. Markham, they have been discovered, and are here edited by him in the most judicious and satisfactory way.

Thomas Manning, the friend of Charles Lamb, was a somewhat eccentric character. He went first to Canton to study Chinese, and was recommended to Lord Minto as well qualified for a mission into Tibet; but "the days of small half-measures had arrived," and he received little or no aid from Government. He succeeded, however, without official recognition, in reaching Lhâsâ, where he stayed for several months, and had interviews with the Dalai Lama. He wrote a long and interesting account of his expedition, and sent it to Dr. Marshman, but unfortunately it seems to have been lost. Disgusted with the official treatment he received, he returned to Canton in 1812, and in 1817 joined Lord Amherst's embassy, as Chinese interpreter. He died at Bath in 1840, leaving his Chinese manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society. The only account of his journey is contained in the hasty and desultory jottings made from day to day in his note-book, of which Mr. Markham has made the best. "Good or bad," he remarks, "it stands alone. No other countryman of ours has ever followed Manning's footsteps. And, to those who know how to find it, there is much wheat to be gathered from amongst Mr. Manning's chaff."

The long introduction, extending over 110 pages, is not the least important part of the work: as preliminary to the narratives it gives a comprehensive geographical sketch of Tibet, Bhutân, and Nepâl, followed by accounts of the religion, tribes, Lamas, and Romish missions, the surveys of the Chinese and their interference, our relations to Bhutân and Nepâl, the explorations in Tibet made by the 'Paṇdits' sent out by the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and the maps, early and later, of the Himâlayan countries. This is followed by well-written short biographical sketches of Bogle and Manning, occupying some 30 more pages. At the end, an Appendix of 46 pages contains—1, an account of the travels of Johann Grueber, Jesuit, 1656, from Astley's *Voyages*; 2, a letter from Father I. Desideri, 1716, from Du Halde's *Lettres Edifiantes*; and 3, an account of Tibet by Fra. F. O. della Penna di Billi, 1730, from Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique* (IIme Sér. t. XIV. p. 177).

The work is illustrated by good maps, a portrait of Warren Hastings, and a number of woodcuts. A full index and the editing of Mr. Markham, which is a model of excellence, render the book invaluable to all requiring information connected with the commerce, government, ethnology, and religions of the countries to the north of India. and must make it a favourite with the lover of books of travel and rare adventure.

PÂRSÎ FUNERAL AND INITIATORY RITES, AND THE PÂRSÎ RELIGION.

BY MONIER WILLIAMS, BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, OXFORD.

Observant European travellers when they first arrive at Bombay cannot fail to be struck with the interesting contrasts which everywhere meet the eye. Perhaps the most remarkable of such contrasts is that afforded by the different methods adopted by the adherents of different creeds for the disposal of their dead.

There in Bombay one may see, within a short distance of each other, the Christian cemetery, the Muhammadan graveyard, the Hindû burning-ground, and the Pârsî Dakhmas, or Towers of Silence. The latter, five in number, with a sixth—which is square instead of circular—used for criminals, are, as most Anglo-Indians know, at the summit of Malabar Hill, in a beautiful garden, amid tropical trees swarming with vultures. I obtained leave to visit these towers in the autumn of 1875, and again shortly after my second arrival in India last year.

A correct model of the principal tower was then kindly presented to me by order of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, and a careful examination of its structure enables me to describe its dimensions with accuracy. Towers they have certainly no right to be called, for their height is out of all proportion to their diameter. The chief tower may be described as an upright cylindrical stone structure, in shape and solidity not unlike a gigantic millstone, about fourteen feet high and ninety feet in diameter, resting on the ground in the centre of the garden. It is built throughout of solid granite, except in the centre, where a well, ten feet deep and about fifteen across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, terminated by holes filled with charcoal. Round the upper and outer edge of this solid cylinder, and completely hiding the interior surface from view, is a high stone parapet. This is constructed so as to seem to form one piece with the solid stone work, and being, like it, covered with chunam, gives the whole erection, when viewed from the outside, the appearance of a low tower. Clearly one great object aimed at by the Pârsîs in the construction of these strange depositaries of their dead is solidity. We saw two or three enormous massive stones lying on the ground, which had been rejected by the builders simply because they contained almost invisible veins of quartz, through which it was possible that impure particles might find their way, and be carried, in the course of centuries, by percolating moisture, into the soil. Earth, water, and fire are, according to Zoroaster, sacred symbols of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotence of the Deity, and ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled. Especially ought every effort to be made to protect Mother Earth from the pollution which would result if putrefying corpses were allowed to accumulate in the ground. (*Vandidâd* iii. 27.) Hence the disciples of Zoroaster spare neither trouble nor expense in erecting solid and impenetrable stone platforms fourteen feet thick for the reception of their dead. The cost of erection is greatly increased by the circumstance that the towers ought always to be placed on high hills, or in the highest situations available. (*Vand.* vi. 93.) I was informed by the Secretary that the largest of the five towers was constructed at an outlay of three lakhs of rupees.

The upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings. The ridges are grooved—that is, they have narrow channels running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster's three moral precepts, 'Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' (*Vand.* v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his *Yaśna*, a portion of the *Zand-Avastâ*.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits

the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of the stone coffins, which stands for 'good deeds,' are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolizing 'good words,' those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, representing 'good thoughts,' those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies, and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers—not even a high-priest—is allowed to enter.

On the occasion of my second visit I was accompanied, as before, by the courteous Secretary of the Pârsî Panchâyat, and was permitted to witness the funeral of a Mobed, or one of the second order of priests, whose flowing white costumes (supposed to be emblematical of purity) are everywhere conspicuous in the Bombay streets. I may here mention parenthetically that I believe the word Mobed is merely a corruption of a Zand word equivalent to Sanskrit *Maga-pati*, 'chief of the Magians.' Dastur, the name of the high-priest, is a modern Persian word, the best equivalent for which would perhaps be 'chief ruler.' The lowest order of priests, named Herbad, are little better than menials, and are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies. In the *Zand-Avastâ* the whole priestly class are called Athravan (in Pâzand Athornan). In the present day the rest of the community—the laymen in fact, who are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds nor Herbads—are styled Behadîn or Behdin, that is, 'followers of the best religion.'

I reached the garden surrounding the towers about half an hour before sunset. At that time the funeral procession was already winding up the hill. The deceased man had died early in the morning, and a rule of the Pârsî religion requires that no corpse shall be exposed on the platform of the towers, to be consumed by birds of prey, unless the rays of the sun can first fall on it. Foremost in the procession walked a man carrying a loaf or two of bread wrapped up in a cloth. Then came the bier, which was flat and made of iron bars,* having the body of the deceased stretched out upon it, covered only with a white sheet, and borne by four bearers, followed by two assistants. These corpse-bearers are called *Nasasalâr*. They are, of course, Pârsîs, but from the nature of their occupation are supposed to contract impurity, and are not associated with by the rest of the community. They are, however, well cared for and well paid.

After the bearers, at an interval of a few yards, followed a man leading a white dog, and behind him a long procession of at least a hundred priests in their long robes of spotless white, besides relations of the deceased, also in white garments, walking in pairs, each couple following closely on the other, and each man connected with his fellow by a handkerchief held between them in token of sympathy and fellow-feeling. The procession advanced to a point about thirty yards distant from the portal of the largest tower. There it stood still for a minute while the dog was brought towards the corpse, made to look at the features of the dead man, and then fed with bread. This part of the ceremony is called *sag-dîd*. Meanwhile all who followed the bier turned round, and walked back to the *sagrî*, or house of prayer containing a fire-sanctuary, which is erected near the entrance to the garden. There they chanted prayers while the corpse-bearers entered the tower with the dead body, and exposed it naked in one of the receptacles on the stone platform. Their appointed task being then completed, they instantly quitted the tower, and were seen to repair to a reservoir of water near at hand, where they went through a process of thorough ablution, changing all their clothes, and depositing the cast-off garments in an open stone pit, almost hidden from view, on one side of the garden.

It is noteworthy that the fire-sanctuary of the *sagrî* has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandal-wood fuel by the veiled priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure. The theory is that the light of the sun and the light of the sacred fire ought to consecrate the mortal remains of the deceased before they are consumed by the birds. There is, at any rate, some poetical if not true religious sentiment in this hypothesis, and the bereaved relations appear to derive consolation from it; but whether the position of the sun and fire made this double consecration possible is doubtful. To us spectators on the

* In the case of a child it is a curved metal trough.

occasion I am recording, it was evident that a beam from the setting sun and a ray from the sacred fire had barely opportunity to fall on the corpse at all; for scarcely had the bearers left the tower and closed the portal ere forty or fifty vultures, before seated motionless on the stone parapet, swooped down on their prey. In ten minutes they all flew back again—they had finished their work. The body was reduced to a skeleton before the mourners in the *sagrî* had finished their prayers. It should be mentioned that in three or four weeks after the funeral the bones are removed from the open coffin and reverently placed in the central well, where the dust of the dead, whether of high or low degree, is left to commingle undisturbed for centuries.

When I inquired about the meaning of the dog, I was told that, according to the teaching of Zoroaster, dogs as well as birds are regarded as sacred animals,† and were formerly allowed to consume the dead bodies of Pârsîs. In the present day a representative dog kept for the purpose accompanies the corpse, and is fed with bread as a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Moreover, dogs are supposed to possess some mysterious power in preserving the spirits of men from the attacks of demons‡; and if the funeral dog is not fed, and made to look at the corpse, the soul of the deceased will assuredly be assailed by evil spirits during the three days which intervene between death and judgment.

I should state here that in the belief of the Pârsîs the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the Dakhmas, where also swarms of evil spirits congregate. On the morning of the fourth day the soul is taken to judgment, which is passed on it by Mithra and the angels. It has then to pass a narrow bridge called *Chinvat-peretum*, 'the bridge where decision is pronounced.' The souls of the sinful, being unable to pass this bridge, imagined to be sharp as a razor, fall into hell on endeavouring to cross over. The *Zand-Avastâ* even gives the names of certain dogs believed to protect the souls of men from the assaults of evil demons before crossing the bridge. The *Vandidâd* (viii. 41, 42), moreover, states that the devil called Naśus is frightened away by a yellow dog with four eyes, and that such a dog is to be led along the road of a funeral procession three times.

It is on this account, as was explained to me by a learned Pârsî, that the funeral dog is supposed to be four-eyed—that is to say, it is supposed to have two real eyes and two round spots like eyes, just above the actual eyes. I was told, too, that many yellowish-white dogs in India have this peculiarity, and that the Pârsîs try to procure such dogs, and keep them for their funeral processions. I observed nothing of the kind in the funeral dog on the occasion of the particular funeral I have here recorded; but it struck me (before I knew that the same idea had occurred to German scholars) that the singular practice of leading a white dog at the head of the procession points to the common origin of the Pârsî and Hindu religions; for in the latter system the god of death, Yama, has two four-eyed brindled watchdogs, children of Saramâ,§ who guard the road to his abode, and whose favour and protection against evil spirits are invoked every day by pious Hindus when they perform the *kâka-bali*, or offering of rice to crows. dogs, and animals at the end of the *vaiśvadeva* ceremony before the midday meal. The *mantra* recited is as follows:—*Dvau śvânau śyama-śabalau Vaivasvata-kulodbhavau tebhyâm pinḍo mayâ datto rakshetâm pathi mâm sadâ*,—"May the two dogs, dark and brindled, born in the family of Yama, protect me ever on the road! To them I present an offering of food."

Having thus attempted to give some idea of the nature of a Pârsî funeral, and of the unique arrangements by which the Pârsîs endeavour to carry out the precepts of their prophet Zoroaster in the disposal of their dead. it will not be inappropriate if I close this paper with a brief account of the initiatory ceremonies performed on admission of young Pârsîs to the Zoroastrian religion, and their incorporation as members of the Pârsî society.

I may first mention that according to the pure form of the Zoroastrian faith—as pro-

† See *Vandidâd* vii. 75, viii. 28,—Bleeck's *Avesta*, vol. I. pp. 104-109; Wilson's *Pârsî Religion*, pp. 325-328, 330.

‡ *Vandidâd* (Bleeck) xiii. 25; Wilson's *Pârsî Religion*, pp. 49, 252.

§ Saramâ is the dog of Indra, and is represented in *Ṛig-veda* X. 14. 10 as the mother of Yama's dogs, called in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Adi-parvan* 671, Devâ-śunî. In the *Ṛig-veda* this dog is said to have tracked and recovered the cows stolen by the Panis. Saramâ is even said to be the authoress of part of the *Ṛig-veda*, X. 108.

pounded by learned Pârsîs of the present day—Ormazd (sometimes written Hormazd, contracted from the full expression Ahura Mazda) is the name of the Supreme Being, to whom there is no equal, and who has no opponent. It is a mistake to suppose that Ormazd is opposed to a being called Ahriman, commonly regarded as the spirit of evil. The true doctrine is that Ormazd has created two forces in nature, not necessarily antagonistic, but simply alternating with each other—the one a force of creation, construction, and preservation; the other a force of decay, dissolution, and destruction. The first of these forces is named Spenta-mainyus, while the second or destructive power is commonly called Ahriman, or Hariman, for Anhramainyus (or *Anhro-mainyus* = Sanskrit *Anho-manyu*). It is interesting to observe the analogy between the Hindu and Zoroastrian systems, Vishṇu and Rudra (Siva) in the former being equivalent to Spenta-mainyus and Anhramainyus in the latter, while Brahma (neuter) corresponds to Ormazd. In later times the purity of the original doctrine became corrupted, and Ahriman was personified as a spirit of evil. In fact, all the evils in the world, whether moral or physical, are now attributed to Ahriman, while Ormazd is erroneously held to be the antagonistic principle of good. It is contended, too, that the Pârsî religion is properly pure Monotheism, in spite of its apparent dualism, and that the elements and all the phenomena of Nature are merely revered as creations of the one God, and symbolical of his power.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the majority of Pârsîs the elements are regarded as simple manifestations or emanations of the Deity, and that which is called Monotheism is really a kind of Pantheism very similar to that of Brâhmaṇism. The absence of all image-worship, however, is very refreshing after the hideous idolatry of the Hindu system.

So much for the Pârsî creed; and now for a few words as to the form of admission into the charmed circle of the Pârsî community.

It is a controverted point whether if any outsider wished to become a Pârsî it would be possible, even in theory, to entertain the question of his being admitted to membership by his making public confession of his faith in the Zoroastrian system. As a matter of fact no one is at present allowed to become a Pârsî unless he is born a Pârsî. No provision seems to exist for the reception of converts, and the only form of admission is for the children of Pârsîs, though occasionally the children of non-Pârsî mothers by Pârsî fathers are permitted to become members of that community. Nevertheless it is certain, from a particular form of prayer still used by Pârsî priests, that Zoroaster himself enjoined on his disciples the duty of making proselytes, and had in view a constant accession of fresh adherents, who were all to be received as converts, provided they were willing to go through certain prescribed ceremonies.

With regard to the children of Pârsî parents, every boy is admitted to membership as a disciple of the Zoroastrian religion some time between the age of seven and nine, but more usually at seven years of age, in the following manner. He is first taken to one of the fire-temples, and in a room outside the sanctuary made to undergo a kind of baptism,—that is to say, he is placed nearly naked on a stone seat, and water is poured over his head from a *loṭâ* by a Mobed appointed to perform the rite. Next, the child is taken out into an open area, made to sit on another stone seat, and required to eat one or two leaves of the pomegranate tree—a tree held very sacred by the Pârsîs, and always planted in the precincts of their fire-temples, for use in purificatory ceremonies. (*Yaśna* viii. 4.) After eating the leaves he is made to drink a small quantity of the urine of a bull—also kept at fire-temples, and held in high estimation for its purifying properties. This completes the first portion of the ceremony. The concluding act is performed in an apartment of the fire-temple, and consists in investing the child with the sacred shirt or under-garment (called *sadara*), and sacred girdle (called *kustî*). Several Mobeds, presided over by a Dastur, are necessary to the due celebration of this part of the rite (which is very like the Hindu *upanayana*, or induction into the condition of a twice-born man by means of the *yajnopavîta*). They sit on the ground in a group, and the child is placed in the midst of them nearly naked. The sacred shirt is then put on, and the white woollen girdle fastened on around it, while the boy is made to repeat word by word the form of prayer which he is required to say ever after-

wards whenever the girdle is taken off or put on again. (*Kurdah-Avestâ* iv.) The sacred shirt and girdle are the two most important outward signs and symbols of Pârsîism, and an impostor laying claim to the privileges of the Zoroastrian religion would be instantly detected by the absence of those signs, or by his wrong use of them. But they are far more than outward signs,—they are supposed to serve as a kind of spiritual panoply. Unprotected by this armour a man would be perpetually exposed to the assaults of evil spirits and demons, and even be liable to become a demon himself. The shirt is made of the finest white linen or cambric. It has a peculiar form at the neck, and has a little empty bag in front to show that the wearer holds the faith of Zoroaster, which is supposed to be entirely spiritual, and to have nothing material about it. The second shirt has also two stripes at the bottom, one on each side, and each of these stripes is separated into three, to represent the six divisions of each half-year.

It has also a heart, symbolical of true faith, embroidered in front. The *kustî* or girdle is made of seventy-two interwoven woollen threads, to denote the seventy-two chapters of the *Yaśna*, but has the appearance of a long flat cord of pure white wool, which is wound round the body in three coils. Each end of the girdle is divided into three, and these three ends again into two parts. Every Pârsî ought to take off this girdle and restore it to its proper position round the body at least five times a day. He has to hold it in a particular manner with both hands; and touching his forehead with it to repeat a prayer in Zand invoking the aid of Ormazd (*Ahura-Mazda*) for the destruction of all evil beings, evil doers, especially tyrannical rulers, and imploring pardon for evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds. The girdle must then be coiled round the body three times and fastened with two particular knots (said to represent the sun and moon), which none but a Pârsî can tie in a proper manner. Every Pârsî boy is taught the whole process with great solemnity at his first initiation. When the ceremony is concluded the high-priest pronounces a benediction, and the young Pârsî is from that moment admitted to all the rights and privileges of perhaps one of the most flourishing and united communities in the world.

Oxford, June 1877.

ON THE QUESTION WHETHER POLYANDRY EVER EXISTED IN NORTHERN HINDUSTÂN.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LLD., Ph.D., EDINBURGH.

In reference to the conclusion which in a former article* I have drawn from the story of Draupadî, that, though polyandry had died out in the plains of northern Hindustân at the period when the *Mahâbhârata* was compiled, it yet appears to have existed there at a remoter period, a learned friend has stated to me that he doubts "whether polyandry ever was an Âryan custom, and can be sanctioned by texts or inferences from the *Vedas.*" I do not pretend to have examined the Vedic hymns and *Brâhmaṇas* with a view to discover whether they contain allusions to any practices connected with the relations of the sexes which were disapproved, or had fallen into disuse, at a later period. I am only aware of one custom which appears to have existed in the Vedic age, although under what conditions does not appear, while it is only recognized by Manu under certain restrictions. I allude to the practice of a widow cohabiting with a brother-in-law, which seems to be referred to in *Ṛigveda*, x. 40. 2. (See my *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 459.) Manu allows such unions of a widow with a brother-in-law, or other relative of her deceased husband, to continue only till one, or at most two, sons have been begotten, and declares that they must then cease (ix. 59-62). In the verses which follow (64-68), he either restricts such temporary unions to classes below the twice-born, or (in contradiction with what precedes) condemns them altogether.

But the question arises whether the compilers of the *Vedas* and *Brâhmaṇas* would be likely to bring forward anything found among the materials at their disposal which had become obsolete, or which clashed with their own ideas of what was proper or laudable. We do,

* In the September part of this journal, *ante*, p. 260*a*, and p. 262*b*.

no doubt, find a reference to a fact which the Brâhmaṇs of later times would perhaps have preferred to ignore, viz., that in former times men of their caste had received instruction from Kshatriyas. For Manu allows a student to learn the *Veda* from one who is not a Brâhmaṇ only in cases of calamity or necessity.† (See my former article, p. 252*a*, at the bottom.) But would they be likely to refer to antiquated practices often, and especially in the case of such as they had come decidedly to disapprove, like polyandry ?

The particular question to be now settled is whether the Pâṇḍus and their relatives are represented to us in the *Mahâbhârata* as altogether belonging to tribes whose entire practices were of such a character as harmonized with pure Hindu ideas of later ages.

Pâṇḍu, the father of the five brothers, is related in that poem to have had two wives, Prithâ or Kuntî (*Mahâbhârata*, 4415ff.), and Mâdrî (*Mahâb.* i. 4429ff.). Pâṇḍu, however, having been doomed by the curse of a sage to die in the embraces of his wife (vv. 4588f.), resolves to relinquish family life and become an ascetic (vv. 4597f.), and goes to the forest (4615), but accompanied by his wives (4630). The two wives, however, bear sons to different gods: Kuntî three sons to Dharma, Vâyu, and Indra respectively (vv. 4765ff., 4772, and 4791), and Mâdrî two sons to the Aśvins (vv. 4850f.).‡

Mâdrî was the sister of Śalya, king of the Madras. In two passages (*Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, xiv. 6. 3. 1, and xiv. 6. 7. 1=*Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, pp. 569 and 611 of the Calcutta text, and pp. 194 and 199 of the English translation) mention is made of Kâpya Patanchala, a Brâhmaṇical teacher, as living in their country, and nothing is said against the manners of the people. Again, in the third book of the *Mahâbhârata* (vv. 6620f.) Aśvapati, a king of the same country, is praised as righteous and pious. Yet in two speeches in the eighth book (or *Karṇaparvan*, vv. 1836ff. and 2028ff., addressed by Karṇa to Śalya), the Bâhîkas, Madras, Gândhâras, and other tribes of the Panjâb, are strongly censured for the dissoluteness of their manners. Some extracts on this subject have been adduced from the latter passage in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II. pp. 482f.§

The tribes in question are there described as the lowest of men, unfit to be associated with, as faithless to their friends, liars, dishonest, as assembling males and females and slaves promiscuously, and eating fish and the flesh of kine, drinking spirits, screaming, laughing, the women as dancing undressed and drunk, and as unrestrained in their sexual intercourse (vv. 1836-1851). An old Brâhmaṇ, who had lived in the country, gives a long account in a similar strain, depicting the people as shameless in their cohabitation, as having no Vedas, or religious knowledge, or sacrifices, &c. (vv. 2038ff.). In vv. 2081ff., we have the following important statement:—" A certain virtuous woman, having been formerly carried away from the Âraṭṭa (*country*), and violated by robbers, uttered this curse: 'Because ye violate me, a young female, who have relatives, the women of your tribe shall become licentious. Never, vilest of men, shall ye be freed from this dreadful sin.' Wherefore their sisters' sons, and not their (*own*) sons, (*are*) the heirs of their property."||

" *Satî purâ hritâ kâchid Araṭṭât kila dasyubhiḥ* |
adharmatas chopayâtâ sâ tân abhyaśapat tataḥ |
bâlâm bandhumatîm yan mâm adharmeṇopagachchata |
tasmân nâryo bhavishyanti bandhakyo vai kulasya cha |
na chaivasmât pramokshadhvam ghorât pâpân narâdhamâḥ |
tasmât teshâm bhâgaharâḥ bhâgineyâḥ na sûnavaḥ."

The last words appear clearly to refer to a

† Compare Kumârila Bhaṭṭa's censure of Buddha, who was a Kshatriya, for assuming the office of a teacher, and thereby encroaching on the province of the Brâhmaṇs: *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. I. pp. 509f.

‡ See Prof. Monier Williams's *Indian Epic Poetry*, pp. 94, 860.

§ See also the translations of Prof. H. H. Wilson and Messrs. Troyer and Fauche referred to in a note below.

|| This line has, I find, been translated by Professor H. H. Wilson, in his *Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XV. p. 109), as follows :—"On this account their heirs are their sisters' children, not their own." The entire verse has been rendered by M. Troyer in the appendix to his *Râdjataranginî*, vol. I. p. 507, thus,—" *Oui*, vous, derniers des hommes, purifiez-vous de ce crime affreux. Sinon, ce ne seront pas vos fils, mais ceux de vos sœurs, qui seront vos héritiers." The original, however, has nothing answering to *sinon*, nor has it any substantive verb in the future tense. Troyer adds this note, which I translate from the French :—" This custom of succession" (*i.e.*, of sisters' sons being a man's heirs) " is found among the Nairs, and other tribes in which polyandry reigns." In M. Fauche's translation of the verse, which runs as follows :—" Ne veuillez pas expier ce crime abominable ; et pour cette *impénitence* n'ayez ni fils, ni neveu qui soient les héritiers de vos biens," the concluding words do express the true sense.

rule which prevails where polyandry exists, that sisters' sons, and not sons of his own, are a man's heirs, because, of course, in the peculiar circumstances, it cannot be determined by whom the latter were really begotten. On this subject I quote a passage from Mr. Walter Hamilton's *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan*, &c., vol. II. p. 280 (edition of 1820). "The Nairs marry before they are ten years of age, but the husband never cohabits with his wife. He allows her oil, clothing, ornaments, and food, but she remains in her mother's house, or after her parent's death with her brothers, and cohabits with any person she chooses of an equal or higher rank than her own. In consequence of this strange arrangement, no Nair knows his own father, and every man considers his sisters' children as his heirs. His mother manages the family, and after her death the eldest sister assumes the direction. A Nair's moveable property on his decease is equally divided among the sons and daughters of all his sisters." See also Mr. J. F. M'Lennan's *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 149f.

I do not go the length of asserting categorically that the words last quoted from the *Mahâbhârata*, as to a man's sisters' sons being his heirs among the tribes referred to, prove historically the existence of polyandry in the Panjâb at, or before, the period when they were written. But it is certainly remarkable, if not indeed unaccountable, that such words should be found in that book if they do not owe their existence to the fact of such a custom being actually prevalent at the time when they were penned, or not long previously.

Śalya makes (v. 2112ff.) but a brief reply to Karṇa's denunciation; is silent as to the truth of the charges made, but alleges that in Anga, the country of which his assailant is king, it is the custom to abandon the sick, and for men to sell their own wives and children. He says that there are everywhere Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras, and virtuous and devoted women, with righteous kings, who control the wicked; and, at the same time, most vicious men. People are, he remarks, quick in detecting the faults of others, but do not observe, or delude themselves in respect of, their own, and urges that no man is necessarily bad from being the native of a particular country, but is such in consequence of his own nature.

In regard to the differences in manners between the peoples of the Panjâb and those of Hindustân further to the eastward, I repeat here the words of Professor Weber, freely translated in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II. p. 354, from the *Indische Studien*, vol. I. p. 220, and said by him to be founded on data furnished by Pâṇini:—"The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a necessary consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern Aryans obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom, and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions."¶

P.S.—The learned friend who is referred to at the commencement of this paper has, after becoming acquainted with its contents, stated to me his opinion that, although the passage which I have quoted in it from the *Karṇa-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* goes far to prove that polyandry existed among the tribes of the Panjâb, yet that this is a different thing from admitting it to have ever been an established institution; and remarks that the polyandry alluded to in that passage was of a purely licentious character. As this custom is not known to have been practised in the Panjâb for a long time past, it will perhaps be the safest conclusion to draw provisionally from the premises furnished in this and in my preceding paper, that though polyandry, or a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, may have prevailed more or less there in early times, yet that the former practice could not have been widely spread or recognized as a national institution. I shall be glad, however, if any student of Indian antiquity is able to throw further light on the subject.

¶ In my former article, p. 251*a*, last line, I observe an erratum, *râjâs* for *rajas*. In regard to note §, page 252, I am informed by Dr. Böhtlingk that he would understand *upadrava* there in the usual sense of 'calamity,' and would render the line in which it occurs thus: "a man without Ṛich, Yajus, or Sâman is a calamity created by Prajâpati.'

REPORT UPON INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE AND THE HAMBANTOṬA DISTRICT OF CEYLON.

BY THE LATE P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Ph.D.

I have until lately confined my examinations to the rich mines of the North-Central Province; and even there only the numerous inscriptions at Anurâdhapura, Mihintala, Polonnaruwa, and at some other places, as Dambulla, Mineri, Maradaṁkaḍawala, have been photographed. In the month of June I have been travelling through the Hambantoṭa District of the Southern Province, with a view of taking first a general survey of the material to be found there.*

I propose to open my report with an account of the most ancient inscriptions belonging to a time anterior to the Christian era, and mostly found in caves.

I.—*From the Introduction of Buddhism to the beginning of the Christian Era.*

The caves of V e s s a g i r i, near Anurâdhapura, have yielded an additional number of six short inscriptions to those two I had copied previously. I have met with several cave inscriptions, hitherto unknown to me, at M i h i n t a l a, both on the hill now alone inhabited by priests, and in a cave called R â j a g i r i y a l e n a on the opposite hill, which abounds in ruins indicative of former habitations. Other inscriptions of the same kind were found on D u n u m a ṇ ḍ a l a k a n d a, at G æ t a l a v i h â r a (three miles from Galkuḷam, Central road), on E l a g a m u k a n d a, on M a r a d a ṁ k a ḍ a w a l a k a n d a, at D a m b u l l a (here also a great number of them on the bare rock close to the famous temple), on the rock at P a n i k k a n k u ḷ a m (two miles from Kekiriâwa on the Western minor road), on the rock at M ô r a g o l l æ w a (near Elagamuwa), in a cave at M u r u n g a h i ṭ i k a n d a (between Elagamuwa and Dambulla), and several in the district of Hambantoṭa, viz., at the ancient *vihâra* of M u l g i r i g a l a and in the jungle between Kirindê and Palatupâna. Reference is made in the Government archæological returns to an inscription at M û d a w e h e r a, a very ancient temple in the jungle three miles beyond Palatupâna, but I failed to find anything in the extensive ruins of it.

The inscriptions of this period, a considerable number of which is now collected by me, furnish little new information, after having seen the first important specimens; their contents are essentially the same throughout, viz., brief dedications to the priesthood, if they are not merely indicative of the ownership of the cave. They are written, as I have formerly stated, in the well-known Southern alphabet of the Indian emperor Dharmâśoka, with slight modifications, and in some cases already in more recent forms, not very different from those of king Gajabâhu's time (2nd century A.D.). The proper names of the donors or proprietors often are not without interest, and there are some ancient words, as *parumaka* or *barumaka*, 'Brâhmaṇ' (in later times assumed as a title by kings), *jita*, 'daughter,' and a few besides, which will prove of value to the student of the Siṁhalese language.

There is one very important grammatical form (which, however, we find to be in existence even at a later period), the nominative singular masculine and neuter in *e*, inasmuch as this is generally looked upon by European Orientalists as peculiar to the different dialects of Mâgadha; and if so, we would meet here with a significant corroboration of the Siṁhalese historical tradition according to which a district of Mâgadha (or one bordering on this kingdom) was the native country of the early Âryan colonizers of Ceylon. There are some remarkable instances besides in which in special the Mâgadhî employed in Aśoka's inscriptions and Siṁhalese coincide, while both stand aloof from Pâli and *all* the other Prâkṛits. Such are—

Mâgadhî.	Siṁhalese.
si†	*hi* (termination of the loc. sing.)
munise	*minisá* (= 'man')
tuphe	*topi* ('you,' 'ye')
puluve ('former') (for *puravu*)	*pera* ('former'), *pura* ('the light half of the lunar month').

(Sanskṛit *pûrva*, Pâli *pubbo*, Prâkṛit *puvva*.)

A graphical particularity of the most ancient inscriptions is the use of two forms of *s* (one the common *s* of Aśoka's inscriptions, the other resembling in shape a Greek Digamma, F, a form unknown in India)‡, which it would be difficult to

* "Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, who died at Galle on May 7th, was born at Dantzig in 1850, and pursued his university studies at the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, Tübingen, and Göttingen, at the last of which he took his degree in 1872. In 1873 and 1874 he resided in London, devoting his whole attention to the study of Prâkrit MSS., especially those relating to the Jainas. At the end of 1874 he left for Ceylon, where the Colonial Government had offered him an appointment to collect all the ancient inscriptions found in that island. The term for which he had been engaged having nearly expired, he intended to return to Europe for a short time, proposing to return to Ceylon again and investigate the language of the Veddeou, when he died."—Prof. S. Goldschmidt, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

† But this also occasionally in the sacred writings of the Jaina sect.

‡ Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 140, and *Academy*, 17th February 1877, p. 139.—ED.

account for without the supposition that the pronunciation of *s* in Ceylon must have struck the Hindu introducers of the art of writing as somewhat different from their own, although it is true the two letters are used indiscriminately. Now, Prâkṛit grammarians record a peculiar pronunciation of *s* in the dialect of Mâgadha, which appears in the dramatic works of the Hindus; perhaps (though of course we can assert nothing in these matters) early Sinhalese partook of the same distinction.

The following two cave inscriptions may serve as specimens of the most ancient Sinhalese preserved to us (by *ś* I have transcribed the second referred to above):—

(1.) *Inscription in a cave at Vessagiri Anurâdhapura*:—

Parumaka Palikadasa bariya parumaka Tirakita jita upaśika Chitaya leṇe śagaśa chatudiśa:

"The cave of the lay-devotee Chita (*Chitrâ*), wife of the Brâhmaṇ Palikada, daughter of the Brâhmaṇ Tirakita, [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters of the world."

(2.) *Inscription near Nettukanda* (about fifteen miles from Mihintala, in the jungle, six miles off the Trinkamalî road):—

Parumaka Welu putana leṇe agata anagata chatudiśa śagaśa:

"The cave of the sons of the Brâhmaṇ Welu [*is given*] to the priesthood in the four quarters of the world, present and absent."

II.—*From the beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourth Century* A.D.

We have in this period a fixed date to start from in the numerous inscriptions of King G a j a b â h u G â m a ṇ î (113-125 A.D.), referred to in my former reports, as this king, though not generally mentioned under the distinguishing appellation of Gajabâhu, has been mindful of preserving to posterity the names of his father (Tisso) and his grandfather (Vasabho). Thus he opens his inscription on the Ruwanwæli Dâgaba, Anurâdhapura (now in the Museum, Colombo):—

Wahaba rajaha manumaraka T[i]sa maharajaha puti maharaja Gayabahu Gamiṇi *Abaya*:

i.e. "King G a y a b a h u G a m i ṇ i A b a y a, son of king T i s a, grandson of king W a h a b a."

Manumaraka is the ancient form of the modern word *munuburâ*, 'grandson,' derived, by inversion of syllables, from Sanskrit *manorama*, 'mind-delighting,' as *nandana*, 'the delighter,' *i.e.* 'the son').

Some smaller inscriptions of this period, formerly unknown to me, I found at Mihintala. A very well preserved inscription of considerable length is engraved on H a b a r a n ê rock. Palæographically it differs little from the inscriptions of the second century, but occasionally the angular characters appear intermingled with the more graceful forms of a later period, which fact, in conformity with observations I have made on other inscriptions, proves that an older stage of the alphabet was for some time retained for engraving on the rock, after a more current form had come to be employed in ordinary life. The language shows some decided instances of development from the second century, but it is still very far removed from what is considered the classical form of Elu literature. The contents are rather more valuable than generally of inscriptions of the same period, as they record some particulars concerning the construction of the tank of Habaranê, which was effectuated by utilizing two natural lakes. Like most ancient inscriptions, this also abounds in clerical errors. The following is the text of the whole, transcribed in Roman characters, to which I beg leave to annex a literal translation, as I have made it out.

Inscription on Habaranê rock.

Siddham.

1 Mujita gamana keriyahi ameta Chasayaha puta Abayaha atî | Walamani wawiya

2 kati wawiya dakihi galaṇa kana ataḷa wawiya keta awitakita eta eta gama saro

3 ataḷi koṭu me Agichalamana wawiya Mula sara cha Pachachaḷiwa sara cha

4 do karihi | sahasa cha chaka chatalisa kariṇe (*karihinu?*) cha Sarima parumaka maharaji me Agimaḷamaṇa

5 wawiya bojiya pati Sene puta Abalayaha cha mahalaka balataka rakaṇa Kaṇakayaha mânumaraka cha samanaya Hamâ

6 ra tara (*tera*) . . .kaṭa ka (?) riya | dakapatiya kala amaṇa da. . . rakaṭa saga salahi liyawaya bojiya pataya Karakulawaya (*wawiya*)

7 Chetagiri wiharahi Abatalahi silachetahi tumaha akaḷa koṭu kari witara Gapa chetehi tela huta mala koṭu cha | jiṇa paḷisatari kama karaṇâ karoṭu Chopawaliya Giniya Megaha ch[e]tihi Jaganaka hamâṇaṇaṭaya parawaṭahi

9 cha-ka koṭu cha bojiya petiya Karakaḷa wawiya dini [*hi ?*] me chetihi wi[*hara ?*] bojiya patiya ri-karihi | sahasi cha wisiti karihi

10 do pata cha | ametaha cha Wahabayaha putaṇaṇa (or *ṭa ?*) ya duti[*ya*]. . . puchayasa awaṇaka wasahi majimodini chada puṇa masi sata paka

11 diwasa[*hi*].

Literal Translation.

"Hail! Concerning the inundated villages (*this*) is (*the saying*) of Abaya, son of the minister Cha-

saya.§ He saw the Waḷamani tank and the Kati (*i.e. the royal*) tank; having built several villages near lakes without furnishing the fields with a tank between embankments for the flowing down (of the water), he constructed Agichaḷamana tank out of the Mula lake and the Pachachaḷiwa lake. And his majesty the King, after having made serve this Agimaḷamana tank 1,640 *karis*,¶ having given it in charge to Abalaya, son of Sena, an aged overseer, to watch, and to the *thero*, the monk Ḥamâra, grandson of Kaṇakaya—afterwards, for the preservation of..............., having caused this to be written on a stone belonging to the priesthood, after assigning it, having constructed the Karakuḷa tank and having performed deeds not (*formerly*) done (*even*) by himself at Abatala (*i.e. Ambasthala*) at the *vihâra* of Chaityagiri (*i.e. Mihintala*), having made offerings of oil and flowers at the Gapa *chaitya*, (*which is*) in extent a *kari* [8 *acres*] (?), having made repairings of the decayed (*buildings*) at the *chaityas* of Chopawaliya, Giniya, Megaha, he handed them over to the monks of the Lord of the world [*Buddha*], and having made ...., after having assigned, he gave (*them?*) the Karakaḷa tank—after having assigned......... at the *chaitya*............and from 1020 *karis* (?)... ...and to the sons of the minister Wahabaya...... the second.........in the Puchayasa awaṇaka [*colourless?*] year, on the seventh day in the light half of the month Majimodini [*March-April*]."

I have not been able as yet to ascertain what year is meant by the designation of Puchayasa Awanaka, but I suspect the king mentioned to be Sirimeghavaṇṇo (302-330) who, according to the *Mahâvaṁso*, made great offerings at Ambasthala.

Two inscriptions engraved on the rock at Dunumaṇḍalakanda record the construction of *chaityas*, and other grants to the priesthood; one of them is of particular interest, as it exhibits not only a mixture of ancient and modern characters, but also of forms of words.

Other rock inscriptions with the usual contents I have met with at Panikkankuḷam (near Kekeriâwa) and two on Elagamukanda. At Andarawæwa (about two miles from Kekeriâwa) there is a stone slab containing a short inscription of king 'Wahaba' (Vasabho, 66-110), imperfectly preserved, which records a grant to the priesthood. But the pious munificence of the ancient kings did not stop short at endowing places situated near the principal seat of government, Anurâdhapura. The district of Hambantoṭa, Southern Province, is rich in similar dedications.

A fine stone slab found at Tissamahârâma, at present kept in the Assistant Government Agent's compound at Hambantoṭa, contains an enormous grant of land to the priesthood of the Tissamahârâma Vihâra (or, as it is styled in the inscription itself, "the great *vihâra* [called after the] king of Mâgama"). It runs as follows:—

1 Siddham || Budadasa Mahida Maha-

2 sena tawaka bâya Abhaya maharaja

3 mi apa chudi purumuka Budadasa tari pali

4 mahanamika Jeṭa Tisa maharaja apaya

5 ha pali Toda gamika kiri kiṇiyihi | ugu awami

6 dinawa sahasaka kiri abatarihi Mahagama

7 raja mahawahirahi tara pali mahanami Pa-

8 dana galida dinika | pacha sahasaka kiri cha mi Padana

9 galida me warahata [?] pawatara [*ri?*] na uyuta (*uwayuta*) koṭu sa |

10 padinaka | chatara sahasaka ki (*ka?*) ri che me di acha.

11 nani | nawa sahasaka kiri yaha ugu wa ma (?) . . .

12 charita niyamina | rajakolihi bha (?) nana . .

13 mini | mewa baka kari (?) di-i | cha (?) tara [?] amaṇa be (?) da (*ga?*) . . .

14 baka cha sesika......tawa na . . .

15 Padana galihi buka saga hamiyana cha[*ta*]

16 ra pachayada uwayutu karawani koṭu | apa chu

17 di purumukaha dina niyamani | me cha sali

18 hi liyawaya dinamaha.

I have attempted a *literal translation*, which, however, I am aware, may be open to many objections:—

"Hail! Budhadâso, Mahindo, Mahâseno, three brothers, his majesty king Abhaya, and our uncle (?) the Brâhmaṇ Buddhadâsa, a venerable, reverend thero [*these are the persons concerned*]: King Jeṭṭha Tisso, our sire, bought the *kiriyas* (*of land*) belonging to the villager Toda; having remitted the taxes (?), as much as 9000 *kiriyas* (*about* 90,000 *acres*) (*beginning*) from Padanagala were given to the reverend, the venerable *thero* in the great *vihâra* 'king of Mâgama;' and 5000 *kiriyas* (*beginning*) from this Padanagala, furnished with..............., have been given over, and 4000 *kiriyas* shall be............; the taxes (?) of the 9000 *kiriyas* shall be remitted (?); the rules shall be kept; in the royal family preaching (?) shall be...........; this portion of the *kiriyas* now is given (?): four (?) *amunas*...... ......; and the remaining portion............; the

§ Probably a mistake of the engraver for *Wasabaya*.

¶ *i.e. kiriyas*, equal to about 16,400 acres.

ords of the Bhikshu congregation shall be caused to be furnished with the four *pratyayas*, having done this* in order that what is given to our uncle (?) the Brâhmaṇ may be kept, causing it to be written on this stone slab, we have it given."

It is difficult to ascertain who were the kings here alluded to; for neither of the two kings mentioned in the *Mahávaṁso* under the name of Jeṭṭha Tisso was succeeded by a son of the name of Abhaya; besides we do not know if these are kings of Ceylon or only of Mâgama. Judging, however, from the characters as well as from the language, I have no doubt that this inscription is to be attributed to the fourth century A.D. It is worth noticing that even at that remote period some difference between the northern and southern dialects appears to have existed. The king of Mâgama here alluded to as the eponymous person of the *vihára* was king Kâkavaṇṇo Tisso, the father of Duṭṭhagâmaṇî, who, according to the *Mahávaṁso* (pp. 131, 150 in Turnour's edition), founded the Tissamahâvihâro or Tissamahârâmo (about 180 B.C.).

An inscription engraved on a high rock at Kirindê, though not remarkable for its contents, is peculiarly interesting by its language. The whole is a grant to the priesthood as usual, and the signs of sun and moon cut in the rock indicate that this donation shall last as long as sun and moon endure; but it opens with a praise of Buddha in which we find a great many Pâli words, apparently in a semi-Siṁhalese guise:—

[1] Siddhaṁ | Aparimite-lokehi Budha-same nati | aṭhâne parimaṇḍale

[2] savanyutopete anutare saṭhe (*sathe*) mahesaraṇe laki-chake Budha-nimi

[3] sayaṁbhu.

Put into classical Pâli:

Aparimitalokamhi Buddhasamo natthi | aṭṭhâno parimaṇḍalo.........sabbaññutopeto anuttaro satthâ mahâsaraṇaṁ lakkhîchakkaṁ Buddhanâmî sayaṁbhû.

"*i.e.* Hail! In the boundless world there is no equal to Buddha; spaceless, all-extending......endowed with omniscience, incomparable, the Teacher, the great Refuge, the wheel of prosperity—is Buddha, the self-produced one."

It is very unfortunate that we are not able to determine the exact date of this inscription. The characters are essentially the same as in the inscriptions of king Gajabâhu (second century A.D.) and his grandfather Vasabho (66-110 A.D.) (see above). There is no doubt that it is subsequent to Duṭṭhagâmaṇî (161-137 B.C.); for in an inscription at Tonigala† in which this king is referred to as reigning, we find only slight modifications of the earliest characters. Again, the alphabet here employed so closely resembles the one used in the Indian caves, which has been attributed to the first century B.C. and the first and second centuries A.D., that we cannot doubt it was introduced from India. The earliest date, therefore, assignable to this inscription would be the first century before the Christian era. Now it was in 90 B.C., under the reign of king Vaṭṭagâmaṇî, that, according to Siṁhalese tradition, the doctrines of Buddhism were first reduced to writing in Pâli. It is possible that this inscription belongs to a time prior to the year 90 B.C., though not very probable. I am rather inclined to attribute it to the first century of the Christian era; at any rate there is no instance of another inscription in the same characters belonging necessarily to the pre-Christian time. If, however, we are to suppose the Pâli language at that time to have been fixed by writing in the same grammatical and lexical forms in which we find it now, and which it certainly has exhibited since the time of Buddhaghosha, we should expect Pâli words occurring in inscriptions subsequent to Vaṭṭagâmaṇî to wear their genuine shape, provided they are not thoroughly transformed into Siṁhalese. Here we have, except in the word *laki* (for *nati* is Siṁhalese), the Pâli aspirates, as well as a compound sign for *ṇḍ* in *parimaṇḍale*, and an *Anusvára* or *Bindu* in *sayaṁbhu*—all letters unknown to ancient Siṁhalese. On the other hand, double consonants are expressed by single ones, as likewise in the case of the Pâli word *bhikkhu*, which several times in inscriptions of the same period appears in the form *bhikhu* alongside of its Siṁhalese transformations *biku*, *biki*, *bika*. The word *siddham*, usually the first word in these inscriptions, which apparently had been borrowed from Sanskrit, here as elsewhere is written with *ddh* (in one compound letter); nevertheless the same well-known sign is not used in the name of Buddha, which occurs twice in this inscription. It may be out of deference to Siṁhalese grammar that the *nom. sing. masc. and neu.* (also used as crude form) was made to terminate in *yu*, though this *e* is already employed sparingly in Duṭṭhagâmaṇî's inscription. It is interesting that the syllable *ñu* (in *savanyu*=*sabbaññu*) is not expressed by its proper sign, but by *n* with a small *yu* below the line ([illegible]), conformably to the pronunciation still heard in Ceylon (and in some parts of India). Still more remarkable is the use of *v* instead of

* Literally, 'having done, *i.e.* ordered the keeping of the rules,' &c.

† Published in the *Jour. Cey. As. Soc.* for 1853, p. 81.

Pâli *b* in the word *savanyutopete,* as we can perceive here no influence of Siṁhalese, the latter language having changed the original (Sanskṛit) word *sarva* (Pâli *sabba*) into *særa* (*ma*), contracted *sæ* (*ma*), 'all.' *Lokehi* is a good Pâli form, but not here applicable; it is probably a mistake of the engraver for *lokahi,* the regular loc. sing. in Siṁhalese. The words *nati* and *ṅimi* are Siṁhalese.

Leaving it undecided whether the Kirindê inscription is subsequent to the time when the sacred Buddhist canon is supposed to have been committed to writing, or prior to it,—in which case of course some of the peculiarities here noticed could be more easily accounted for,—there still remains enough in this passage, I believe, to throw doubt on the alleged antiquity of the Pâli language in its present form.

The remaining inscriptions of this period contain nothing remarkable, except occasionally interesting words. A number of fragments are found on the rock at Kahagalvihâra (between Rannê and Wîrakætiya); other rock inscriptions at Nayigalvihâra, at Mulgirigala, one long one at Wâdigala (two miles from Rannê, on the road to Taṁgalla), one at Angulukolavihâra (not far from Kirindê), and two at Wîgamuwa (near Rannê). A long inscription engraved on the rock at Baḍagiriya (nine miles from Hambantoṭa) by its defaced state has resisted my first effort, but may be hoped to be decipherable after a renewed examination.

III.—*Down to the Eleventh Century.*

I have seen, unfortunately, very few specimens of inscriptions between the 4th and 9th centuries, although this must have been a time of vigorous development, in the course of which by degrees Siṁhalese was moulded into its classical shape.

There is an inscription of about the 6th or 7th century on a pillar near Tissamahârâmo (according to tradition the post to which the royal tusker was tied); some lines are pretty well preserved, the greater part is defaced; I have not, however, as yet come to examine this sufficiently.

I will mention here, first of all, an inscription in the Hambantoṭa district, because it has been of great help to me for fixing the dates of a number of other inscriptions. The pillar I am referring to was discovered by Mr. J. H. Dawson, the Irrigation Officer at Mayilagastoṭa. It is inscribed on three sides, but partly effaced. The purport of the whole is again, as so often, a grant to a *vihâra,* to which is added an enumeration of the privileges usually connected with such a donation, viz., that the land should be exempt from *râjakâriya* and the like.

The donor is Mihindâ, *æpâ* or viceroy. He calls himself a son of a king Abhâ Salamewan and queen Gon. Now the identical two persons are mentioned as the parents of a king Siri Sangboy Abahay in the inscription on those well-known stone tablets at Mihintala (translated in Turnour's *Epitome,* and the beginning in J. D'Alwis's *Sidathsangarâwa,* Intr. pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.), which present such an interesting account of the well-to-do life of the priesthood in a large *vihâra.* There the king says that he had been *æpâ* before being made king, and as the date of the inscription he gives the 16th year of his reign.

King Abhâ Salamewan, the father of Mihindâ, has left us an inscription at Ætawîragollæwa (N. C. P., eleven miles from Madawachchiya), and another one beginning almost with the same words, at Elawewa Pansala (c. eleven miles from Mihintala towards Trinkâmalî). In the latter, however, he calls himself Abhâ Salamewan Dâpuḷu. Both bear as their date the 10th year of his reign; in both he alludes to a victorious campaign of his father, Abhâ Siri saṅg bo, in India against the kingdom of Paṇḍî. Of king Abhâ Siri Saṅgbo a fine pillar inscription is extant in the jungle on the foot of Mihintala hill, in which, however, his parentage is not mentioned. (He simply begins: *Abhay Siri sa[ṅg] boyi ma purmukâ nawawan ne Himate mas / hi dasa wak dawas: i. e.* "[*We*] king Abhay Siri saṅg boyi, in the 9th year [*of our reign*], on the 10th day in the month Himanta [*November*]"). Alphabet as little as language leaves any doubt about the general period to which these inscriptions belong; it must be the time between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 11th century. In all of them most of the characters used approach the forms of the present alphabet so closely as to be legible to any educated native; and as for the language, though widely distant from the present conversational, it differs little from that of the inscriptions of the 12th century, if we except the then new-fangled manner of putting back Siṁhalese words into their Sanskṛit originals, and the wholesale introduction of Sanskṛit words besides. Again, as the name Siri saṅga bo had come to be used as a mere title, assumed by many kings (for instance, Vijayabâhu I., Parâkramabâhu I., Niśśaṅka Malla), we have to look upon Mihindâ (Mahindo) as the proper name of the inscriber of Mayilagastoṭa and Mihintala.

After these preliminary remarks, we may look in the *Mahâvaṁso* for an identification of the three kings (father, son, and grandson) to whom we owe the inscriptions in question.

Mahindo III. (997-1013), according to the *Mahâvaṁso* (ch. 54), had been made *âdipâdo* at the accession to the throne of Seno III. (994-997). It is recorded of him (*Mahâv.* ch. liv. 28) that he put up inscribed stone slabs "to prevent future kings

from seizing on the property of the priesthood." Kassapo VI. (954-964) sent his army to India (*Mahâv.* ch. lii.). He was succeeded, according to the *Mahâvaṁso*, by his son Dappuḷo IV. (who reigned six months); and he again by Dappuḷo V. (964-974); the next was Dappuḷo V.'s brother, Udayo III. (974-977), who was followed by several short-reigned kings. A king Udayo is said (*Mahâv.* ch. liv. 48) to have been the uncle of Mahindo III.

Examining the rest of Siṁhalese history in this period, we have no choice but to identify the three kings met with in the inscriptions above referred to (Abhâ Siri sañg bo, Abhâ Salamewan Dâpuḷu, Mihindâ or Siri sañg boy Abahay) with Kassapo VI., Dappuḷo V., Mahindo III., of the *Mahâvaṁso*, respectively. With regard to Dappuḷo IV., who is called a son of Kassapo VI., we must doubt the correctness of the *Mahâvaṁso*.

As I have stated, Mahindo was *âdipâdo* or *æpâ* 994-997; to this interval, therefore, the inscription at Mayilagastoṭa is to be attributed. The Mihintala inscription is dated from the 16th year of his sovereignty, *i.e.* 1012 or 1013.

To the same period as these belongs the fine pillar inscription of Mahakalattæwa (now in the Museum, Colombo), which in a former report I had attributed to king Siri sañga bo III. (702-718). A king called Siri sañg boy in it grants the usual privileges to a village belonging to a nunnery built by the *Chief Secretary Sen* in honour of his mother. Now a chief secretary Seno is mentioned (*Mahâv.* ch. lii.) as one who built and endowed *vihâras* under the reign of king Kassapo V. (937-954), the father-in-law and immediate predecessor of Kassapo VI. or Abhâ Siri sañg bo of the inscriptions. Although the name Sena is common enough, this coincidence, I believe, is too remarkable for us to hesitate to recognize in him the same person just mentioned, provided that the language and palæography of the inscription speak in favour of this identification, as they do indeed. As therefore Siri sañg boy, the king referred to, cannot have lived before Kassapo V., and the successors of Kassapo V. are mentioned under different names in the inscriptions, this Siri sañg boy must be Kássapo V. himself. It is therefore between 937 and 954 that the inscription at Maha Kalattæwa (the Kulatthavâpi of the *Mahâvaṁso*, where the decisive battle between Duṭṭhagâmaṇî and Elâro was fought) must have been written. There are some other inscriptions of king Siri sañg boy (*or* bo) (at Mihintala, Anurâdhapura, and Gômkollæwa near Madawachchiya, the two latter now in the Museum, Colombo) which begin with precisely the same words, but, as the characters in which they are written are of a somewhat more ancient form, I am not confident that these kings and the inscriber of Maha Kalattæwa are identical. In the inscription at Anurâdhapura (see in a former report) we find the king reigning in his 19th year, while Kassapo V. according to the *Mahâvaṁso*, only reigned seventeen years.

These are the names of the four kings I have spoken about, with those given to the same in the *Mahâvaṁso*:—

Inscriptions.	*Mahâvaṁso.*
1. Siri sañg boy	1. Kassapo (V.)
2. Abhâ (*or* Abhay) Siri sañg bo	2. Kassapo (VI.)
|	
3. Abhâ Salamewan Dâpuḷu	3. Dappuḷo (V.) (brother Udayo III.)
|	
4. Mihindâ *or* Siri sañg boy Abahay	4. Mahindo (III.)

The following are extracts from the inscriptions above referred to:—

I.—Inscription of King Siri sañg boy (Kassapo V.) at Maha Kalattæwa (complete).

A.—(First side of the Pillar):

Siri sañg boy ma purmukâ pasaḷoswan ne nawayæ pura dasa wak dawas Pâṇḍî rad Dâpuḷu waræ me kâp par ha kureli senim isâ nawa turæ sængim isâ mahale Dâpuḷâ arak samaṇan waræ kuḍa salâ daḷ siwim isâ kolpatrî sañga ætaḷu wæ æp me tuwâk denamo ek sewæ wadâḷeyin Sen mahâ

B.

læṇan tuman mæniyan næmin nam di kot karana lad Nâl-aram meheṇi-warhi tuman tubu wat sirit/hi se dawaspatâ mahaweheræ mahaboyæ diy waḍâ wæḍi meheṇi wat hæmbu wat satdenak/haṭ satar pasa wayutu karana koṭ wadâḷa kæraṇa bimhi â wû Gitelgamu gamaṭ attâṇî pæræhær de rawanæ ge wadnâ koṭ isâ de kamtæn no wara

C.

nâ koṭ isâ mañg-giya piya-giya no wadnâ koṭ isâ dunumaṇḍul melâṭ śrî rad kol kæmiyan no wadnâ koṭ isâ wæriyan gam gen geri no gannâ koṭ isâ gæl miwun no wadnâ koṭ wadâleyin â me kâp par ha kureḷî senim isâ me kâp par nawa turæ sæñgim isâ kuḍa salâ daḷ siwim isâ kolpattra sañga ætaḷu wæ æp me tuwâk dena

D.

mo ek sewa awud me Gitelgamu gamaṭ attâṇî pæræhær denu ladi.

Literal translation.

"His majesty Siri sañg boy, in the 15th

year (*of his reign*), on the 10th day in the bright half of Nawaya (*February-March*)—whereas he has been pleased to declare with regard to the monastery (*called*) 'Dâpuḷu, king of Pâṇḍî'; until in this *kalpa* and in subsequent ones the female birds ...... ? ......and the nine planets‡ hide, (*and*) with regard to the monastery (*called*) 'D â p u ḷ â the First, Preservation:' until a small whirlpool becomes (?) firm, for so long do we, in agreement with the Kolpatrî community of priests, give—and whereas he has declared: to the village Gitelgamuwa, which is situated on the ground assigned—according to the rule which the Chief Secretary Sena himself has established in the nunnery Nâlârâma built after he had named it with the name of his mother—for daily increasing the (*supply of*) water at the great *vihâra* and at the great *Bo*-tree, (*and*) for furnishing daily the four *pratyayas* to seven persons, nuns or novices (?), ...a privilege, viz., that two...........shall enter, that two *karmasthânas*................., that travellers and...........shall not enter, that the officers of the royal family shall not enter the assembly of the priests (?), that enemies shall not take cattle from the village (sic !), that the cart-buffaloes shall not enter, until in this *kalpa* and in subsequent ones the female birds ...... (?) ......, until in this *kalpa* and in subsequent ones the nine planets hide and a small whirlpool becomes (?) firm [literally, *to the hiding of——to the becoming firm of——*], for so long do we, in agreement with the Kolpattra community of priests, give——having been pleased to come (*here*), to this village Gitelgamuwa..............a privilege is given.

It seems rather strange that, as appears from this inscription, the great *vihâra* (at Anurâdhapura) required to be supplied with water from a tank five miles off.

II.—Inscription of King Abhâ Salamewan Dâpuḷu (Dappulo V.) at Elawæwa Pansala.

Śrî' Siribara kæt kula kot Okâ-was rad parapuren baṭ Lak diw poḷoyon parapuren himi wû A b h â S i r i s a ñ g b o maharad/hu tumâ sat læñgû nawawan hawuruduyehi Pâṇḍî raṭ pæhæræ jaya kîrtti lad rupun dan wû mal masulutæ makaṭ ekânna siri bhoga kaḷa maharad/hu daru A b h â S a l a m e w a n D â p u ḷ u maharad/hu tumâ sat læñgû dasawan hawuruduyehi——

Literal translation.

"Hail! His majesty king S i r i S a ñ g b o, who, descended from an uninterrupted line of kings of the Ikshvâku family, which is the pinnacle of the glorious Kshatriya caste, had become lord by (*hereditary*) succession on the ground of the island of Laṅkâ, who, in the 9th year after he had raised the royal umbrella, ransacked the kingdom of Pâṇḍî, and, having obtained victory and glory, enjoyed his splendour..........................flowers which were the gift (*tribute*) of foes—the son of that king, his majesty king A b h â S a l a m e w a n D â p u ḷ u, in the 10th year after he raised the royal umbrella——"

III.—Inscription of the same at Ætawîragollæwa.

.... Okâ [—*was rad pa*]rapure[*n baṭ La*]k diw p[*oḷoyo*]n parapu[*ren hi*]mi wû A b h â [*Siri sañg*] b o mahâ [*rad/h*]u tumâ sat l[*æng û*] nawawan hawu[*ru*]duyehi Pâṇḍî raṭ [*p*]æhere deye lad ma[*ha*]rad/hu daru A b h â S a l a m e w a n mahâ[*ra*]d/hu tumâ sat læ[*ñgû*] dasawan hawuruduyehi——

Literal version.

"His majesty king A b h â S i r i s a ñ g b o, who, descended from an uninterrupted line of kings of the Ikshvâku family, had become lord on Laṅkâ's ground by (*hereditary*) succession, who, in the 9th year after he had raised the royal umbrella, ransacked the kingdom of Pâṇḍî and obtained victory§—the son of that king, his majesty king A b h â S a l a m e w a n, in the 10th year after he raised the royal umbrella——"

IV.—Inscription of the Æpá Mihindú (later king Mahindo III.) at Mayilagastoṭa.

——Okâ-was parapuren baṭ rad purumuwanaṭ ag me[*he*]su[*n*] wû Lak diw poḷoyon parapuren himi siṭi (?) G o n biso rædna kus/hi upan A b h â S a l a m e w a n maharad/hu urehi dâ kæta k[*u*]la kot wiyat daham niyæ gat (?) æ p â M i h i n d â h u wasin——

Literal translation.

"By the æ p â M i h i n ḍ â—who was born in the womb of the anointed queen Gon, chief queen to his majesty the king, descended from the unbroken line of the Ikshvâku family, reigning on Laṅkâ's ground by (*hereditary*) succession—the son of king A b h â S a l a m e w a n—the pinnacle

‡ *i.e.* sun, moon, and the seven planets.

§ The following is an abstract of the narrative given in the *Mahâvaṁso* (ch. lii. 70-78) of Kassapo (VI.)'s Indian campaign, which here does not appear quite so glorious and successful as in the inscriptions of his son:—

The king of Pâṇḍî, being defeated by the king of Chola, sought the assistance of the king of Ceylon. Kassapo sent his general Sakko over to India. But even though supported by the Siṁhalese army, the king of Pâṇḍî, being unable to keep the field against his adversary, took to flight. The Siṁhalese general nevertheless determined on fighting, but was murdered "by the wicked Pâṇḍu." Kassapo hearing of this, and learning that at the same time his army was being decimated by sickness, "out of compassion" (as the *Mahâvaṁso* says) called them back.

of the Kshatriya caste, the sage who has comprehended (?) the Doctrine——"

V.—Inscription of the same as King Siri sañg boy Abahay (Mahindo III.) at Ambasthala, Mihintala.

[1]Siribar kæta kula kot Okâ-was raj parapuren bat kæta usab A b a h a y S a l a m e w a n mahara-

[2]j/hat eme kulen samajæy dew G o n bisew ræjna kusæ ipædæ æpâ mahayâ siri windæ piliwelæ

[3]sey raj wæ tumâ sirin Lak diw pahayamin sitæ S i r i s a ñ g b o y A b a h a y maharaj/hu tumâ sat

[4]læñgû soloswana hawuruduyehi wap sand puṅ mas/hi dasa pak dawas Seygiri weherhi isa A-

[5]bahay girî weherhi isâ wasana ma bik sañg himiyan mahasenwâ karay tumâ bæ wat himiya-

[6]n Seygiri weherhi pere tubû sirit nija Abahay girî weherhi sirit nija ruswâ genæ me we-

[7]herat me sirit tubu wawatî nisiyan hâ sasændæ me weheræ wasana maha bik sañg himiyanat isâ

[8]kæmiyanat isâ dasnat isâ katæ yutu isâ labanu diyæ yutu se isâ wiwaruṇen ek se koṭ me-

[9]sirit tabana ladi.

Literal translation.

"He who, having been born unto king A b a h a y S a l a m e w a n, an eminent Kshatriya (literally. *a bull among the Kshatriyas*), who is descended from an unbroken line of kings of the Ikshvâku family, which is the pinnacle of the glorious Kshatriya caste, in the womb of the anointed queen, Queen G o n, descended from the same caste —having enjoyed the power of *æpâ* and . . . . having, according to (*the rule of*) succession, become king, irradiates the island of Lañkâ by his splendour, his majesty king S i r i s a ñ g b o y A b a h a y, in the 16th year after he raised the royal umbrella, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Wap (*Sept.—Oct.*)—having assembled (literally, *having made become a large host*), the lords of the great Bhikshu congregation dwelling both in the *vihâra* of Chaityagiri and in the *vihâra* of Abhayagiri, being pleased with those rules which his royal brother formerly established at Chaityagiri *vihâra*, as well as with the rules of Abhayagiri *vihâra*, in order to (?) establish the same rule for this *vihâra*, having put it together ...... —this rule together with a comment has been established for the Lords of the great Bhikshu congregation who dwell in this *vihâra*, as well as for the officers and for the slaves, for their duties as well as for receipts and expenditures.||

I have found little worth mentioning in other inscriptions of this period examined since my last report. There are such at W a n a m a d u w a (near Tirappana), in the jungle three miles from G a l k u l a m, at E l a g a m u w a, at M u l g i r i g a l a. A fragmentary pillar inscription at A t t a y â l a v i h â r a (two miles from W î r a k æ t i y a)

|| In the translation given in Turnour's *Epitome of the History of Ceylon*, which book I have not here at hand, the word *mahasen* in line 5, if I remember well, is taken to be the name of a king; the passage is, however, correctly translated in J. D'Alwis' *Sid. Sang.*, Intr. xxxvi. xxxvii., which prevented me from falling into the same error.

It will be observed that the *language* employed in these inscriptions, though by no means devoid of adopted Sanskrit and Pâli words (*tatsamas*), still puts them into a Simhalese shape. It is curious even to notice here the difference between the Sanskrit words used in the inscription of the *æpâ* Mihindâ at Mayilagastoṭa and in the inscription at Mihintala of the same person as king Siri sañg boy Abahay. In the Mayilagastoṭa inscription we find still *rad* (Sk. *râjan*), *rædna* (Sk. *râjñî*); in short, the sounds foreign to the Simhalese of those days are changed into genuine Simhalese sounds. In the Mihintala inscription these words already approach the Sanskrit form more closely, and the tendency of transporting back, as it were, genuine Simhalese words into their Sanskrit originals is already growing into fashion: thus, Sanskrit and Pâli *jana* ('person') is constantly used for Simhalese *dena*; *raj*, *ræjna* have supplanted *rad*, *rædna*; and there are such uncouth words as *samajæya* ('born') for Sanskrit and Pâli *samjâta*, *sasændæ* ('having united'), from Pâli *samsandeti*, and the like. King Mahindo was also fond of words redolent of antiquity, as *sey* ('as'), *Seygiri* ('Chaityagiri,' Mihintala), the younger forms of which, *se* and *Sægiri*, occur already in inscriptions undoubtedly more ancient.

On the other hand, Parâkramabâhu's inscription at Galvihâra, Polonnaruwa (below) abounds in Sanskrit words in their unaltered original shape, and it is known to what an extent they have crept into the Simhalese of the present day. It appears, therefore, that it is the time between the beginning of the 11th and the middle of the 12th century we have to look upon as having originated the modern mixed speech. It was in this period, too, that the Simhalese learned to pronounce the aspirates of the Sanskrit and Pâli languages,—at least we find them used commonly in the inscriptions of the 12th century,—while formerly in adopted words they were, as a rule, either expressed by the corresponding unaspirated sounds, as in *bidam* (Pâli *abhidhammo*) (Mahindo III.'s inscription at Mihintala), or divided into two by inserting a vowel between the explosive sound and the aspirant, as in *daham* (Pâli *dhammo*), *Abahay* (*Abhaya*), or *dh* was written and pronounced *j*, as *wijam* (*abhidhammo*), *warâj* (Mahindo III.'s inscription at Mihintala), (the modern *wærada*, 'fault,' corrupted from Sanskrit and Pâli *aparâdha*, the genuine Simhalese word derived from *aparâdha* being *boruwa*, 'a lie'); even to the present day the common people say A n u r â j a p u r a for Anurâdhapura.

Shortly after that time Simhalese literature, as far as it is now extant, must have commenced, its language carrying with it the spoils of many foregoing centuries. To these the poets and pandits added their own inventions: Sanskrit (and Pâli) words artificially, but often with great skill, turned into Simhalese, and modern Simhalese words put back into what were supposed to be the ancient forms of them. Hence the present Simhalese style has come to be a strange medley of Simhalese forms of almost all ages, of thoroughly Simhalized Sanskrit and Pâli words, of the same semi-Simhalized, of unchanged Sanskrit and Pâli words, and of the random inventions of poets and pandits. It is this variety of forms of the same words which Simhalese writers take advantage of to render their style elegant, although this custom very little accords with what European readers would consider good taste.

mentions one of those numerous kings called Siri saṅg bo as the father of the reigning king (about the 11th century).

IV.—*Inscriptions at Polonnaruwa, Mineri, Dambulla.*

On the *band* of the famous tank of Mineri (Pâli Maṇihîra; Inscr. Miṇihiriya) there is an inscription of the 10th or 11th century on two sides of a large stone pillar, which contains a grant of privileges to the place; unfortunately about forty-four lines on both sides are completely effaced, and nine only left. Close to this pillar there are some ancient statues of Hindu deities which impress the native mind with so much awe that no inhabitant of the village can be prevailed upon to approach the spot.

Polonnaruwa (Pulastinagara), the capital of Ceylon after the decline of Anurâdhapura, contains, as might be expected, for the most part inscriptions of a comparatively modern date. Near Galvihâra, constructed by Parâkramabâhu the Great, I found a few huge letters cut in the rock, the remnants of an inscription of considerable length, which, belonging to the earlier centuries of our era, owes its destruction to the mysterious charm attributed by the natives to the ancient Nâgara characters: it had been, as I was told, defaced this very year by the barbarous inhabitants of Tôpawæwa.

The two inscriptions coming nearest in age to the one just mentioned are to be attributed to the 9th or 10th century. The one is engraved on the four sides of a pillar close to the site of Niśśaṅka Malla's Audience Hall, on the spot whence that king's lion-seat was taken to Colombo. The name of a king Agrabodhi is legible, but a great portion of it is effaced. Another pillar I had dug out of the ground not far from Jetavanârâmo. The inscription is very well preserved, and refers to a privilege granted by a king [. . . . . . *Sala*]*mewan* to a village Galutîsa, which belonged to a high officer of state called Wadurag. The king, I suspect, is Sena Silâmegho (838-858), and Wadurag, his minister Vajiro, who is mentioned *Mahâv*. l. 83. The natives say that the pillars near the place where the inscription was found formed part of the ancient Lowa mahapâya, 'the great brazen palace' (evidently built in imitation of the one at Anurâdhapura). The place itself is now called Bîrigê vimânaya, 'the palace of the deaf woman,' and some story is told about the origin of this name. I consider it far from impossible that *bîri* is only corrupted from Vajiro: the recollection of the owner of the spot having been lost, the natives were as usual ready to invent an etymological story of their own.

The two kings whose reigns have left most marked traces in the extensive ruins of Polonnaruwa are Parâkramabâhu the Great and one of his next successors, Niśśaṅka Malla. Yet of the former we find only one inscription, though a very long one; while the latter, who could not feel so confident as his famous predecessor, of his memory not becoming lost to posterity, has laid down all the events of his life in numerous inscriptions, some of them of stupendous length. Parâkramabâhu's inscription is engraven on the wall of Galvihâra, which he had founded. Unfortunately this is not an historical inscription, but a religious one, which contains the rules given for the priesthood of the *vihâra*. It is tolerably well preserved, and belongs to the earlier part of Parâkramabâhu's reign, being dated A. B. 1708—*i.e.* 1165 A.D. The first six of fifty-one lines run thus:—

[1]Apa Budun kalpaśatasahasrâdhika chatu(?) rasa[ṁ]khyaparimitakâlayan (yen) sâma (*sama*) tisa param (*pâramî*) purâ Mârasa[ṅ]grâmabhûmi wû mahâbodhi pa[r]yyaṁkârûḍha wæ (wæ) durvvâra sapa-

[2]rivâra Mâra parâjaya koṭæ sarvvajñâpada prâpta wæ pansâlis-hawuruddak dawas chaturthî (?) pak mahâ meghayak seyin wædæ siṭæ ane

[3]kakalpakoṭiśatasahasrayehi kelaśâśanin da se (?) wemin siṭi satya (*sakya?*) yan dharmmâmṛtavarshâyen niwamin sakala Buddha-kṛtya nimawâ Kusinârâ nuwaræ abiyes hi Ma-

[4]lla râjayange sâlabandeka (?) . . yehi (*sâlavanodyâ*[*na*]*yehi*) nirupadhiśesha nirvvâṇa dhâtuwen diwi niwi sâra-siya-supanæ-shawuruddak giya kalæ Waḷagam Abhâ maharâja dawasæ paṭan ekwâ-dahas-su

[5]panæs-hawuruddak bhinna-nikâya wæ śâsanaya piriwemin siṭi kalhi Mahâsammatâdi pararamparâyâta sûryyavaṁśodbhûtarâjâdhirâja naikadigabhivyâptayaśomarichîn (*marîchîn*) virâjamâ

[6]na Śrî Samghabodhi Parâkramabâhu maharajâṇan sakala Laṁkâtelehi ekarâjyâbhishekayen abhishikta wæ vijṛmbhitapuṇyarddhi æti wæ râjyasukhânubhava koṭæ waḍanuwan.

Literal translation.

"1254 *years* from the time of king Waḷagam Abhâ (*Vârttagrâmaṇî*), when 454 *years* had elapsed since Our Buddha, having in a time limited by (*extending over*) four *asaṁkhyas* 100,000 *kalpas* fulfilled all the thirty perfections, and having, on the Mâra battle-ground, mounted on the divan of (*i.e. sitting cross-legged in*) thorough enlightenment, conquered the irresistible Mâra together with his retinue, at

tained the state of omniscience, and forty-five years (*after that*), on the 4th day, having accomplished by quenching . . . ., as a large cloud does by rain, so he, in many hundred thousands of *krors* of *kalpas* by the nectar of the law, [*having thus accomplished*] all the duties of a Buddha, extinguished (*his*) life by means of the sacred n i r u p a d h i ś e s h a n i r v â ṇ a near the city of Kuśinagara, in the grove of *sál* trees of the king of the Mallas——[1254+454 *years after that time*] when, the congregations being broken up, religion was fading away, his majesty king S r î S a ṅ g h a b o d h i P a r â k r a m a b â h u, descended from the unbroken line of Mahâsammata and the others, born of the Solar race, the king over kings, resplendent through the rays of his glory which has penetrated many regions, anointed by the anointment of paramount dominion on Laṅkâ's ground, enjoying the delight of dominion, with the treasure of his merits made patent, he, the very wise one——"

Shortly after Parâkramabâhu's death (1186) N i ś ś a ñ k a M a l l a ascended the throne of Ceylon and reigned for nine years (1187-1196)—a king whose vainglory, as exhibited in his inscriptions, appears extraordinary, even making allowance for his being an Oriental prince, and who was anxious, more than any other Siṁhalese monarch, not to allow the memory of his reign to fall into oblivion. The *Mahâvaṁso* has nothing to record of him but that he erected *dâgabas* and palaces, and by his zeal for Buddhism heaped up merits from day to day. He himself tells us of an expedition to India, but most of the other memorable actions he speaks of have regard to religion. His numerous inscriptions are amongst the longest in the island, carefully executed, and most of them excellently preserved. He describes his whole life—birth, parentage, his arrival in Ceylon, his dignities there, the solemnity of his installation as king, and the acts of his government. Many of the buildings of Polonnaruwa, still extant in their ruins, indeed owe their origin to his magnificence; it was he, too, who repaired and embellished the splendid cave temple at Dambulla, often referred to in his inscriptions. A fine stone slab on the Ruwanwæli Dâgaba at A n u r â d h a p u r a records, besides his other actions, the costly works he executed for the embellishment of this *dâgaba*, and for the restoration of Marichavaṭṭi and the other *vihâras*. Another long inscription of his we find engraven on the rock at D a m b u l l a close to the cave. The remainder are to be found in his capital, P o l o n n a r u w a.

Going out from the modern village of Tôpawæwa or Tôpâvê, we reach first his Audience Hall, where we find two series of pillars denoting the order in which the different dignitaries were seated, when Niśśañka Malla was on his throne (the identical lion-seat now kept in the Colombo Museum, and itself covered, I have been told, with an inscription of this king). Near the D a ḷ a d â m a n d i r â w a (*the palace of the tooth-relic*) there is a fine stone slab inscribed on two sides (see text and translation in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1874). From there we proceed to T h û p â r â m o and the surrounding buildings, where we find the enormous G a l p o t a (*stone book*), an inscription in three portions like the pages of a book (each page twenty-four lines), containing the whole of Niśśañka Malla's history; a number of broken pieces of stone forming a sort of frieze round the lower walls of a palace, and a stone seat, which both narrate the same events with few variations. At R a n k o t D â g a b a we have again a stone seat and four pillars, all four of them covered with the same inscription. At J e t a v a n â r â m o there is a third stone seat of larger size than the two before mentioned, containing two inscriptions, one of which is the identical one seen on the four pillars at Rankot Dâgaba. The walls of a Hindu temple not far from Thûpârâmo are covered with a Tamiḷ inscription, of which, however, a great portion is effaced; as Niśśañka Malla mentions a Hindu temple built by him at Polonnaruwa, it is not unlikely that he is the author also of this inscription; but my want of acquaintance with ancient Tamiḷ language and palæography prevent me from being able to assert here anything with confidence.

The principal events of N i ś ś a ñ k a M a l l a's life, as gathered from his inscriptions, are these:—Niśśañka Malla was born 1700 A.B. (*i. e.* 1157 A.D.) at Siṁhapura as the son of king Ś r î J a y a g o p a of K â l i n g a and his queen Pârvatî. Having come to Ceylon, to which he claims to have had an hereditary right, he first obtained the dignity of *æpá*, and afterwards was made king. As such he calls himself S i r i S a ñ g a b o K â l i n g a P a r â k r a m a b â h u V î r a r â j a N i ś ś a ñ k a M a l l a A p r a t i m a l l a. His general character is thus described in the *Galpota*:—

Galpota I.

12 ——Udâ-gal mundun pa-

13t hiruhu sô saturanduru durulâ bahujanayâmuwa-piyum pubudu koṭæ anat raja-sirin Chakradevendrayâ sê somi-guṇen pun sandahu sê dhîra

14tâyen Meruwa sê gæmburu-bæwin sâgaraya sê kshântiguṇen maha poḷowa sê lo-wæssan pinin upan kap-rukak sê wæḍæ siṭæ.

Literal translation.

" ——having dissipated the enemies and exhilarated the faces of the multitude, as the sun, when reaching the summit of the sunrise-mountain, destroys darkness and expands the lotuses—like unto Sakra, the king of gods, by his infinite royal splendour—like unto the full-moon by his gentleness—like unto Mount Meru by his firmness—like the ocean by his profoundness—like the great earth by his patience—like a *kalpa*-tree produced by the merits of the inhabitants of the world——"

It was thought incumbent on a king who wished to show his zeal for the religion of Buddha to issue edicts forbidding people to take away life. Of course it was rather the life of birds, fish, wild beasts, &c., which was meant to be spared; as for man's life, often the most devoted of these kings had made their way to the throne through murdering their predecessors. In the second part of the *Mahávaṁso* this is usually expressed by a certain fixed formula :—

Machchhánam migapakkhînaṁ katabbaṁ sabbam áchari:

"As for his duties towards the fish, wild beasts, and birds, he accomplished them all."

Niśśaṅka Malla did not neglect these duties. In his inscription at Anurâdhapura he says that he gave security to the fish in twelve great tanks, and commanded the Kâmbodyans not to kill birds, after having given them large presents. In his inscription on the pillars at Rankot Dâgaba some of these tanks are enumerated :—

Ran-Tisæ-Miṇihoru-Gaṅgataḷâ-Paḍî-ætulu wû tun rajayehi no ek maha wæ tænæ aśesha prâṇînta abhaya dî:

"Having at the site of many great tanks, as Ranwæwa Tisæwa (*Tissawæwa at Anurâdhapura*), Miṇihoruwæwa (*Mineri*), Gaṅgataḷâwa (*Kandalei*), Paḍîwæwa (*Paḍiwila*), and others in the three kingdoms, given security to all living beings."

On the other hand, the same king sent his general L a k V i j a y a s i ṅ g u K i t with an army over to India, to invade the kingdom of Pâṇḍî, and pretends to have received large tribute from his enemies. An inscription of this identical Lak Vijayasiṅgu Kit, who is frequently spoken of in connection with Niśśaṅka Malla's victories, I have described in a former report; I shall insert it below, as it will be of interest to compare this later grant to the priesthood with the more ancient dedicatory inscriptions above quoted. The several queens of Niśśaṅka Malla are also mentioned, as well as his son V î r a b â h u, who reigned after his father's death for one year, and his daughter Sarvvâṅgasundarî (compare the names of other princesses of Kâliṅga —Trilokasundarî, queen to Vijayabâhu I., and a relation of hers called Sundarî [*Mahâv.* ch. lix., Turnour's ed. Intr. p. lxxxviii. ff.].

In several inscriptions the people of Ceylon are admonished to choose their kings from the royal family of Kâliṅga, as it would not become kings of Choḍa or Pâṇḍî, who were adverse to Buddhism, to reign over the island :—

Kâliṅga-vaṁśayaṭa himi Lak-diwæ Buddha-śâsanayaṭa pratipaksha abauddha Choḍa Pâṇḍyâdi-rajun no pihiṭiwiyæ yuttêyæ:

i.e. " As it is not right to establish un-Buddhistic kings, as those of Choḍa, Pâṇḍî, &c., who are enemies to the religion of Buddha, in the island of Laṅkâ, which belongs to the dynasty of Kâliṅga" (*Galpota*, III. 21–22).

I think we are justified in inferring from this that the princes of Kâliṅga themselves were Buddhists, and it is not without interest to learn that so late as at the close of the 12th century there was a Buddhistic dynasty reigning over a part of Southern India.

Of real benefit to his subjects seem to have been the changes Niśśaṅka Malla made in the system of taxation: for five years he remitted all taxes, and some of the most obnoxious he abolished for ever.

Inscription of Lag Vijayasiṅgu Kit (on the three sides of a pillar found on the *band* of Abhayawæwa or Baśava-kkuḷam, now in the Museum of Colombo) (date about 1210).

A.

Śrîmat Okâ-was-raja-parapuren â Abhâ Salamewan Lîlâvatî-svâmîngê agrâmâtya wû Lag Vijayasiṅgu Kit senewiyan tunwan nê Anurâdhapurehi paṭan bhûmiye taman kæræ wû ruwanpâyehi wæḍæ hun saṅgu

B.

ruwanṭa siwu-pasayen wana pâsu piṇisæ tamanṭa bat giṇuwa yæwin yâḷak hâ mehi mæ chaityayaṭa yâḷak hâ piḷimageṭa yâḷakhâ bhûmi-dâna koṭæ hira-sanda pamaṇa wæ pidû pâsayen pirimæmû me lâbhaya antarâya kaḷawun

C.

windinâ narakâdi-duk dæn hâ matu matu wanâ nuwanæṭiyan lobha-dvesha-mâna duru koṭæ lâbha antarâya no koṭæ nuwaṇæṭtan (?) kaḷa anumowanu mænæwi.

Literal translation.

" General Lag Vijayasiṅgu Kit, chief minister to Lîlâvatî's royal consort, Abhâ Salamewan, who comes from the royal race of the glorious Ikshvâku family—in the 3rd year (*of the king's reign*) having made a donation of land : one *yâḷa* for rice........ barley (?) to the priests themselves living in the Ruwanpâya (*ratnaprasâda, palace of jewels*) which he

himself built on ground from Anurâdhapura, for their case, that it may serve for the four *pratyayas*, and one *yála* to the *chaitya* here and one *yála* to the image-house—the pain in hell, which those shall suffer who obstruct this merit acquired from the offered.........which shall last as long as sun and moon endure (literally, *sun and moon being the measure*), shall be now and in all future, (*but*) wise men who, having renounced covetousness, hatred, pride, and not obstructing the merit, do... ......may be pleased to share (*the merit*)."

A grant made to the identical general Lak Vijayasiñgu Kit is the subject of a long inscription of king Sâhasa Malla (1200-1202), engraved on the two sides of a fine stone slab and excellently preserved; the greatest portion, however, is historical, referring to events connected with the accession of the king to the throne of Ceylon. We learn from it that Śâhasa Malla was a brother of Niśśañka Malla, being the son of Śrî Jayagopa of Kâliñga, but by a different queen. This inscription, together with Niśśañka Malla's inscription at Anurâdhapura, has lately been published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S. vol. VII. pp. 353ff.); but as, unfortunately, native copies only had been procurable, the text of both abounds in blunders.

I found one short and comparatively modern inscription besides at Polonnaruwa, on a post at the staircase leading to Kiriwehera, from which I have been unable to make out any sense.

The jungle covering the ancient streets of Polonnaruwa has been cleared to so small an extent that there is no doubt much more must be hidden than we have found as yet; new inscriptions, though probably pretty modern, will certainly be of great interest, for their language as well as, more still, on account of the historical matter they are likely to contain; as for buildings, though at Polonnaruwa they are, as a rule, very inferior imitations of the Hindu style of art, their discovery may nevertheless prove valuable from more than one point of view.

I beg leave to add regarding the inscriptions inserted in this report that I have translated them into English as literally as possible, as they contain new matter, though being aware of the insufficiency of this kind of translation. Philological explanations it would have been out of place to give here.

Akuressa, 11*th September* 1876.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA from the earliest ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. IV. Part I.—Mussulman Rule. (London: Trübner & Co. 1876.)

This is the fourth instalment of what Mr. Wheeler calls the "History of India from the Earliest Ages." The first volume, as most are aware, contains an analysis or abridgment of English versions of parts of the *Vedas* and the *Mahábhárata*, and the second of the story of the *Rámáyaṇa* and the *Institutes of Manu*. To call these volumes a History, however, we hold to be quite a misnomer: they have no claim to the title. The *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyaṇa* are neither of them the work of a single age; and the events chronicled in them, so far as they may chronicle actual events, were perhaps of little more importance in the political history of the time than the feats of Robin Hood were in England. And until these works have been analyzed in a way they are not likely to be for years to come, and the portions belonging to different epochs, if possible, distinguished and separated, the pictures they present can have no claim to historical truthfulness as reflecting the character of any particular age. And when such analysis has been made, the result will only be such 'history' as might be extracted from any good novel—not a narrative of actual events which formed or helped to form the character of the times, but rather, conversely,—that character as illustrated by incidents not so real as those in the Waverley novels.

The third volume, on the Hindu and Buddhist periods, is a compilation from more varied materials, which, as has been noticed (*ante*, vol. IV. p. 62) the writer has often misinterpreted; and the present is a volume, or part of a volume, of 320 pages, with xvi pages of contents, which professes to give the history of Muhammadan rule from 570 to 1650 A. D. The first chapter is devoted to Islâm before the conquest of India, or from 570 to 997 A. D., and is as brief a survey as it well could be, since on p. 22 begins the account of the contest between Jayapâla and Subuktigîn, the assertions crowded into the preceding short *résumé* being made with a confidence that must tempt the careful reader to ask for authorities, which are scarcely ever alluded to. Mr. Wheeler, among other things, believes the Afghâns to be the descendants of the 'Ten Tribes.'* But unfortunately he is more fond of theories like this than of facts: here is a specimen from the preface:—"It will be seen," he says, "in the course of the present volume that the Moghuls bore a striking resemblance to the

* It is well known that every Afghân claims to be one of the *Baní-Isráíl*, or Children of Israel, and Mr. H. Vansittart as long ago as 1784 addressed Sir W. Jones on the subject of their Hebrew descent. Jones thought there might be some basis of truth in the hypothesis, and suggested that the Arsareth (2 *Esdras* xiii. 45) to which

Vedic Aryans. . . In other words, it will be seen that there is reason to believe that the Vedic Aryans were Moghuls; that Asoka and Akber sprang from the same stock as the worshippers of the Vedic gods." But he does not adduce what any sober thinker would regard as a shadow of proof for this or any of his numerous other hasty conclusions.

The brief outline given of the history of India is divided by the author into "four stages of development"—"the Sunnî, the Shîah, the Sûfî, and the Sunnî revival;" the first found expression from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; the second from the conquest of the Dakhan in the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; the Çûfî during the establishment of the Mughal empire in the 16th and 17th centuries,—"during this period," he says, "Hinduism worked its strongest. It imbued Mussulman thinkers with a belief in the transmigrations of the soul; in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. It brought the worship of Ali and his two sons, as incarnations of God, into harmony with the worship of Râma and Krishna, as incarnations of Vishṇu. But the movement failed to reconcile Mussulmans and Hindus. It drifted into indifference and scepticism, and was finally swamped in a religious revival." The last epoch, that of the Sunnî revival, coincides with "the culmination and decadence of the Moghul empire in the 17th and 13th centuries." And the Sunnî reaction "was a revival of the orthodox religion in a puritanical form." Again the author calls attention to another division of Indian history: he says,—"The Mussulman period is the one properly so called. It extended from the 11th century to the 16th. Throughout this interval of five centuries the religion of Islâm was dominant throughout the Mussulman empire. The Sultans were mostly staunch Mussulmans. The Moghul period has been wrongly called Mussulman. It extended from the 16th century to the middle of the 17th. Throughout this interval the Korân was neglected or ignored; many of the so called Mussulmans were Sûfî heretics; many affected open infidelity. Akber, the greatest sovereign of the Moghul dynasty, threw off all pretence of being a Mussulman. He persecuted Mussulmans; he destroyed mosques; he broke up the power of the Ulamâ, or Mussulman Church." Some of the statements above quoted will be so new to students of Indian history who have derived their ideas from Oriental sources, or even from Elphinstone, Orme, Dow, Mill, Marshman, and other respected writers, that we need not further challenge them. Nor, though so carefully defined in his preface, does the author himself in the work very markedly distinguish between "the Mussulman" and "the Moghul periods." The short space of 300 pages of large type, into which Mr. Wheeler compresses his account of six centuries and a half, does not give him the opportunity of entering into details either of campaigns or of policy, and the reader gets much less than is given in the compilation of Murray and other popular handbooks of the class. The whole is expressed in a series of very short sentences, all cast in one mould, and averaging from sixteen to nineteen on a page of 34 lines. The abruptness of the style may be judged from the quotations we make. Much new material for the history of India has been made available within the last few years, even to those, like Mr. Wheeler, unacquainted with any Oriental language: we need only mention the invaluable work on the Muhammadan period, embracing the translations of native histories, prepared by the late Sir H. M. Elliot and continued by Professor Dowson, filling eight octavo volumes, containing about 4600 pages of matter, which the judicious and well-merited encouragement of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has enabled the able editor to carry through the press. But Mr. Wheeler's opinion of native historians is not high. "The historians of the Mussulman period, properly so called," he says, "generally told the truth. Occasionally they may have praised bad princes because they were good Mussulmans; otherwise they were honest and trustworthy. They were kept up to the mark by the influence of the Ulamâ. The Ulamâ comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates, and judges resident at the capital...Had the historians of the Mussulman period sacrificed truth to flattery, they would have exposed themselves to the scorn of

the ten tribes were said to have been removed might be Hazâra, a district of Kâbul (*Asiat. Res.* vol. II. pp. 67-76). The Rev. Ch. Forster, in his *New Key to the Recovery of the Lost Ten Tribes* (1854), supported the theory, and held that Hazâra may be derived from the Arabic *hazar*—'expelled, banished,' and Kâbul from Ar. *kabulî*—'a tribe,' pointing out at the same time that Ptolemy places the Kabulitai on the borders of Seistân, and immediately to the south the Aristophyloi, or 'noble tribes'—a title which he thinks could only be appropriated by Israelites; while he supposes that 'Halah and Habor by the river Gozan' (2 *Kings* xvii. 6) were in the west of Khorasân, and the same as Ghor, from which the Afghâns claim to have originally come. The same theory is supported by Major James in his *Settlement Report*, 1362, and by Dr. H. Bellew in his *Political Mission to Afghânistân*, 1857. The national tradition of the Afghâns may be seen in Dorn's *History of the Afghâns by Ni'amat Ullah* (London, 1826); but, as may be noticed by comparing this with the other versions of this tradition given by Wolff, Forster, and Bellew, there is but little accordance in its details as reported by themselves; and their histories are none of them more than three hundred years old. Dorn, Trumpp, Loewenthal, and Wolff have failed to discover a single Hebrew or Chaldee root in the Pushto language except in purely Arabic words introduced with Muhammadanism, and most of the customs pointed out as characteristically Hebrew can be traced to the Qorân. The weakness of all the arguments has been well pointed out in a paper by the Rev. T. P. Hughes in *The Indian Christian Intelligencer*, vol. I. pp. 69-73, to which we are chiefly indebted for the substance of this note.

the Ulamâ." Ferishtah he considers "a type of the truth telling historians of the Mussulman period." Yet Ferishtah does not belong to that period at all, but to the beginning of the 17th century, the culminating point of his "Moghul period," during which, he says—"History degenerated into flattery and falsehood. European historians of India have believed in the fulsome flattery of Persian parasites and party writers. They have ignored the authority of European contemporaries, who had no temptation to depart from the truth." Such are his somewhat startling dicta, and in proof he says—"Abul Fazl and Khâfi Khan are types of the flatterers who flourished during the Moghul period. This statement by no means diminishes the value of Mr. Blockmann's translation of the *Âín-i-Akbarî* of Abul Fazl. Mr. Blockmann's* work is invaluable." Very different has been the estimate previously formed by Elphinstone, Grant Duff, and Sir H. Elliot of these writers: the high character of Abûl Fazl's *Akbar-náma* is well known,† and Khâfî Khân's *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb* is regarded by Sir H. Elliot as "one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India;" and from the high and well-deserved repute of these authors among scholars‡ Mr. Wheeler's condemnation will be able to detract nothing.

Having thrown overboard the native historians, Mr. Wheeler adduces his favourite authorities, whose evidence "beyond all question" places "Moghul history" upon "a truthful footing." They are—William Hawkins, "who spent two years at Agra between 1608 and 1611"; Sir Thomas Roe, "who followed the court of Jehangîr from 1616 to 1618"; Sir Thomas Herbert, "who travelled in India about 1627 and 1628"; John Albert de Mandelslo, who "travelled in India between 1638 and 1640"; Francis Bernier, "who lived in India from 1656 to 1668; John Baptista Tavernier, "an intelligent jeweller who travelled through India two or three times in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb"; Monsieur de Thevenot, "who travelled through India in the early years. of Aurungzeb. Such are the authorities on which the historian has relied; they present a true picture of native rule." We do not question the value of their testimony: they were honourable men and told the truth, so far as they knew it; but the question is how much had they the opportunity of seeing and judging of for themselves, and what were their qualifications as impartial historians? But Mr. Wheeler has "other authorities:" Manouchi, a Venetian physician, resided forty-eight years in India. "He was in the service of Shah Jehan; afterwards in that of Aurungzeb." His memoirs fell into the hands of Father Catrou, a Jesuit priest, who wrote "a history of the Moghul empire" in French, which was translated intc English and published in London in 1826. "It forms," says Mr. Wheeler, "the very best authority for the history of the reign of Shah Jehan." "Catrou quotes letters which reveal the inner nature and disposition of the writers. The substance is given in the sixth chapter of the present volume" (pp. 251-320). "They impart a dramatic character to the history." But "Father Catrou's history is incomplete." He wrote a history of the reign of Aurangzeb, but it does not appear to have been published, and so Mr. Wheeler finds that his reign "is difficult and obscure," and "under these circumstances the present volume has been brought to a close with the reign of Shah Jehan."

Those who seek for history will scarcely find it among Mr. Wheeler's facts and fancies strung together in this volume, which adds nothing to our previous information, nor even utilizes to any satisfactory extent the results of recent research. We can only hope Mr. Wheeler will find better materials, and present a picture more in accordance with facts in the forthcoming Part of this volume, which is to to deal with the Hindu history of the Peninsula.

NALOPÂKHYÂNAM, or the TALE of NALA; containing the Sanskrit text in roman characters, followed by a Vocabulary in which each word is placed under its root, with references to derived words in cognate languages, and a Sketch of Sanskrit Grammar. By the Rev. Thomas Jarrett, M.A. (Edited for the Syndics of the University Press.) London: Cambridge Warehouse, 1875.

In a short introductory note the editor states that this edition of the *Nalopákhyánam* is "intended for the benefit of those persons who are deterred from the study of Sanskrit in consequence of the complicated characters in which that language is usually printed." From the completeness of the aids and the ingenuity of their arrangement, however, the book seems well calculated to be of great use to the beginner in Sanskrit, quite independently of the character used. The text occupies 83 pages, or scarcely half the volume, and to each of the first eleven of the twenty-six sections or cantos into which the poem is divided is affixed a short list of roots alphabetically arranged and numbered. Each of these roots occurs in composition once or oftener in the section, and the numeral belonging to it in the list is written over each of these derivatives or compounds in that canto; in this way the learner is

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* Mr. Blochmann's well-known name is uniformly thus mis-spelt by Mr. Wheeler.

† See Blochmann's *Âín i Akbarí*, pref. p. vi.; Sir H. Elliot's *Historians of India*, vol. VI. pp. 6-8.

‡ Conf. *ante*, p. 235.

enabled at once to refer to the vocabulary, where he finds the meaning of the root and all the derivatives from it that occur in the poem, together with occasional footnotes pointing out cognate words in Pâli, Hindustâni, Gothic, German, Persian, Latin, Greek, Russian, Welsh, &c. Then, an index is prefixed to the Vocabulary, in which the words are arranged in alphabetical order, the root of each being set against it. The 'Sketch of Sanskṛit Grammar' is derived from Wilson's *Grammar,* and is in the briefest form possible, consisting of eight pages of text and seven folding sheets of tables of declensions of nouns, numerals, pronouns, and conjugations of verbs,—arranged in such a form as to be most useful to the learner.

The system of transliteration differs from that commonly used in employing a dot over the letter to indicate the long sounds of *a*, *i*, and *u*, in representing the short *i* by *ı*, ऋ by *rı*, ञ by *ɲ*, ङ by *n·*, श by *ś*, ष by *ṣ*. We hardly think the additional simplicity of this is sufficient to justify a departure from the usual system.

NÁRADÎYA DHARMAŚÂSTRA, or the INSTITUTES of NÂRADA. Translated for the first time from the unpublished Sanskṛit original by Dr. Julius Jolly. With a preface, notes chiefly critical, an index of quotations from Nârada in the principal Indian Digests, and a general Index. (pp. xxxv. and 144, 12mo.) London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

The title-page of this little volume very correctly describes its contents: the appendix, containing the index of quotations and critical notes, occupies 22 pages at the end of the translation. The preface is a very thoughtfully written introduction, containing, in the limited space of twenty-seven pages, a vast amount of condensed information and criticism.

The *Nâradîya Dharmaśâstra* or *Nâradasmṛiti,* like other works of the sort, begins with a fabulous account of itself. Abridged it runs thus:—"Manu Prajâpati composed, for the benefit of all beings, a book founded upon custom and law, which consisted of twenty-four divisions, *viz.* the creation of the world, a classification of beings, an enumeration of the countries assigned to them, the characteristics of a judicial assembly, &c. &c. . . . It contained a hundred thousand ślokas. Prajâpati having composed this book, which was arranged in a thousand chapters, delivered it to the divine sage Nârada. He then read it and thought by himself: 'This book cannot be easily studied by human beings on account of its length.' Therefore he abridged it in twelve thousand ślokas and delivered it to Sumati, the son of Bhṛigu. He too read it, and bethought himself, what human capacity had been brought to through the *successive* lessening of life; wherefore he reduced it to four thousand. It is this second abridgment by Sumati which mortals read, whilst the gods, Gandharvas, &c. read the original code consisting of a hundred thousand ślokas, which begins with the śloka: 'This universe was involved in darkness and could nowhere be discovered; then the holy self-existing spirit appeared with four faces.'* From this beginning, chapter follows chapter in regular succession. There the ninth chapter is headed: 'Of Judicial Procedure.' Of this chapter Nârada, the divine sage, made a general abstract in form of short rules (*sûtras*)." And this abstract is the work now translated. But of course 'the divine sage' had nothing to do with its authorship, for even this epitome ascribed to him quotes Nârada as well as Manu as authorities; who the real author of it may have been, it is impossible to say, but in all probability, as Dr. Jolly conjectures, the metrical version we now have is the work of some learned Brâhman, who perhaps reduced some older law-book into this shape. Its age he discusses at more length, and, in agreement with Aurel Mayr and Stenzler, he comes to the conclusion that while the codes of Manu and Yâjñavalkya must be placed among the earliest law-books, that of Nârada cannot be attributed to an earlier date than the fifth or sixth century—and perhaps it belongs even to a somewhat later age.

The *Nâradasmṛiti* is perhaps, as described by Dr. Jolly, "the most luminous, complete and systematic" of Hindu law-books, conveying "a more correct and more favourable impression of native Hindu legislation than either the code of Manu or Jagannâtha's *Digest,* the two most widely-spread works on Hindu law in general, could give," and its translation must be welcome to all connected with Indian jurisprudence in any form, as well as to Sanskṛit scholars. With the exception of an occasional stiffness and want of idiomatic expression, it is clearly rendered in a scholarly fashion. We trust the reception of this little volume will be such as to encourage the author to attempt some of the mediæval law treatises.

AITIHASIKA ROHASAYA, by Râm Dâs Sen.

Babu Râm Dâs Sen of Berhampur is known to some of our native scholars as the author of essays on some of the principal Indian poets. This second volume of his, which he styles Historical Essays, treats on a variety of subjects, such as 'The *Vedas,*' 'Buddhism,' 'Jainism,' the 'Pâli language and literature,' 'the Æra of Śâlivâhana,' 'the Hindu Drama,' &c. It is to be regretted he does not issue these interesting studies in an English dress, in which they would be welcomed.

* This verse corresponds with *ślokas* 5 and 6 of Manu, where the opening *ślokas* 1-4 are apparently a later addition.

THE *INDIKA* OF MEGASTHENÊS.

TRANSLATED BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., GOVT. COLLEGE, PÂṬNÂ.

(*Continued from p.* 250).

DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS.

FRAGM. LII.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XII. 8.

Of Elephants.

(Conf. Fragm. xxxvi. 10, xxxvii. 10.)

The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice.* The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant.

The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.†

FRAGM. LIII.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* III. 46.

Of a White Elephant.

(Cf. Fragm. xxxvi. 11, xxxvii. 11.)

An Indian elephant-trainer fell in with a white elephant-calf, which he brought when still quite young to his home, where he reared it, and gradually made it quite tame and rode upon it. He became much attached to the creature, which loved him in return, and by its affection requited him for its maintenance. Now the king of the Indians, having heard of this elephant, wanted to take it; but the owner, jealous of the love it had for him, and grieving much, no doubt, to think that another should become its master, refused to give it away, and made off at once to the desert mounted on his favourite. The king was enraged at this, and sent men in pursuit, with orders to seize the elephant, and at the same time to bring back the Indian for punishment. Overtaking the fugitive they attempted to execute their purpose, but he resisted and attacked his assailants from the back of the elephant, which in the affray fought on the side of its injured master. Such was the state of matters at the first, but afterwards, when the Indian on being wounded slipped down to the ground, the elephant, true to his salt, bestrides him as soldiers in battle bestride a fallen comrade, whom they cover with their shields, kills many of the assailants, and puts the rest to flight. Then twining his trunk around his rearer he lifted him on to his back, and carried him home to the stall and remained with him like a faithful friend with his friend, and showed him every kind attention.‡ [O men! how base are ye! ever dancing merrily when ye hear the music of the frying-pan, ever revelling in the banquet, but traitors in the hour of danger, and vainly and for nought sullying the sacred name of friendship.]

FRAGM. LIV.

Pseudo-Origen, *Philosoph.* 24, ed. Delarue, Paris, 1733, vol. I. p. 904.

Of the Brâhmaṇs and their Philosophy.

(Cf. Fragm. xli., xliv., xlv.)

Of the Brachhmans in India.

There is among the Brachhmaṇs in India a sect of philosophers who adopt an independent life,

* Called *arak*, (which, however, is also applied to *tâḍi*; rum is now-a-days the beverage given it.

† This fragment is ascribed to Megasthenês both on account of the matter of it, and because it was undoubtedly from Megasthenês that Ælian borrowed the narrative preceding it (Fragm. xxxviii.) and that following it (Fragm. xxxv.).—Schwanbeck.

‡ Compare the account given in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, of the elephant of Pôros:—"This elephant during the whole battle gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts, and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body."

and abstain from animal food and all victuals cooked by fire, being content to subsist upon fruits, which they do not so much as gather from the trees, but pick up when they have dropped to the ground, and their drink is the water of the river Tagabena.§ Throughout life they go about naked, saying that the body has been given by the Deity as a covering for the soul.|| They hold that God is light,¶ but not such light as we see with the eye, nor such as the sun or fire, but God is with them the Word,—by which term they do not mean articulate speech, but the discourse of reason, whereby the hidden mysteries of knowledge are discerned by the wise. This light, however, which they call the Word, and think to be God, is, they say, known only by the Brachhmans themselves, because they alone have discarded vanity,* which is the outermost covering of the soul. The members of this sect regard death with contemptuous indifference, and, as we have seen already, they always pronounce the name of the Deity with a tone of peculiar reverence, and adore him with hymns. They neither have wives nor beget children. Persons who desire to lead a life like theirs cross over from the other side of the river, and remain with them for good, never returning to their own country. These also are called Brachhmans, although they do not follow the same mode of life, for there are women in the country, from whom the native inhabitants are sprung, and of these women they beget offspring. With regard to the Word, which they call God, they hold that it is corporeal, and that it wears the body as its external covering, just as one wears the woollen surcoat, and that when it divests itself of the body with which it is enwrapped it becomes manifest to the eye. There is war, the Brachhmans hold, in the body wherewith they are clothed, and they regard the body as being the fruitful source of wars, and, as we have already shown, fight against it like soldiers in battle contending against the enemy. They maintain, moreover, that all men are held in bondage, like prisoners of war,† to their own innate enemies, the sensual appetites, gluttony, anger, joy, grief, longing desire, and such like, while it is only the man who has triumphed over these enemies who goes to God. Dandamis accordingly, to whom Alexander the Makedonian paid a visit, is spoken of by the Brachhmans as a god because he conquered in the warfare against the body, and on the other hand they condemn Kalanos as one who had impiously apostatized from their philosophy. The Brachhmans, therefore, when they have shuffled off the body, see the pure sunlight as fish see it when they spring up out of the water into the air.

FRAGM. LV.

Pallad. *de Bragmanibus*, pp. 8, 20 *et seq.* ed. Londin. 1668.
(*Camerar. libell. gnomolog.* pp. 116, 124 *et seq.*)

Of Kalanos and Mandanis.

(Cf. Fragm. xli. 19, xliv., xlv.)

They (the Bragmanes) subsist upon such fruits as they can find, and on wild herbs, which the earth spontaneously produces, and drink only water. They wander about in the woods, and sleep at night on pallets of the leaves of trees. . . .

. . . .

Kalanos, then, your false friend, held this opinion, but he is despised and trodden upon

FRAGM. LV. B.

Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, pp. 62, 68 *et seq.* ed. Pallad. Londin. 1668.

Of Calanus and Mandanis.

They (*the Brachmans*) eat what they find on the ground, such as leaves of trees and wild herbs, like cattle. . . .

"Calanus is your friend, but he is despised and trodden upon by us. He, then, who was the author of many evils among you, is honoured and

§ Probably the Sanskrit Tungavenâ, now the Tungabhadra, a large affluent of the Krishna.

|| *Vide ante*, vol. V. p. 128, note †. A doctrine of the Vedânta school of philosophy, according to which the soul is incased as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. The first or inner case is the intellectual one, composed of the sheer and simple elements uncombined, and consisting of the intellect joined with the five senses. The second is the mental sheath, in which mind is joined with the preceding, or, as some hold, with the organs of action. The third comprises these organs and the vital faculties, and is called the organic or vital case. These three sheaths (*kośa*) constitute the subtle frame which attends the soul in its transmigrations. The exterior case is composed of the coarse elements combined in certain proportions, and is called the gross body. See Colebrooke's *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, Cowell's ed. pp. 395-6.

¶ The affinity between God and light is the burden of the *Gâyatri* or holiest verse of the Veda.

* κενοδοξία which probably translates *ahankâra*, literally 'egotism,' and hence 'self-consciousness,' the peculiar and appropriate function of which is selfish conviction; that is, a belief that in perception and meditation 'I' am concerned; that the objects of sense concern Me—in short that I AM. The knowledge, however, which comes from comprehending that Being which has self-existence completely destroys the ignorance which says 'I am.'

† Compare Plato, *Phædo*, cap. 32, where Sokratês speaks of the soul as at present confined in the body as in a species of prison. This was a doctrine of the Pythagoreans, whose philosophy, even in its most striking peculiarities, bears such a close resemblance to the Indian as greatly to favour the supposition that it was directly borrowed from it. There was even a tradition that Pythagoras had visited India.

by us. By you, however, accomplice as he was in causing many evils to you all, he is honoured and worshipped, while from our society he has been contemptuously cast out as unprofitable. And why not? when everything which we trample under foot is an object of admiration to the lucre-loving Kalanos, your worthless friend, but no friend of ours,—a miserable creature, and more to be pitied than the unhappiest wretch, for by setting his heart on lucre he wrought the perdition of his soul! Hence he seemed neither worthy of us, nor worthy of the friendship of God, and hence he neither was content to revel away life in the woods beyond all reach of care, nor was he cheered with the hope of a blessed hereafter: for by his love of money he slew the very life of his miserable soul.

"We have, however, amongst us a sage called Dandamis, whose home is the woods, where he lies on a pallet of leaves, and where he has nigh at hand the fountain of peace, whereof he drinks, sucking, as it were, the pure breast of a mother."

King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president . . . .

Onesikratês was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said, "Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes! The son of the mighty god Zeus, king Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head."

Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—"God, the supreme king, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas

worshipped by you; but since he is of no importance he is rejected by us, and those things we certainly do not seek, please Calanus because of his greediness for money. But he was not ours, a man such as has miserably injured and lost his soul, on which account he is plainly unworthy to be a friend either of God or of ours, nor has he deserved security among the woods in this world, nor can he hope for the glory which is promised in the future.

When the emperor Alexander came to the forests, he was not able to see Dandamis as he passed through. . . .

When, therefore, the above-mentioned messenger came to Dandamis, he addressed him thus:—"The emperor Alexander, the son of the great Jupiter, who is lord of the human race, has ordered that you should hasten to him, for if you come, he will give you many gifts, but if you refuse he will behead you as a punishment for your contempt." When these words came to the ears of Dandamis, he rose not from his leaves whereon he lay, but reclining and smiling he replied in this way:—"The greatest God," he said, "can do injury, but restores again the light of life to those who have departed. Accordingly he alone is my lord who forbids murder and excites no wars. But Alexander is no God, for he himself will have to die. How, then, can he be the lord of all, who has not yet crossed the river Tyberoboas, nor has made the whole world his abôde, nor crossed the zone of Gades, nor has beheld the course of the sun in the centre of the world? Therefore many nations do not yet even know his name. If, however, the country he possesses cannot contain him, let him cross our river and he will find a soil which is able to support men. All those things Alexander promises would be useless to me if he gave them: I have leaves for a house, live on the herbs at hand and water to drink; other things collected with labour, and which perish and yield nothing but sorrow to those seeking them or possessing them,—these I despise. I therefore now rest secure, and with closed eyes I care for nothing. If I wish to keep gold, I destroy my sleep; Earth supplies me with everything, as a mother does to her child. Wherever I wish to go, I proceed, and wherever I do not wish to be, no necessity of care can force me to go. And if he wish to cut off my head, he cannot take my soul; he will only take the fallen head, but the departing soul will leave the head like a portion of some garment, and will restore it to whence it received it, namely, to the earth. But when I shall have become a spirit I shall ascend to God, who has enclosed it within this flesh. When he did this he wished to try us, how, after leaving him, we would live in this world. And afterwards, when we shall have returned to him, he will demand from us an account of this life. Standing by him I shall see my injury, and shall contemplate his

and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion? Moreover, Alexander has neither as yet entered living into Hades,‡ nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name.§ If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether when here below we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: 'Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.'"||

Alexander, on receiving from Onesikratês a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match, &c.

judgment on those who injured me: for the sighs and groans of the injured become the punishments of the oppressors.

"Let Alexander threaten with this them that desire riches or fear death, both of which I despise. For Brachmans neither love gold nor dread death. Go, therefore, and tell Alexander this:—'Dandamis seeks nothing of yours, but if you think you need something of his, disdain not to go to him.'"

When Alexander heard these words through the interpreter, he wished the more to see such a man, since he, who had subdued many nations, was overcome by an old naked man, &c.

FRAGM. LVI.

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VI. 21. 8—23. 11.

List of the Indian Races.¶

The other journeys made thence (*from the Hyphasis*) for Seleukos Nikator are as follows:—168 miles to the Hesidrus, and to the river Jomanes as many (some copies add 5 miles); from thence to the Ganges 112 miles. 119 miles to Rhodopha (others give 325 miles for this distance). To the town Kalinipaxa 167—500. Others give 265 miles. Thence to the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges 625 miles (many add 13 miles), and to the town Palimbothra 425. To the mouth of the Ganges 738 miles.*

The races which we may enumerate without

‡ ζῶν ἐν ἅδου οὐδέπω παρῆλθεν. The Latin version has *non zonam Gadem transiit*, 'has not crossed *the zone of Cadiz*.'

§ The text here is so corrupt as to be almost untranslatable. I have therefore rendered from the Latin, though not quite closely.

|| "Others say Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messengers, but only asked 'why Alexander had taken so long a journey?'"—Plutarch's *Alexander*.

¶ This list Pliny has borrowed for the most part from Megasthenês. Cf. Schwanbeck, p. 16 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*

* According to the MSS. 638 or 637 miles. The places mentioned in this famous itinerary all lay on the Royal Road, which ran from the Indus to Palibothra. They have been thus identified. The Hesidrus is now the Satlej, and the point of departure lay immediately below its junction with the Hyphasis (now the Biâs). The direct route thence (*viâ* Ludhiânâ, Sirhind, and Ambâlâ) conducted the traveller to the ferry of the Jomanes, now the Jamnâ, in the neighbourhood of the present Bureah, whence the road led to the Ganges at a point which, to judge from the distance given (112 miles), must have been near the site of the far-famed Hastinapura. The next stage to be reached was Rhodopha, the position of which, both its name and its

The river Prinas§ and the Cainas (which flows into the Ganges) are both navigable.|| The tribes called Calingæ are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mândei, and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.

(22.) This river, according to some, rises from uncertain sources, like the Nile,¶ and inundates similarly the countries lying along its course; others say that it rises on the Skythian mountains, and has nineteen tributaries, of which, besides those already mentioned, the Condochates, Erannoboas,* Cosoagus, and Sonus are navigable. Others again assert that it issues forth at once with loud roar from its fountain, and after tumbling down a steep and rocky channel is received immediately on reaching the level plains into a lake, whence it flows out with a gentle current, being at the narrowest eight miles, and on the average a hundred stadia, in breadth, and never of less depth than twenty paces (one hundred feet) in the final part of its course, which is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal† city of the Calingæ is called Parthalis.† Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000‡ horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "procinct of war."

For among the more civilized Indian communities life is spent in a great variety of separate occupations. Some till the soil, some are soldiers, some traders; the noblest and richest take part in the direction of state affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. A fifth class devotes itself to the philosophy prevalent in the country, which almost assumes the form of a religion, and the members always put an end to their life by a voluntary death on a burning funeral pile.§ In addition to these classes there is one half-wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe—that of hunting and taming elephants. They employ these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regard them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle. They employ them in war and in fighting for their country. In choosing them for war, regard is had to their age, strength, and size.

There is a very large island in the Ganges which is inhabited by a single tribe called Modogalingæ.|| Beyond are situated the Modubæ, Molindæ, the Uberæ with a handsome town of the same name, the Galmodroësi, Preti, Calissæ,¶ Sasuri, Passalæ, Colubæ, Orxulæ, Abali, Taluctæ.* The king of

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The Gangaridæ or Gangarides occupied the region corresponding roughly with that now called Lower Bengal, and consisted of various indigenous tribes, which in the course of time became more or less Âryanized. As no word is found in Sanskrit to which their name corresponds, it has been supposed of Greek invention (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 201), but erroneously, for it must have been current at the period of the Makedonian invasion: since Alexander, in reply to inquiries regarding the south country, was informed that the region of the Ganges was inhabited by two principal nations, the Prasii and the Gangarîdæ. M. de St.-Martin thinks that their name has been preserved almost identically in that of the Gonghrîs of South Bahâr, whose traditions refer their origin to Tirhût; and he would identify their royal city *Parthalis* (or *Portalis*) with Varddhana (contraction of Varddhamâna), now Bardwân. Others, however, place it, as has been elsewhere stated, on the Mahânadî. In Ptolemy their capital is Gangê, which must have been situated near where Calcutta now stands. The Gangarides are mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* III. 27:—

In foribus pugnam ex auro solidóque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini.

"High o'er the gate in elephant and gold
The crowd shall Cæsar's Indian war behold."

(Dryden's translation.)

§ Pumas. The Prinas is probably the Tâmasâ or Tonsa, which in the Purâṇas is called the Parṇâśâ. The Cainas, notwithstanding the objections of Schwanbeck, must be identified with the Cane, which is a tributary of the Jamnâ.

|| For the identification of these and other affluents of the Ganges see *Notes on Arrian*, c. IV., *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 331.

¶ For an account of the different theories regarding the source of the Ganges see Smith's *Dict. of Class. Geog.*

* *Condochatem, Erannoboam.*—v. l. Canucham (Vamam), Erranoboan.

† *regia.*—v. l. regio. The common reading, however—"Gangaridum Calingarum. Regia," &c., makes the Gangarides a branch of the Kalingæ. This is probably the correct reading, for, as General Cunningham states (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.* pp. 518-519), certain inscriptions speak of 'Tri-Kalinga,' or 'the Three Kalingas.' "The name of Tri-Kalinga," he adds, "is probably old, as Pliny mentions the *Macco-Calingæ* and the *Gangarides-Calingæ* as separate peoples from the Calingæ, while the *Mahâbhârata* names the Kalingas three separate times, and each time in conjunction with different peoples." (H. H. Wilson in *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, 1st ed. pp. 185, 187 note, and 188.) As Tri-Kalinga thus corresponds with the great province of Telingâna, it seems probable that the name of Telingâna may be only a slightly contracted form of Tri-Kalingâna, or 'the Three Kalingas.' [Parthalis.—vv. ll. Protalis, Portalis. *Vide ante*, p. 130, note.—Ed.]

‡ *LX. mill.*—v. l. LXX. mill.

§ Lucian, in his satirical piece on the death of Peregrînos (cap. 25), refers to this practice:—"But what is the motive which prompts this man (Peregrînos) to fling himself into the flames? God knows it is simply that he may show off how he can endure pain as do the Brachmans, to whom it pleased Theagenes to liken him, just as if India had not her own crop of fools and vain-glorious persons. But let him by all means imitate the Brachmans, for, as Onesikritos informs us, who was the pilot of Alexander's fleet and saw Kalanos burned, they do not immolate themselves by leaping into the flames, but when the pyre is made they stand close beside it perfectly motionless, and suffer themselves to be gently broiled; then decorously ascending the pile they are burned to death, and never swerve, even ever so little, from their recumbent position."

|| vv. ll. modo Galingam, Modogalicam.

¶ *Calissæ.*—v. l. Aclissæ.

* These tribes were chiefly located in the regions between the left bank of the Ganges and the Himâlayas. Of the Galmodroësi, Preti, Calissæ, Sasuri, and Orxulæ nothing is known, nor can their names be identified with any to be found in Sanskrit literature. The Modubæ represent beyond doubt the Moutiba, a people mentioned in the

these keeps under arms 50,000 foot-soldiers, 4000† cavalry, and 400 elephants. Next come the Andaræ,‡ a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. Gold is very abundant among the Dardæ, and silver among the Setæ.§

But the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people, not only in this quarter, but one may say in all India, their capital being Palibothra, a very large and wealthy city, after which some call the people itself the Palibothri,—nay, even the whole tract along the Ganges. Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants: whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.

After these, but more inland, are the Monedes

Fragm. LVI. B.

Solin. 52. 6-17.

Catalogue of Indian Races.

The greatest rivers of India are the Ganges and Indus, and of these some assert that the Ganges rises from uncertain sources and inundates the country in the manner of the Nile, while others incline to think that it rises in the Scythian mountains. [The Hypanis is also there, a very noble river, which formed the limit of Alexander's march, as the altars erected *on its banks* prove.||] The least breadth of the Ganges is eight miles, and its greatest twenty. Its depth where it is shallowest is fully a hundred feet. The people who live in the furthest-off part are the Gangarides, whose king possesses 1000 horse, 700 elephants, and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war.

Of the Indians some cultivate the soil, very many follow war, and others trade. The noblest and richest manage public affairs, administer justice, and sit in council with the kings. There exists also a fifth class, consisting of those most eminent for their wisdom, who, when sated with life, seek death by mounting a burning funeral pile. Those, however, who have become the devotees of a sterner sect, and pass their life in the woods, hunt elephants, which, when made quite tame and docile, they use for ploughing and for riding on.

In the Ganges there is an island extremely populous, occupied by a very powerful nation whose king keeps under arms 50,000 foot and 4000 horse. In fact no one invested with kingly power ever keeps on foot a military force without a very great number of elephants and foot and cavalry.

The Prasian nation, which is extremely powerful, inhabits a city called Palibôtra, whence

Aitarêya Brâhmana along with other non-Âryan tribes which occupied the country north of the Ganges at the time when the Brâhmans established their first settlements in the country. The Molindæ are mentioned as the Malada in the Purânic lists, but no further trace of them is met with. The Uberæ must be referred to the Bhars, a numerous race spread over the central districts of the region spoken of, and extending as far as to Assam. The name is pronounced differently in different districts, and variously written, as Bors or Bhors, Bhowris, Barriias and Bhârhîyas, Bareyas, Baoris, Bharnis, &c. The race, though formerly powerful, is now one of the lowest classes of the population. The Passalæ are identified as the inhabitants of Panchâla, which, as already stated, was the old name of the Doâb. The Colubæ respond to the Kâulûta or Kolûta—mentioned in the 4th book of the *Râmâyana*, in the enumeration of the races of the west, also in the *Varâha Sanhitâ* in the list of the people of the north-west, and in the Indian drama called the *Mudra Râkshasa*, of which the hero is the well-known Chandragupta. They were settled not far from the Upper Jamnâ. About the middle of the 7th century they were visited by the famous Chinese traveller Hiwen-Thsang, who writes their name as Kiu-lu-to. Yule places the Passalæ in the south-west of Tirhuronm, and the Kolubæ on the Kondochates (Gandakî) in the north-east of Gorakhpur and north-west of Sâran. The Abali answer perhaps to the Gvallas or Halvaïs of South Bahâr and of the hills which covered the southern parts of the ancient Magadha. The Taluctæ are the people of the kingdom of Tâmralipta mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. In the writings of the Buddhists of Ceylon the name appears as Tamalitti, corresponding to the Tamluk of the present day. Between these two forms of the name that given by Pliny is evidently the connecting link. Tamluk lies to the south-west of Calcutta, from which it is distant in a direct line about 35 miles. It was in old times the main emporium of the trade carried on between Gangetic India and Ceylon.

† *IV. M.*—v. l. III. M.

‡ The Andaræ are readily identified with the Andhra of Sanskrit—a great and powerful nation settled originally in the Dekhan between the middle part of the courses of the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ rivers, but which, before the time of Megasthenês, had spread their sway towards the north as far as the upper course of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda), and, as has been already indicated, the lower districts of the Gangetic basin. *Vide* vol. V. p. 176. For a notice of Andhra (the modern Telingâna) see General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of Ind.* pp. 527-530.

§ Pliny here reverts to where he started from in his enumeration of the tribes. The Setæ are the Sâta or Sâtaka of Sanskrit geography, which locates them in the neighbourhood of the Daradas. [According to Yule, however, they are the Sanskrit Sekas, and he places them on the Banâs about Jhajpur, south-east from Ajmir.—Ed.]

|| See Arrian's *Anab.* V. 29, where we read that Alexander having arranged his troops in separate divisions ordered them to build on the banks of the Hyphasis twelve altars to be of equal height with the loftiest towers, while exceeding them in breadth. From Curtius we learn that they were formed of square blocks of stone. There has been much controversy regarding their site, but it must have been near the capital of Sopithês, whose name Lassen has identified with the Sanskrit *Aśvapati*, 'lord of horses.' These Aśvapati were a line of princes whose territory, according to the 12th book of the *Râmâyana*, lay on the right or north bank of the Vipâśa (Hyphasis or Biâs), in the mountainous part of the Doâb comprised between that river and the Upper Irâvati. Their capital is called in the poem of Vâlmiki Râjagriha, which still exists under the name of Râjagiri. At some distance from this there is a chain of heights called Sekandar-giri, or 'Alexander's mountain.'—See St.-Martin's *Etude*, &c. pp. 108-111.

and Suari,¶ in whose country is Mount Maleus, on which shadows fall towards the north in winter, and towards the south in summer, for six months alternately.* Baeton asserts that the north pole in these parts is seen but once in the year, and only for fifteen days; while Megasthenês says that the same thing happens in many parts of India. The south pole is called by the Indians Dramasa. The river Jomanes flows through the Palibothri into the Ganges between the towns Methora and Carisobora.† In the parts which lie southward from the Ganges the inhabitants, already swarthy, are deeply coloured by the sun, though not scorched black like the Ethiopians. The nearer they approach the Indus the more plainly does their complexion betray the influence of the sun.

The Indus skirts the frontiers of the Prasii, whose mountain tracts are said to be inhabited by the Pygmies.‡ Artemidorus§ sets down the distance between the two rivers at 121 miles.

(23.) The Indus, called by the inhabitants Sindus, rising on that spur of Mount Caucasus which is called Paropamisus, from sources fronting the sunrise,|| receives also itself nineteen rivers, of which the most famous are the Hydaspes, which has four tributaries; the Cantabra,¶¶ which has three; the Acesines and the Hypasis, which are both navigable; but nevertheless, having no very great supply of water, it is nowhere broader than fifty stadia, or deeper than fifteen paces.** It forms an extremely large island, which is called Prasiane, and a smaller one, called Patale.† Its stream, which is navigable, by the lowest estimates, for 1240 miles, turns westward as if following more or less closely the course of the sun, and then falls into the ocean. The measure of the coast line from the mouth of the Ganges to this river I shall set down as it is generally given, though none of the computations agree with each other. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon and the town of Dandagula‡ 625 miles;§ to Tropina 1225;|| to the cape of Peri-

some call the nation itself the Palibôtri. Their king keeps in his pay at all times 60,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 8000 elephants.

Beyond Palibôtra is Mount Maleus,¶ on which shadows in winter fall towards the north, in summer towards the south, for six months alternately. In that region the Bears are seen but once a year, and not for more than fifteen days, as Beton informs us, who allows that this happens in many parts of India. Those living near the river Indus in the regions that turn southward are scorched more than others by the heat, and at last the complexion of the people is visibly affected by the great power of the sun. The mountains are inhabited by the Pygmies.

But those who live near the sea have no kings

¶ The Monedes or Mandei are placed by Yule about Gangpur, on the upper waters of the Brâhmanî, S.W. of Chhutia Nâgpur. Lassen places them S. of the Mahânadi about Sonpur, where Yule has the Suari or Sabaræ, the Savara of Sanskrit authors, which Lassen places between Sonpur and Singhbhûm. See note §, p. 127.—Ed.

* This, of course, can only occur at the equator, from which the southern extremity of India is about 500 miles distant.

† Palibothri must denote here the subjects of the realm of which Palibothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as Rennel and others supposed, and so fixed its site at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunâ. Methora is easily identified with Mathurâ. [*Carisobora*—vv. ll. Chrysoban, Cyrisoborca. This is the Kleisobora of Arrian (*ante*, vol. V. p. 89), which Yule places at Batesar, and Lassen at Agra, which he makes the Sanskrit Krishnapura. Wilkins (*As. Res.* vol. V. p. 270) says Clisobora is now called "Mugu-Nagar by the Musulmans, and Kalisapura by the Hindus." *Vide ante*, p. 249, note ‡.—Ed.]

‡ *Vide ante*, p. 133, note †.—Ed.

§ A Greek geographer of Ephesus, whose date is about 100 B.C. His valuable work on geography, called a *Periplûs*, was much quoted by the ancient writers, but with the exception of some fragments is now lost.

|| The real sources of the Indus were unknown to the Greeks. The principal stream rises to the north of the Kailâsa mountain (which figures in Hindu mythology as the mansion of the gods and Siva's paradise) in lat. 32°, long. 81° 30', at an elevation of about 20,000 feet.

¶¶ The Chandrabhâga or Akesinês, now the Chenâb.

** For remarks on the tributaries of the Indus see *Notes on Arrian*, chap. iv.—*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 331-333.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 330. Yule identifies the first of these with the area enclosed by the Nara from above Rohri to Haidarâbâd, and the delta of the Indus.—Ed.

‡ v. l. Dandaguda. Cape Kalingon is identified by Yule as Point Godâvari.—Ed.

§ "Both the distance and the name point to the great port town of *Coringa*, as the promontory of *Coringon*, which is situated on a projecting point of land at the mouth of the Godâvari river. The town of *Dandaguda* or *Dandagula* I take to be the Dântapura of the Buddhist chronicles, which as the capital of Kalinga may with much probability be identified with Râja Mahendri, which is only 30 miles to the north-east of Coringa. From the great similarity of the Greek Γ and Π, I think it not improbable that the Greek name may have been *Dandapula*, which is almost the same as *Dântapura*. But in this case the *Dânta* or 'tooth-relic' of Buddha must have been enshrined in Kalinga as early as the time of Pliny, which is confirmed by the statement of the Buddhist chronicles that the 'left canine tooth' of Buddha was brought to Kalinga immediately after his death, where it was enshrined by the reigning sovereign, Brahmadatta."—Cunningham, *Geog.* p. 518.

|| [Tropina answers to Tripontari or Tirupanatara, opposite Kochin.—Ed.] The distance given is measured from the mouth of the Ganges, and not from Cape Calingon.

¶ Possibly, as suggested by Yule, Mount Pârśvanâtha, near the Damudâ, and not far from the Tropic; *vide ante*, p. 127, note §, and conf. vol. I. p. 46ff. The Malli (see above), in whose country it was, are not to be confounded with another tribe of the same name in the Panjâb, mentioned by Arrian; see vol. V. pp. 87, 96, 333.—Ed.

mula,* where there is the greatest emporium of trade in India, 750 miles; to the town in the island of Patala mentioned above, 620 miles.

The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallæ, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parasangæ, and the Asangæ,† where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles.‡ Below the deserts are the Dari, the Suræ, then deserts again for 187 miles,§ these deserts encircling the fertile tracts just as the sea encircles islands.|| Below these deserts we find the Maltecoræ, Singhæ, Marohæ, Rarungæ, Moruni.¶ These inhabit the hills which in an unbroken chain run parallel to the shores of the ocean. They are free and have no kings, and occupy the mountain heights, whereon they have built many cities.** Next follow the Nareæ, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia.† The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the Oraturæ, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry.‡ Next again are the Varetatæ,§ subject to a king, who keep no elephants, but trust entirely to their horse and foot. Then the Odombœræ; the Salabastræ;|| the Horatæ,¶ who have

The Pandæan nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the moun-

* This cape is a projecting point of the island of Perimula or Perimuda, now called the island of Salsette, near Bombay.

† v. l. Asmagi. The Asangæ, as placed doubtfully by Lassen about Jodhpur.—ED.

‡ *DCXXV.*—v. l. DCXXXV. Pliny, having given a general account of the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, proceeds to enumerate here the tribes which peopled the north of India. The names are obscure, but Lassen has identified one or two of them, and de Saint-Martin a considerable number more. The tribes first mentioned in the list occupied the country extending from the Jamunâ to the western coast about the mouth of the Narmadâ. The Cesi probably answer to the Khosas or Khasyas, a great tribe which from time immemorial has led a wandering life between Gujarât, the lower Indus, and the Jamunâ. The name of the Cetriboni would seem to be a transcript of Kêtrivani (for Kshatrivanêya). They may therefore have been a branch of the Kshatri (Khâtri), one of the impure tribes of the list of Manu (I. x. 12). The Megallæ must be identified with the Mâvelas of Sanskrit books, a great tribe described as settled to the west of the Jamunâ. The Chrysei probably correspond to the Karoncha of the Purâṇic lists (*Vishṇu Pur.* pp. 177, 186, note 13, and 351, &c.). The locality occupied by these and the two tribes mentioned after them must have lain to the north of the Ran, between the lower Indus and the chain of the Arâvali mountains.

§ *CLXXXVII.*—v. l. CLXXXVIII.

|| The Dhârs inhabit still the banks of the lower Ghara and the parts contiguous to the valley of the Indus. Hiwen Thsang mentions, however, a land of Dara at the lower end of the gulf of Kachh, in a position which quite accords with that which Pliny assigns to them. The Suræ, Sansk. Śûra, have their name preserved in "Saur," which designates a tribe settled along the Lower Indus—the modern representatives of the Saurabhîra of the *Harivaṁśa*. They are placed with doubt by Lassen on the Lonî about Sindri, but Yule places the Bolingæ—Sanskrit, Bhaulingas—there.—ED.

¶ *Moruni, &c.*—v. l. Moruntes, Masuæ Pagungæ, Lalii.

** These tribes must have been located in Kachh, a mountainous tongue of land between the gulf of that name and the Ran, where, and where only, in this region of India, a range of mountains is to be found running along the coast. The name of the Maltecoræ has attracted particular attention because of its resemblance to the name of the Martikhora (*i. e.* man-eater), a fabulous animal mentioned by Ktêsias (*Ctesiæ Indica*, VII.) as found in India and subsisting upon human flesh. The Maltecoræ were consequently supposed to have been a race of cannibals. The identification is, however, rejected by M. de St.-Martin. The Singhæ are represented at the present day by the Sânghis of Omarkot (called the Song by MacMurdo), descendants of an ancient Râjput tribe called the Singhârs. The Marohæ are probably the Maruhas of the list of the *Varâha Saṅhitâ*, which was later than Pliny's time by four and a half centuries. In the interval they were displaced, but the displacement of tribes was nothing unusual in those days. So the Rarungæ may perhaps be the ancestors of the Rounghi or Rhanga now found on the banks of the Satlej and in the neighbourhood of Dihli.

† Capitalia is beyond doubt the sacred Arbuda, or Mount Âbû, which, attaining an elevation of 6500 feet, rises far above any other summit of the Arâvali range. The name of the Nareæ recalls that of the Naïr, which the Râjput chroniclers apply to the northern belt of the desert (Tod, *Râjasthân*, II. 211); so St.-Martin.

‡ v. l. Oratæ. The Oraturæ find their representatives in the Râthors, who played a great part in the history of India before the Musulmân conquest, and who, though settled in the Gangetic provinces, regard Ajmir, at the eastern point of the Arâvali, as their ancestral seat.

§ v. l. Suaratarata. The Varetatæ cannot with certainty be identified.

|| The Odombœræ, with hardly a change in the form of their name, are mentioned in Sanskṛit literature, for Pâṇini (IV. 1, 173, quoted by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* 1st ed. I. p. 614) speaks of the territory of Udumbari as that which was occupied by a tribe famous in the old legend, the Salva, who perhaps correspond to the Salabastræ of Pliny, the addition which he has made to their name being explained by the Sanskṛit word *vastya*, which means *an abode* or *habitation*. The word *udumbara* means the glomerous fig-tree. The district so named lay in Kachh. The Salabastræ are located by Lassen between the mouth of the Sarasvatî and Jodhpur, and the Horatæ at the head of the gulf of Khambhât; Automela he places at Khâmbhât. See *Ind. Alterth.* 2nd ed. I. 760. Yule has the Sandrabatis about Chandravati, in northern Gujarât, but these are placed by Lassen on the Banâs about Tonk.—ED.

¶ *Horatæ* is an incorrect transcription of Sorath, the vulgar form of the Sanskrit *Saurâshtra*. The Horatæ were therefore the inhabitants of the region called in the *Periplûs*, and in Ptolemy, Surastrênê—that is, Gujarât. Orrhoth (Ὀῤῥοθα) is used by Kosmas as the name of a city in the west of India, which has been conjectured to be Surat, but Yule thinks it rather some place on the Purbandar coast. The capital, Automela, cannot be identified, but de St.-Martin conjectures it may have been the once famous Valabhî, which was situated in the peninsular part of Gujarât at about 24 miles' distance from the Gulf of Khambay.

a fine city, defended by marshes which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which, having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. And another city of theirs is much admired, Automela,* which, being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 cavalry. The poorer king of the Charmæ has but sixty elephants, and his force otherwise is insignificant. Next come the Pandæ, the only race in India ruled by women.† They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next, with 300 cities, the Syrieni, Derangæ, Posingæ, Buzæ, Gogiarei, Umbræ, Nereæ, Brancosi, Nobundæ, Cocondæ, Nesei, Pedatriræ, Solobriasæ, Olostræ,‡ who adjoin the island Patale, from the furthest shore of which to the Caspian gates the distance is said to be 1925 miles.§

Then next to these towards the Indus come, in an order which is easy to follow, the Amatæ, Bolingæ, Gallitalutæ, Dimuri, Megari, Ordabæ,‖ Mesæ; after these the Uri and Sileni.¶ Immediately beyond come deserts extending for 250 miles. These being passed, we come to the Organagæ, Abaortæ, Sibaræ, Suertæ, and after these to deserts as extensive as the former. Then come the Sarophages, Sorgæ, Baraomatæ, and the Umbrittæ,* who consist of twelve tribes, each possessing two cities, and the Aseni, who possess three cities.† Their capital is Bucephala, built where Alexander's famous horse

tain sacred to Jupiter, Mêros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

* v. l. Automula.

† The Charmæ have been identified with the inhabitants of Charmamandala, a district of the west mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* and also in the *Vishnu Purâna* under the form Charmakhanda. They are now represented by the Charmârs or Chamârs of Bundelkhand and the parts adjacent to the basin of the Ganges. The Pandæ, who were their next neighbours, must have occupied a considerable portion of the basin of the river Chambal, called in Sanskrit geography the Charmanvatî. They were a branch of the famous race of Pându, which made for itself kingdoms in several different parts of India.

‡ The names in this list lead us to the desert lying between the Indus and the Arâvalî range. Most of the tribes enumerated are mentioned in the lists of the clans given in the Râjput chronicles, and have been identified by M. de St.-Martin as follows:—The Syrieni are the Suriyanis, who under that name have at all times occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of Bakkar. Darangæ is the Latin transcription of the name of the great race of the Jhâdejâs, a branch of the Râjputs which at the present day possesses Kachh. The Buzæ represent the Buddas, an ancient branch of the same Jhâdejâs (Tod, *Annals and Antiq, of the Râj.* vol. I. p. 86). The Gogiarei (other readings Gogarasi, Gogaræ) are the Kokaris, who are now settled on the banks of the Ghara or Lower Satlej. The Umbræ are represented by the Umranîs, and the Nerei perhaps by the Nharonis, who, though belonging to Baluchistân, had their ancestral seats in the regions to the east of the Indus. The Nubêteh, who figure in the old local traditions of Sindh, perhaps correspond to the Nobundæ, while the Cocondæ certainly are the Kokonadas mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* among the people of the north-west. (See Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl.* t. II. 1839, p. 45.) Buchanan mentions a tribe called *Kakand* as belonging to Gorakhpur.

§ There were two defiles, which went by the name of 'the Kaspian Gates.' One was in Albania, and was formed by the jutting out of a spur of the Kaukasos into the Kaspian Sea. The other, to which Pliny here refers, was a narrow pass leading from North-Western Asia into the north-east provinces of Persia. According to Arrian (*Anab.* III. 20) the Kaspian Gates lay a few days' journey distant from the Median town of Rhagai, now represented by the ruins called Rha, found a mile or two to the south of Teherân. This pass was one of the most important places in ancient geography, and from it many of the meridians were measured. Strabo, who frequently mentions it, states that its distance from the extreme promontories of India (Cape Comorin, &c.) was 14,000 stadia.

‖ v. l. Ardabæ.

¶ In the grammatical apophthegms of Pânini, Bhaulingi is mentioned as a territory occupied by a branch of the great tribe of the Sâlvas (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. p. 613, note, or 2nd ed. p. 760 n.), and from this indication M. de St.-Martin has been led to place the Bolingæ at the western declivity of the Arâvalî mountains, where Ptolemy also places his Bolingæ. The Madrabhujingha of the Panjâb (see *Vishnu Pur.* p. 187) were probably a branch of this tribe. The Gallitalutæ are identified by the same author with the Gahalata or Gehlots; the Dimuri with the Dumras, who, though belonging to the Gangetic valley, originally came from that of the Indus; the Megari with the Mokars of the Râjput chronicles, whose name is perhaps preserved in that of the Mehars of the lower part of Sindh, and also in that of the Meghâris of Eastern Baluchistân; the Mesæ with the Mazaris, a considerable tribe between Chikarpûr and Mitankôt on the western bank of the Indus; and the Uri with the Hauras of the same locality—the Hurairas who figure in the Râjput lists of thirty-six royal tribes. The Sulalas of the same tribes perhaps represent the Sileni, whom Pliny mentions along with the Uri.

* vv. ll. Paragomatæ, Umbitræ.—Baraomatæ Gumbritæque.

† The tribes here enumerated must have occupied a tract of country lying above the confluence of the Indus with the stream of the combined rivers of the Panjâb. They are obscure, and their names cannot with any certainty be identified if we except that of the Sibaræ, who are undoubtedly the Sauvîras of the *Mahâbhârata*, and who, as their name is almost invariably combined with that of the Indus, must have dwelt not far from its banks. The Afghân tribe of the Afridîs may perhaps represent the Abaortæ, and the Sarabhân or Sarvanîs, of the same stock, the Sarophages. The Umbrittæ and the Aseni take us to

of that name was buried.‡ Hillmen follow next, inhabiting the base of Caucasus, the S o l e a d æ, and the S o n d r æ; and if we cross to the other side of the Indus and follow its course downward we meet the S a m a r a b r i æ, S a m b r u c e n i, B i s a m b r i t æ,§ O s i i, A n t i x e n i, and the T a x i l l æ‖ with a famous city. Then succeeds a level tract of country known by the general name of A m a n d a,¶ whereof the tribes are four in number the P e u c o l a i t æ,* A r s a g a l i t æ, G e r e t æ, A s o i.

Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,—the G e d r o s i, A r a c h o t æ, A r i i, P a r o p a m i s a d æ,† making the river C o p h e s its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii.

Many writers further include in India even the city N y s a and Mount M e r u s, sacred to Father Bacchus, whence the origin of the fable that he sprang from the thigh of Jupiter. They include also the A s t a c a n i,‡ in whose country the vine grows abundantly, and the laurel, and boxwood,

the east of the river. The former are perhaps identical with the Ambastæ of the historians of Alexander, and the Ambasthas of Sanskrit writings, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Lower Akesines.

‡ Alexander, after the great battle on the banks of the Hydaspes in which he defeated Poros, founded two cities — Bukephala or Bukephalia, so named in honour of his celebrated charger, and Nikaia, so named in honour of his victory. Nikaia, it is known for certain, was built on the field of battle, and its position was therefore on the left side of the Hydaspes probably about where Mong now stands. The site of Bukephala it is not so easy to determine. According to Plutarch and Pliny it was near the Hydaspes, in the place where Bukephalos was buried, and if that be so it must have been on the same side of the river as the sister city; whereas Strabo and all the other ancient authorities place it on the opposite side. Strabo again places it at the point where Alexander crossed the river, whereas Arrian states that it was built on the site of his camp. General Cunningham fixes this at Jalâlpur rather than at Jhelam, 30 miles higher up the river, the site which is favoured by Burnes and General Court and General Abbott. Jalâlpur is about ten miles distant from Dilâwar, where, according to Cunningham, the crossing of the river was most probably effected.

§ v. l. Bisabritæ.

‖ The Soleadæ and the Sondræ cannot be identified, and of the tribes which were seated to the east of the Indus only the Taxillæ are known. Their capital was the famous Taxila, which was visited by Alexander the Great. "The position of this city," says Cunningham, "has hitherto remained unknown, partly owing to the erroneous distance recorded by Pliny, and partly to the want of information regarding the vast ruins which still exist in the vicinity of Shâh-dheri. All the copies of Pliny agree in stating that Taxila was only 60 Roman, or 55 English, miles from Peucolaïtis or Hashtnagar, which would fix its site somewhere on the Haro river to the west of Hasan Abdâl, or just two days' march from the Indus. But the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing it at three days' journey to the east of the Indus, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Kâla-ka-Sarâi. He therefore fixes its site near Shâh-dheri (which is a mile to the north-east of that Sarâi), in the extensive ruins of a fortified city abounding with *stûpas*, monasteries, and temples. From this place to Hashtnagar the distance is 74 miles English, or 19 in excess of Pliny's estimate. Taxila represents the Sanskrit Takshaśila, of which the Pali form is Takhasila, whence the Greek form was taken. The word means either 'cut rock' or 'severed head.'—*Anc. Geog. of Ind.* pp. 104-121.

¶ As the name Amanda is entirely unknown, M. de St.-Martin proposes without hesitation the correction Gandhâra, on the ground that the territory assigned to the Amanda corresponds exactly to Gandhâra, of which the territory occupied by the Peucolitæ (Peukelaôtis), as we know from other writers, formed a part. The Geretæ are beyond doubt no others than the Gouræi of Arrian; and the Asoi may perhaps be identical with the Aspasii, or, as Strabo gives the name, Hippasii or Pasii. The Arsagalitæ are only mentioned by Pliny. Two tribes settled in the same locality are perhaps indicated by the name—the Arsa, mentioned by Ptolemy, answering to the Sanskrit Uraśa; and the Ghilit or Ghilghit, the Gahalata of Sanskrit, formerly mentioned.

* v. l. Peucolitæ.

† Gedrôsia comprehended probably nearly the same district which is now known by the name of Mekrân. Alexander marched through it on returning from his Indian expedition. Arachôsia extended from the chain of mountains now called the Suleimân as far southward as Gedrôsia. Its capital, Arachôtos, was situated somewhere in the direction of Kandahâr, the name of which, it has been thought, preserves that of Gandhâra. According to Colonel Rawlinson the name of Arachôsia is derived from Harakhwati (Sanskrit *Sarasvati*), and is preserved in the Arabic *Rakhaj*. It is, as has already been noticed, the Harauvatas of the Bisutun inscription. Âria denoted the country lying between Meshed and Herât; Ârîana, of which it formed a part, and of which it is sometimes used as the equivalent, was a wider district, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. In the Persian part of the Bisutun inscription Âria appears as Hariva, in the Babylonian part as Arevan. Regarding Paropamisos and the Cophes see *ante*, vol. V. pp. 329 and 330.

‡ Other readings of the name are Aspagani and Aspagonæ. M. de St.-Martin, whose work has so often been referred to, says: "We have seen already that in an extract from old Hekataios preserved in Stephen of Byzantium the city of Kaspapyros is called a Gandaric city, and that in Herodotos the same place is attributed to the Paktyi, and we have added that in our opinion there is only an apparent contradiction, because the district of Paktyike and Gandara may very well be but one and the same country. It is not difficult, in fact, to recognize in the designation mentioned by Herodotos the indigenous name of the Afghân people, Pakhtu (in the plural Pakhtûn), the name which the greater part of the tribes use among themselves, and the only one they apply to their national dialect. We have here, then, as Lassen has noticed, historical proof of the presence of the Afghâns in their actual fatherland five centuries at least before the Christian era. Now, as the seat of the Afghân or Pakhtu nationality is chiefly in the basin of the Kophês, to the west of the Indus, which forms its eastern boundary, this further confirms what we have already seen, that it is to the west of the great river we must seek for the site of the city of Kaspapyros or Kaśyapapura, and consequently of the Gandariê of Hekataios. The employment of two different names to designate the very same country is easily explained by this double fact, that one of the names was the Indian designation of the land, whilst the other was the indigenous name applied to it by its inhabitants. There was yet another name, of Sanskrit origin, used as a territorial appellation of Gandhâra—that of Aśvaka. This word, derived from *aśva*, a horse, signified merely *the cavaliers*: it was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptation of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Indians of the Panjâb to the tribes of the region of the Kophês, renowned from antiquity for the excellence of its horses. In the popular dialects the Sanskrit word took the usual form Assaka, which reappears scarcely modified in Assakani (Ἀσσακανοί) or Assakêni (Ἀσσακηνοί) in the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander and subsequent writers. It is impossible not to recognize here the name of Avghân or Afghâns. . . which is very evidently nothing else than a contracted form of Assakên. . . Neither the Gandariê of Hekataios nor the Paktyi of Herodotos are known to them [Arrian and other Greek and Latin writers of the history

and every kind of fruit-tree found in Greece. The remarkable and almost fabulous accounts which are current regarding the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its fruits and trees, its beasts and birds and other animals, will be set down each in its own place in other parts of this work. A little further on I shall speak of the satrapies, but the island of Taprobane§ requires my immediate attention.

But before we come to this island there are others, one being Patale, which, as we have indicated, lies at the mouth of the Indus, triangular in shape, and 220|| miles in breadth. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chryse and Argyre,¶ rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe, what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala,* from which, at a distance of twelve miles, is Bibaga, which abounds with oysters and other shell-fish.† Next comes Toralliba,‡ nine miles distant from the last-named island, beside many others unworthy of note.

FRAGM. LVII.

Polyæn. *Strateg.* I. 1. 1-3.

Of Dionusos.

(Cf. Epit. 25. *et seq.*)

Dionusos, in his expedition against the Indians, in order that the cities might receive him willingly, disguised the arms with which he had equipped his troops, and made them wear soft raiment and fawn-skins. The spears were wrapped round with ivy, and the thyrsus had a sharp point. He gave the signal for battle by cymbals and drums instead of the trumpet, and by regaling the enemy with wine diverted their thoughts from war to dancing. These and all other Bacchic orgies were employed in the system of warfare by which he subjugated the Indians and all the rest of Asia.

Dionusos, in the course of his Indian campaign, seeing that his army could not endure the fiery heat of the air, took forcible possession of the three-peaked mountain of India. Of these peaks one is called Korasibiê, another Kondaskê, but to the third he himself gave the name of Meros, in remembrance of his birth. Thereon were many fountains of water sweet to drink, game in great plenty, tree-fruits in unsparing profusion, and snows which gave new vigour to the frame. The troops quartered there made a sudden descent upon the barbarians of the plain, whom they easily routed, since they attacked them with missiles from a commanding position on the heights above.

[Dionusos, after conquering the Indians, invaded Baktria, taking with him as auxiliaries the Indians and Amazons. That country has for its boundary the river Sarangês.§ The Baktrians seized the mountains overhanging that river with a view to attack Dionusos, in crossing it, from a post of advantage. He, however, having encamped along the river, ordered the Amazons and the Bakkhai to cross it, in order that the Baktrians, in their contempt for women, might be induced to come down from the heights. The women then assayed to cross the stream, and the enemy came downhill, and advancing to the river endeavoured to beat them back. The women then retreated, and the Baktrians pursued them as far as the bank; then Dionusos, coming to the rescue with his men, slew the Baktrians, who were impeded from fighting by the current, and he crossed the river in safety.

FRAGM. LVIII.

Polyæn. *Strateg.* I. 3. 4.

Of Hercules and Pandæa.

(Cf. Fragm. L. 15.)

Heraklês begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.

of Alexander], but as it is the same territory [as that of the Assakani], and as in actual usage the names Afghâns and Pakhtûn are still synonymous, their identity is not a matter of doubt."—*E'tude sur le Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, pp. 376-8. The name of the Gandhâra, it may here be added, remounts to the highest antiquity; it is mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, as old perhaps as the 15th century B.C.—*Id.* p. 364.

§ *Vide ante*, p. 129.

|| *CCXX.*—v. l. CXXX.

¶ Burma and Arakan respectively, according to Yule.—ED.

* In the bay of Karâchi. See *Ind. Ant.* Notes to Arrian, vol. V. p. 335.

† This is called Bibakta by Arrian, *Indika*, cap. xxi.

‡ v. l. Coralliba.

§ See *ante*, *Notes to Arrian* in vol. V. p. 332.

FRAGM. LIX.

Of the Beasts of India.

Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* XVI. 2-22.||

(2) In India I learn that there are to be found the birds *called* parrots; and though I have, no doubt, already mentioned them, yet what I omitted to state previously regarding them may now with great propriety be here set down. There are, I am informed, three species of them, and all these, if taught to speak, as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical notes, nor being wild and untaught are able to talk. There are also peacocks in India, the largest anywhere met with, and pale-green ringdoves. One who is not well-versed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots, and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges. There are also cocks, which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests not red as elsewhere, or at least in our country, but have the flower-like coronals *of which the crest is formed* variously coloured. Their rump feathers, again, are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither straighten nor erect them: the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark-blue like the smaragdus.

(3) There is found in India also another *remarkable* bird. This is of the size of a starling and is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it rather has such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kuropolis and others which Alexander the son of Philip built, the *Kerkiôn*. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as the water-ousels (οἱ κίγκλοι).

(4) I learn further that in India there is a bird called the *Kêlas*, which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers at their tips are tinted with a pale yellow.

(5) I hear also that the Indian hoopoe (ἔποπα) is double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance, and Homer says that while the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which Nature has adorned it. The Brachmanes, therefore, even make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story, and the tale told of it runs thus:—To the king of the Indians there was born a son. The child had elder brothers, who when they came to man's estate turned out to be very unjust and the greatest of reprobates. They despised their brother because he was the youngest; and they scoffed also at their father and their mother, whom they despised because they were very old and grey-haired. The boy, accordingly, and his aged parents could at last no longer live with these wicked men, and away they fled from home, all three together. In the course of the protracted journey which they had then to undergo, the old people succumbed to fatigue and died, and the boy showed them no light regard, but buried them in himself, having cut off his head with a sword. Then, as the Brachmanes tell us, the all-seeing sun, in admiration of this surpassing act of piety, transformed the boy into a bird which is most beautiful to behold, and which lives to a very advanced age. So on his head there grew up a crest which was, as it were, a memorial of what he had done at the time of his flight. The Athenians have also related, in a fable, marvels somewhat similar of the crested lark; and this fable Aristophanes, the comic poet, appears to me to have followed when he says in the *Birds*, "For thou

|| "In this extract not a few passages occur which appear to have been borrowed from Megasthenês. This conjecture, though it cannot by any means be placed beyond doubt by conclusive proofs, seems nevertheless, for various reasons, to attain a certain degree of probability. For in the first place the author knows with unusual accuracy the interior parts of India. Then again he makes very frequent mention of the Prasii and the Brâhmans And lastly one can hardly doubt that some chapters occurring in the middle of this part have been extracted from Megasthenês. I have, therefore, in this uncertainty taken care that the whole of this part should be printed at the end of the fragments of Megasthenês."—Schwanbeck.

wert ignorant, and not always bustling, nor always thumbing Æsop, who spake of the crested lark, calling it the first of all birds, born before ever the earth was; and telling how afterwards her father became sick and died, and how that, as the earth did not then exist, he lay unburied till the fifth day, when his daughter, unable to find a grave elsewhere, dug one for him in her own head."¶

It seems, accordingly, probable that the fable, though with a different bird for its subject, emanated from the Indians, and spread onward even to the Greeks. For the Brachmanes say that a prodigious time has clapsed since the Indian hoopoe, then in human form and young in years, performed that act of piety to its parents.

(6.) In India there is an animal closely resembling in appearance the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin so rough altogether and compact that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass and eats iron. They call it the *phattages* (pangolin or scaly ant-eater) . . . .

(8.) The Indian sea breeds sea-snakes which have broad tails, and the lakes breed hydras of immense size, but these sea-snakes appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous.

(9.) In India there are herds of wild horses, and also of wild asses. They say that the mares submit to be covered by the asses, and enjoy such coition, and breed mules, which are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and otherwise skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-traps, and then take them to the king of the Prasians, and that if they are caught when two years old they do not refuse to be broken in, but if caught when beyond that age they differ in no respect from sharp-toothed and carnivorous animals.

(Fragm. XII. B follows here.)

(11.) There is found in India a graminivorous animal which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail purely black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with the locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there sprout out, in the form of a fringe, somewhere about thirty hairs. The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that any one is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward,—but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for some one hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value) and throws away the carcase, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh.

(12.) But further: whales are to be found in the Indian Sea, and these five times larger than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits. The fins near the gills are each of them so much as seven cubits in breadth. The shell-fish called *Kērukes* are also met with, and the purple-fish of a size that would admit it easily into a gallon measure, while on the other hand the shell of the sea-urchin is large enough to cover completely a measure of that size. But fish in India attain enormous dimensions, especially the sea-wolves, the thunnies, and the golden-eyebrows. I hear also that at the season when the rivers are swollen, and with their full and boisterous flood deluge all the land, the fish are carried into the fields, where they swim and wander to and fro, even in shallow water, and that when the rains which flood the rivers cease, and the waters retiring from the land resume their natural channels, then in the low-lying tracts and in flat and marshy grounds, where we may be sure the so-called Nine are wont to have some watery recesses (κόλπους), fish even of eight cubits' length

¶ Lines 470-75:—
"You're such a dull incurious lot, unread in Æsop's lore,
Whose story says the lark was born first of the feathered quire,
Before the earth; then came a cold and carried off his sire:
Earth was not: five days lay the old bird untombed: at last the son
Buried the father in his head, since other grave was none."

Dr. Kennedy's translation.

are found, which the husbandmen themselves catch as they swim about languidly on the surface of the water, which is no longer of a depth they can freely move in, but in fact so very shallow that it is with the utmost difficulty they can live in it at all.

(13.) The following fish are also indigenous to India:—prickly roaches, which are never in any respect smaller than the asps of Argolis; and shrimps, which in India are even larger than crabs. These, I must mention, finding their way from the sea up the Ganges, have claws which are very large, and which feel rough to the touch. I have ascertained that those shrimps which pass from the Persian Gulf into the river Indus have their prickles smooth, and the feelers with which they are furnished elongated and curling, but this species has no claws.

(14.) The tortoise is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff (σκάφη), and which is capable of holding ten *medimni* (120 gallons) of pulse. There are, however, also land-tortoises which may be about as big as the largest clods turned up in a rich soil where the glebe is very yielding, and the plough sinks deep, and, cleaving the furrows with ease, piles the clods up high. These are said to cast their shell. Husbandmen, and all the hands engaged in field labour, turn them up with their mattocks, and take them out just in the way one extracts wood-worms from the plants they have eaten into. They are fat things and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise.

(15.) Intelligent animals are to be met with among ourselves, but they are few, and not at all so common as they are in India. For there we find the elephant, which answers to this character, and the parrot, and apes of the sphinx kind, and the creatures called satyrs. Nor must we forget the Indian ant, which is so noted for its wisdom. The ants of our own country do, no doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and burrows, and by boring provide themselves with lurking-places, and wear out all their strength in what may be called mining operations, which are indescribably toilsome and conducted with secrecy; but the Indian ants construct for themselves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated not on sloping or level grounds where they could easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty eminences. And in these, by boring out with untold skill certain circuitous passages which remind one of the Egyptian burial-vaults or Cretan labyrinths, they so contrive the structure of their houses that none of the lines run straight, and it is difficult for anything to enter them or flow into them, the windings and perforations being so tortuous. On the outside they leave only a single aperture to admit themselves and the grain which they collect and carry to their store-chambers. Their object in selecting lofty sites for their mansions is, of course, to escape the high floods and inundations of the rivers; and they derive this advantage from their foresight, that they live as it were in so many watch-towers or islands when the parts around the heights become all a lake. Moreover, the mounds they live in, though placed in contiguity, so far from being loosened and torn asunder by the deluge, are rather strengthened, especially by the morning dew: for they put on, so to speak, a coat of ice formed from this dew—thin, no doubt, but still of strength; while at the same time they are made more compact at their base by weeds and bark of trees adhering, which the silt of the river has carried down. Let so much about Indian ants be said by me now, as it was said by Iobas long ago.

(16) In the country of the Indian Areianoi there is a subterranean chasm down in which there are mysterious vaults, concealed ways, and through passages invisible to men. These are deep withal and stretch to a very great distance. How they came to exist, and how they were excavated, the Indians do not say, nor do I concern myself to inquire. Hither the Indians bring more than thrice ten thousand head of cattle of different kinds, sheep and goats, and oxen and horses; and every person who has been terrified by an ominous dream, or a warning sound or prophetic voice, or who has seen a bird of evil augury, as a substitute for his life casts into the chasm such a victim as his private means can afford, giving the animal as a ransom to save his soul alive. The victims conducted thither are not led in chains nor otherwise coerced, but they go along this road willingly, as if urged forward by some mysterious spell; and as soon as they find themselves on the verge of the chasm they voluntarily leap in, and disappear for ever from human sight so soon as they fall into this mysterious and viewless cavern of the earth. But above there are heard the

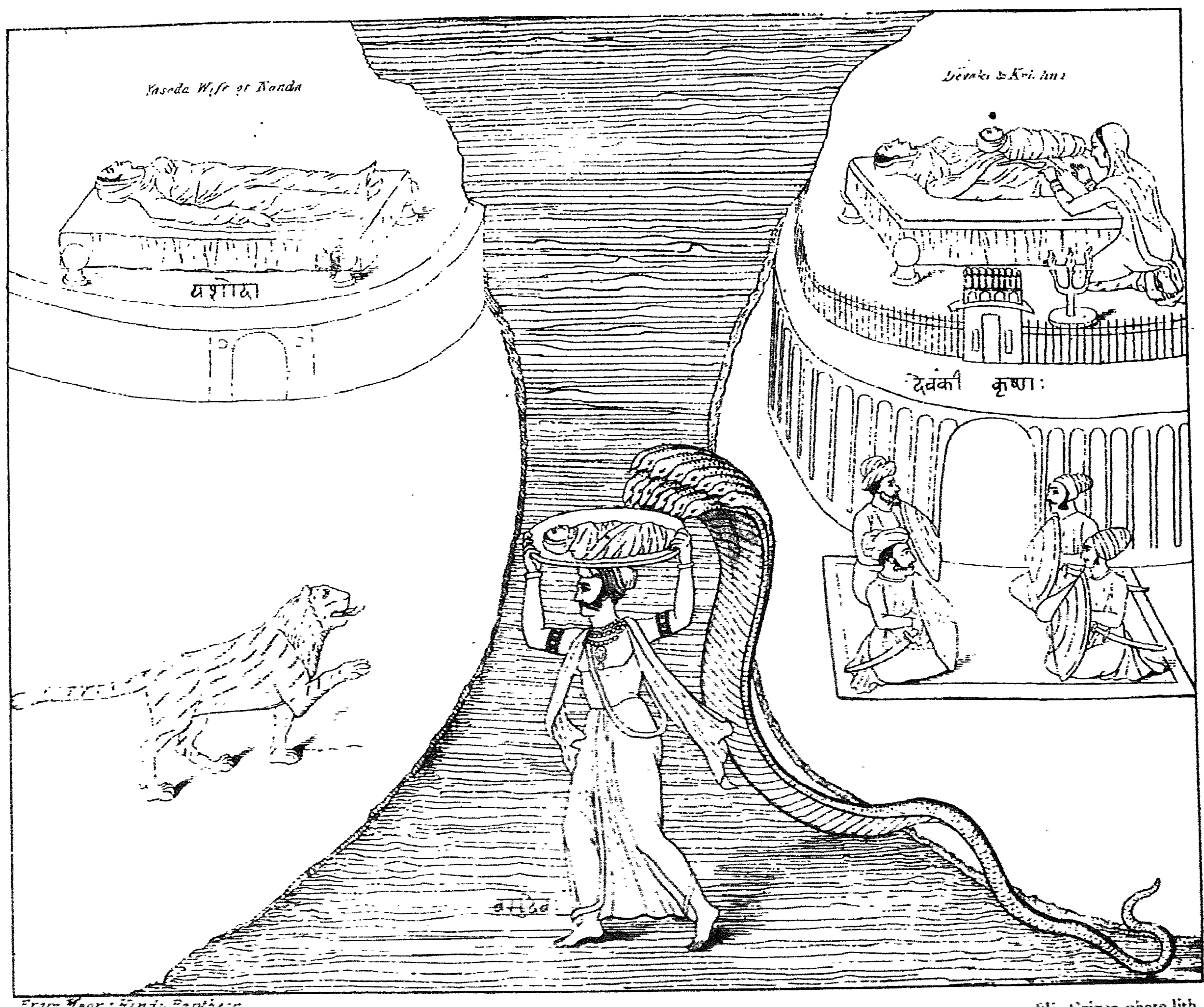
bellowings of oxen, the bleating of sheep, the neighing of horses, and the plaintive cries of goats, and if any one goes near enough to the edge and closely applies his ear he will hear afar off the sounds just mentioned. This commingled sound is one that never ceases, for every day that passes men bring new victims to be their substitutes. Whether the cries of the animals last brought only are heard, or the cries also of those brought before, I know not,—all I know is that the cries are heard.

(17) In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobanê. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000.* It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

(18.) In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

The island, then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobanê, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct for the purpose of this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture-fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and

* In the classical writers the size of this island is always greatly exaggerated. Its actual length from north to south is 271½ miles, and its breadth from east to west 137½, and its circuit about 650 miles.



From Moor's Hindu Pantheon. W. Griggs photo-lith.

KRISHNA CONVEYED ACROSS THE YAMUNA BY VASUDEVA.



From Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

W. Griggs photo-lith

KRISHNA NURSED BY DEVAKI.

FROM A HIGHLY FINISHED PICTURE.

tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

(19.) The sea-hare, by which I now mean the kind found in the great sea (for of the kind found in the other sea I have already spoken), resembles in every particular the land hare except only the fur, which in the case of the land animal is soft and lies smoothly down, and does not resist the touch, whereas its brother of the sea has bristling hair which is prickly, and inflicts a wound on any one who touches it. It is said to swim atop of the sea-ripple without ever diving below, and to be very rapid in its movements. To catch it alive is no easy matter, as it never falls into the net, nor goes near the line and bait of the fishing-rod. When it suffers, however, from disease, and, being in consequence hardly able to swim, is cast out on shore, then if any one touches it with his hand death ensues if he is not attended to, nay, should one, were it only with a staff, touch this dead hare, he is affected in the same way as those who have touched a basilisk. But a root, it is said, grows along the coast of the island, well known to every one, which is a remedy for the swooning which ensues. It is brought close to the nostrils of the person who has fainted, who thereupon recovers consciousness. But should the remedy not be applied the injury proves fatal to life, such power for evil does this hare possess.

Frag. XV. B. follows here.†

(22.) There is also a race called the Skiratai,‡ whose country is beyond India. They are snub-nosed, either because in the tender years of infancy their nostrils are pressed down, and continue to be so throughout their after-life, or because such is the natural shape of the organ. Serpents of enormous size are bred in their country, of which some kinds seize the cattle when at pasture and devour them, while other kinds only suck the blood, as do the *Aigithelai* in Greece, of which I have already spoken in the proper place.

† This is the fragment in which Ælian describes the one-horned animal which he calls the Kartazôn. Rosenmüller, who has treated at large of the unicorn, which he identifies with the Indian rhinoceros, thinks that Ælian probably borrowed his account of it from Ktêsias, who when in Persia may have heard exaggerated accounts of it, or may have seen it represented in sculpture with variations from its actnal appearance. Tychsen derives its name from *Kerd*, an old name, he says, of the rhinoceros itself, and *taxan*, *i.e.*, *currens velox*, *irruens*. Three animals were spoken of by the ancients as having a single horn—the African Oryx, the Indian Ass, and what is specially called the Unicorn.

‡ *Vide ante*, Fragm. xxx. 3, p. 135, and p. 133 note †, where they are identified with the Kirâtas. In the *Râmâyana* there is a passage quoted by Lassen (*Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* II. 40) where are mentioned "the Kirâtas, some of whom dwell in Mount Mandara, others use their ears as a covering; they are horrible, black-faced, with but one foot but very fleet, who cannot be exterminated, are brave men, and cannibals." (Schwanbeck, p. 66.) [Lassen places one branch of them on the south bank of the Kausî in Nipâl, and another in Tiperâ.—ED.]

ON THE KRISHNAJANMÂSHTAMÎ, OR KRISHNA'S BIRTH-FESTIVAL.

BY PROF. A. WEBER, BERLIN.

Translated by Miss M. Tweedie.

(*Concluded from p.* 301, *and vol. III. p.* 52.)

§ 4.

We have still to glance also at the actual representations which the birth of Krishṇa, especially the god drinking at his mother's breast, has found in Indian art, or, to speak more accurately, at those specimens of these last which lie before us. Unfortunately, only a few pictures of the kind are known to me, and these obviously of quite modern origin, belonging, in all probability, to the century previous to that in which they come down to us—either precisely to that or to the times immediately preceding. No representations of the kind in any religious building, in temple-paintings or sculptures, are known to me. Great ignorance of the documents of Indian art must, unfortunately, be expected here in Europe, especially on the Continent. Still, it should not, without further evidence, be concluded, from the temporary want of other pictures and figures of the kind, that these do not exist. Rather may the existence of more such representations be inferred with certainty from the fact that the ritual of the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî* itself puts them down as an integral element in the festival. In any case, however, the specimens before us suffice to divide them into two groups—namely, those which indicate a certain, even high, rank of artistic cultivation, and those which rather seem, so to speak, to be the products of uncultivated handicraft.

The latter group is soon disposed of: it consists of two pictures only. The first belonging to this group is the figure represented in front and

back view in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (London, 1810) on plate 9, figs. 2, 3 (see the third plate to this, fig. 6, at p. 351), marked, it is true, as L a k s h m î,* but better referred to D e v a k î and K ṛ i s h ṇ a: for, as Moor himself does, p. 30, we must consider what the mother holds in her hand as a lotus-flower; and recognize in it a symbol of L a k s h m î; then, ought the child to be regarded as her son K â m a, the god of love? Moreover, the question is not of a child actually drinking at its mother's breast, but only of a child stretching out towards it in its mother's arms. Similar figures in wood or metal are used even for purposes of domestic worship. Secondly, to this class belongs the painting on plate 58 in Moor (see accompanying plate I.), which represents K ṛ i s h ṇ a's birth, and "the miraculous escape of the infant over the Yamunà, conveyed by his father, and protected by Ś e s h a,† or Immortality; the guards placed by K a ṅ s a over his pregnant sister having failed in their vigilance." (Moor, p. 197—see before in § 1, p. 175.)

The other group will detain us much longer. It is true it also consists of only two pictures, but these furnish abundant material for questions of all kinds. The first of these pictures, which certainly represents to us K ṛ i s h ṇ a drinking at the breast of D e v a k î, is found in Niclas Müller's curious book *Glauben Kunst und Wissenschaft der alten Hindu* (Mainz, 1822), plate I. fig. 10 (see the plate at p. 351, fig. 3). According to him, p. 553, it is a gift made "from the hand of a friend, a faithful copy, but in half-size, and must have come to Marseilles as an enamelled box-lid, the property of a French merchant's clerk." Niclas Müller, on his part, agreeably to the French inscription which the picture bore, "*La Nourriture de l'Enfant Camadeva, fils de Maya,*" refers the representation to the god of love and his mother M â y â or L a k s h m î (compare Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 134, 447), who is here seated on the bosom of a lotus "like a Byzantine Madonna with the infant Christ." However, on one hand the special emblems of both‡ are wanting in part, —as, for example, we find on fig. 7§ of the same plate in N. Müller (see our third plate, fig. 4) the bow with the line of bees as a string, the fish on the banner, the parrot as an animal for riding; then, too, the god of love is not given anywhere else as an infant at his mother's breast (and in fig. 7 he is not represented as such at all—rather as a youth rejoicing over the beauty of his mother). It is much better to take it as K ṛ i s h ṇ a at the breast of D e v a k î, a conception that must have been copied numberless times at the yearly festival of K ṛ i s h ṇ a's birth. The position of the child, too, corresponds here exactly with the statement of the text of the ritual (see above, p. 286), for, if it does not itself "press the point of the breast," it still "looks up lovingly to its mother," with one hand stroking her face, while the other is occupied with her other breast.

Far more important, however, is the second of these pictures, namely, the one given by Moor in his *Hindu Pantheon*, plate 59‖—a beautiful painting (see the second plate) of "K ṛ i s h ṇ a nursed by D e v a k î," from a highly finished picture, copied, like all the other plates of that costly work, by "Mr. Haughton of the Royal Academy," and taken from a collection of "pictures and images" made in India by Moor towards the end of last century. Unfortunately, more particular accounts of the origin of the painting are wanting. In every respect it is a true work of art, and we could even imagine that we were occupied not with the work of an Indian but of a European artist¶ if we had not in our possession other Indian pictures which indicate a similar master-hand: see, for example, in Moor himself, plates 17, 18, 22, 62, 63, 67, 88, 96. No direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant K ṛ i s h ṇ a is represented at the festival of the *Krishṇajanmâshṭamî* is found in it: he is neither represented as "asleep drinking at the breast,"

* Compare plate 11, figs. 1, 2, 3, in Moor, where L a k s h m î, as Nârâyaṇa's wife, is resting in his arms, looking meanwhile more like a child than a woman. (See Moor, p. 31).

† See Wilson, *Vishṇupur*. (8vo ed.) p. 503.

‡ We must, then, recognize an attribute of Lakshmî in the lotus-flower which the mother holds in her hand: compare the remarks just made above to Moor's plate 9, figs. 2, 3.

§ This, according to p. 552, is "a miniature done in copy by the hand of a friend (Herr Mallet) from the portfolio of an Indian artist, the legacy of a French officer of marine (one Herr Darsis)."

‖ According also to Creuzer's *Symbolik*, vol. I. 2nd ed. plate xxvi.; 3rd ed. (Leipsic, 1837), plate vi.; and in Guigniaut's translation (Paris, 1825), vol. II. plate xiii. No. 61.

¶ Mr. Haughton may indeed have helped it, as appears from Moor's words (p. 197):—"The plate is an exact oultine of the picture, without any addition or alteration whatever, save perhaps some portion of ease and elegance in the position of the females." The following, from Moor's description, is perhaps of importance:—"The glory that encircles her head as well as that of the infant is of green edged with gold . . . K ṛ i s h ṇ a in the picture is of a dark brown colour, and not, as his name indicates, and as he is generally seen painted, dark azure" (see further on this subject the notes made below, p. 352).

Fig 5.



Fig 3.



Fig 4.



Fig 6.



W. Griggs photo-lith.



Fig 7



Fig 9.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

(see p. 285), nor "pressing the point of the breast with his hand, and lookingly up lovingly into the face of D e v a k î" (see p. 286); she, rather, is looking down lovingly on him, and, on her part, presses her breast, to make drinking easier for him. She appears, too, far past the condition of a confined woman, as K ṛ i s h ṇ a does past that of a newly-born child. An immediate reference to the festival of the *Janmâshṭamî* is not contained, then, in the picture. Of the identity of the persons, however, there can be no reasonable doubt. Niclas Müller, indeed, on p. 608, explains the picture as a "B h a v â n î laying an infant to her nourishing breast in her paradise, as universal mother of earth, and source of life"(!). Others have also recognized in it "B u d d h a suckled by M â y â," see Creuzer's *Symbolik* (3rd ed. Leipsic, 1837), I. 572: so especially Guigniaut, in his translation of Creuzer's work (Paris, 1825), I. 293. Nowhere, however, in Buddhist literature or elsewhere, is there any such representation of B u d d h a mentioned, which, moreover, would be inconsistent with his whole character (see § 3 in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 21). That the child we have here is to be considered as an incarnation of the Lord and Creator of the world, is testified by the shell* as a symbol, lying underneath on the ground at the right hand, with figures of animals (elephant, lion, bull, horse, &c.), which likewise are repeated elsewhere, namely, in N. Müller, on plate IV. fig. 64, in a group representing Ś i v a with his wife P â r v a t î.† Under the seat of the latter there is a similar basket, a "dish of models of beings" *Wesenmodellenschüssel*, as N. Müller expresses himself,—in which an elephant, a cow, a horse, a gazelle, a bird, and two men are visible, so that the common interpretation of the symbols as denoting creative power is sufficiently apparent. And in fact it is to this idea, in all probability, as its source, that the Christian legend related in the two *Gospels of the Infancy of Jesus*, the Greek (Fabricius, p. 160) and the Arabic (cap. 36, 46, Fabricius, pp. 198, 206) is to be traced,—the legend of the making of animals out of clay and imparting life to them, as apes, oxen, birds, &c., especially sparrows, alluded to also in the *Qorân* (*Sûra* iii. 43). In India this is ascribed sometimes to K ṛ i s h ṇ a: compare, for example, *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* X. 14, p. 59 of Pavie's translation from the Hindi (Paris, 1852), where it is only flocks and shepherds, as in the case of Christ,—not, as here, elephants,—that are dealt with; partly also to king Ś â l i v â h a n a, who belonged, as is asserted, to the first century of our era, who made elephants, horses, and riders out of clay, and imparted life to them (see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 882-4). Consequently this symbol is exactly in its right place here, inasmuch as it is joined to an analogous circle of representations, springing from the same source. What further occurs to us here as specially worthy of attention among the representations lying before us, is the striking similarity which they show to the Egyptian type, Isis nourishing Horus (see before, § 3 in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 49), particularly as regards the attitude and upper part of the group, in so special a degree that a closer reference is superfluous—a comparative glance at the two pictures suffices (see the third plate, fig. 5). The explanation of this would be very easily found if Raoul Rochette's or Mrs Jameson's opinion, that the type of Byzantine Madonnas rests upon this Egyptian group,‡ could be clearly proved by Byzantine pictures of the kind. We should then have to consider these last as the medium which had served as a model for the Indian picture.

* Moor remarks on this, especially on the remaining shells, &c., "The tray and stand bearing fruits, animals, &c. one would imagine to be merely what they represent; but with enthusiastic Hindus everything is mysterious: and they will affirm, that the dominion of K ṛ i s h ṇ a over the animal and vegetable worlds is here typified: nor are legends wanting in the fabulous history of this extraordinary person, applicable to, and accounting for, each of the animals that are seen in the dish. The low table on the right of the nurse is similarly said to hold food, poison, and *amrita*, symbolical of life, death, and immortality; adverting of course to Kṛishṇa's potency; while the triangular die, denoting trinity in unity, marks his coequality with the grand powers of the Triad conjoined."

† Niclas Müller had this sketched along with others of the copies of Indian miniatures in the old Louvre, done by him in Paris, in the year 1794, at the request of G. Forster.

‡ This representation is, in fact, exceedingly frequent in Egypt, from ancient times even down to the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans: compare, for example, for the later age the great work of Lepsius, *Ægyptische Denkmäler*, Part IV. plates 48, 59, 61, 64, 71 [this last is the picture fig. 6 on our plate]. The picture which Mrs. Jameson gives on page xxii. (Isis nursing Horus) is evidently borrowed from Sir J. G. Wilkinson's second series of *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1841, Plate 35A. Greek art also has representations of Hera giving the breast to Ares, or by mistake to Heraklês (see Preller's *Greek Mythology*, 1854, pp. 113, 114, but the only specimen of the kind accessible to me in Wiesseler's edition of C. O. Müller's *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* (Göttingen, 1856), tom. II. p. 6, plate v. No. 62—does not show the smallest reference to the Egyptian type. It is an *en-face* statue in the Vatican Museum (*Mus. Pio Clementino*). Hera, it is true, offers her left breast to Ares also, holds it with her right hand, while the left encircles the child, but the attitude and the rest of the arrangement differ entirely.

That such a Byzantine Madonna type should still be preserved so faithfully in India, while with us it belonged as a type to a departed age, would not be surprising : in similar cases the same thing often appears in the travelling of ideas to foreign lands. To show that the Indians keep firmly to a model of this kind when it has been once accepted, a remarkable analogue is found in the remarks made by me (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft* XVIII. 507) regarding the complete identity of the Manjuśrî of the fourteenth century in Java with the one presently used in Tibet. Moreover in the pictures of the old cave-temples of Ajaṇṭâ,§ fourteen of which were recently in the library of the India House, actual traces of Byzantine models are found along with a decided advance upon them, in so far, namely, as some of these, in architectonic reference, at least, already show a striving after perspective representation.|| This becomes clear from the following report on them in the *Athenæum* of February 3rd, 1849 (I borrow the passage from Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 205) :—"In many of these, certain striking coincidences with Siennese and Pisan art under the influence of Byzantine taste are to be remarked. There are the same diagrammatic manifestations of the human form and the human countenance : similar conventions of actions and of feature ; a like constraint in the choice of action and the delineation of form, in consequence of a like deficiency in knowledge of the human subject ; and a like earnestness of intention and predominance of dramatic display. . . . . Assigning the date of the pictures to the period suggested . . . it is at least remarkable that evidence of perspective should be found so very much earlier than the date of any existing specimens known in Southern Europe. The earliest examples of perspective principles in Italian art date somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century."

Hitherto I have almost entirely proceeded on the supposition that in this picture we have the retention of a type transmitted from an earlier time. But we have now to look, secondly, at the other possibility, intimated already, that it is rather direct intercourse between India and Europe, established through the arrival of the Portuguese (1498), that brought pictures of the Madonna of modern times to India, and that it is such modern pictures of the Renaissance that have served the painters of them as models. We know that besides the Christian, chiefly Jesuit, missionaries, other European adventurers of all kinds sought their fortune at the court of the Great Mogul, especially of the great Akbar (1556-1605), as well as at the small Indian courts. Might not, perhaps, some such Italian or Spanish-Portuguese genius in the service of an Indian râja have painted the picture ? In this connection it might next be shown that, according to Moor's account, the figure of Kṛishṇa in it is "dark brown," not "dark azure" as naturally ought to be the case, and as is directly required by the texts which speak of the pictures and paintings prepared for the festival of the *Janmâshṭamî* (see before, pp. 285, 286). Unquestionably the subject was one very much loved and very frequently handled, especially at the yearly return of the festival : so that Indian artists could of course easily acquire a certain readiness and artistic finish in their representations, while, on the other hand, it might well appear congenial also to any European talent that wished to attempt it. The fineness of the perspective in the landscape background of the picture, visible through the window, deserves special attention. As for the rest, the attitude of it, in the minutest details,¶ is certainly Indian (compare, for example, the position of the kneeling female servant's fingers), and, according to the account just mentioned, perspective arrangements show themselves pretty early in India. Consequently, in the complete uncertainty which exists in regard to the age and origin of the pictures on the Indian side, it might be a task rather for the historian of art or the Christian archæologist* to investigate and prove their connection with any European models.†

§ On these see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 152-3 ; vol. III. pp. 25-28.—ED.

|| Compare also Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, vol. I. pp. 513, 514.

¶ Regarding the special glory, see § 3, *ante*, vol. III. p. 52. Does not this form of the glory, perhaps, present a fixed point in the chronology of art ? Indian pictures have in other cases properly only a golden ring encircling the whole head from above to below : see, for example, the Miniature Plate annexed to the *Collection of Sanskṛit Manuscripts* in the Royal Library here.

* Rev. J. R. Beard says, indeed, p. 166 of his curious work on the Trinity,—already quoted, *I. A.* vol. III. p. 50,—as follows :—"This represents a similar subject, whence also Christian idolatry received countenance—namely Kṛishṇa, the eighth *avatâra* or incarnation of Vishṇu, suckled by his mother, Devakî." In this case, however, rather the exact opposite seems to hold.

† Fig. 7 in the accompanying plate is from De Rossi's *Imagines Selectæ Deiparæ Virginis*, referred to in § 3 of this paper, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 50*b*.

Fig. 8 is from Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des alten Rom.* pl. xliv. : see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 48*a*.

Fig. 9 is from the cloister of Karyais on Mount Athos, referred to *ut sup.* p. 50*a*.

Meanwhile we here subjoin a few more data which abundantly establish the existence in India during the last three or four centuries of a directly European influence in the field of art. First of all, then, according to p. 424 of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg,* which appeared in the year 1852, in a manuscript collection of Muhammadan-Indian pictures there (No. cdlxxxix.) of date between the years 1621-1752, we find, among others, on p. 68, "an image of the Holy Virgin with the Child Jesus, and above, in letters scarcely recognizable from their smallness, the words يا صاحب الزمان — *yá sáheb al zamán,* 'O Seigneur du temps!'" Then we come to f. 77 vers. 'the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin,' with some words in Roman characters, in which we can distinguish MOTIR and NOSTER (compare Ouseley, *Biographical Notes on Persian Poets,* p. cexxiv., London, 1846). And so, likewise, our Royal Library here is in possession of two similar collections of works. One of them (library pictures A 100) bears the title "A collection of original drawings to illustrate the costume and the manners of the Persians:" it is not, however, Persian but Indian pictures that are contained in it, as, for example, two pictures of the blue Kṛishṇa, both of which represent him as a young man, the one as seated on a kind of stool, the other as milking a cow (a shepherdess stands near). It is highly surprising to find among these pictures a beautiful one, obviously modelled on a European copy, representing the child Christ in the Madonna's left arm (both without halo). Jesus is dressed in yellow, and holds a book in his hand; the Madonna has on a red under-garment, and a blue handkerchief on her head, which falls down like a mantle, and envelopes her whole body. The superscription runs thus: تصوير حضرت عيسى بن (?) بن مريم *Tasvír Hazrat 'Isá bin* (?) *bin Maryam,* "Picture of the Lord Jesus son [this word is repeated] of Mary." Of much greater importance, however, is the second of this collection (*Access.* 9278, 9360). The same thing appears from a border executed in gold painting and common to all the leaves, which on every leaf is adorned with separate figures—a single work of art. Of the larger pictures that are found in the middle of this frame, a considerable number are old European engravings, or at least copies of such. And in fact the subjects of these are borrowed for the most part from the history of Christ. Thus, for example, one engraving represents the murder of the children at Bethlehem, another the worship of the kings, another Christ's resurrection and descent into hell. A Madonna of Dürer's (but not the *Madonna Lactans*) lies before us in a free copy, and also among the figures in the frames done in gold, we find the Madonna with the Child (although not, in this case, as a sucking child), or the child Christ alone, or other persons taken from sacred history. Beside them are numerous other representations having no reference to these, some European also, but most of them of decidedly Indian character and origin. Fortunately, the date of this remarkable work is preserved to us in a perfectly authentic way. On the concluding page the Indian artist, to whom the execution of the whole evidently belongs, has represented himself as offering a roll of paper to his high patron, by whose order he had executed his work, and on this roll, in *Devanâgarî*, stand the words *siyi* (!) *śrî Yalâladîna Akavara Pâtiśâhi chiraṁ jîva* | *saṁvatu* (!) 1646. *pausha sudi*‡ *naumî* (!)

‡ That is *śudi*, with an erroneous secondary substituting of *s* for *ś*. Compare *gana svarâdi*, where *vadi* also appears along with *śudi* (formerly also *sudi*). Both forms occur only in giving dates, and are simple abbreviations. Their being placed among the indeclinables is just such an absurdity as if, in a Latin grammar, the abbreviations *cal. id. sæc.* were to be put down as indeclinables; *śudi* stands for *śukladi nasya* (or *śu ddha-di nasya*, or *°di vasasya*), that is *śuklapakshasya*; and *vadi, badi* for *vahuladinasya*, that is *bahulapakshasya*. Benfey's explanation of the two forms as locatives (see his *Vollst. Gramm. der Sanskritsprache*, p. 344. Leipzig, 1852), viz. of *sudi* through *sudivi*, and of *vadi* through *avadi*, is quite wrong. In M. Müller's *Sanskṛit Grammar* (p. 149, Lond. 1866), *sudi* (sic), 'light fortnight,' and *badi*, 'dark fortnight,' are also placed among the "indeclinable nouns," along with *svar*, *svayam*, &c.—So, *saṁvat* also, occurring only in stating dates (see *gaṇa svarâdi*, and in Müller; in Benfey in the place referred to it is wanting) is scarcely an indeclinable, but merely an abbreviation for *saṁvatsare*, like our A. for 'Anno.' Benfey, indeed, in his *Sanskṛit Dictionary*, places *saṁvat* together with *parut*, and seeks (under *parut*) in the *vat* a separate word with the meaning of 'year,' which he compares with ἔτος. For *parut* = περύσι, Armen. *heru*, Pott, Windischmann, and Bopp have both sought a similar derivation, and in the *ut* "a contraction of the syllable *vat* from *vatsara*, year." (See Bopp, *Verg. Gram.* vol. II. p. 210, vol. III. p. 481.) But the very reference to περύσι and *heru* makes this appear to me very improbable for *parut* also. The words *vatsa*, *vatsara*, year, are scarcely descended from the Indo-Germanic age: *vatsa* I cannot show with this signification in the *Ṛik.* at all, and in the *Brâhmaṇa* only in the word *trivatsa*, which is defined by *trivarsha*, but can also be quite differently understood; *vatsara*, too, very seldom occurs in it, and may probably be only a secondary word, formed to denote one of the five or six *yuga*-years, and derived from *saṁvatsara*. This last word, not exactly one often met with in the *Ṛik.*, probably at first contained an *r* in the middle, as derived from the root *vart* and standing for *saṁvartsara*, and meaning properly the cycle rolling back on itself;

lishitaṁ Keśavadâsa chitrakara, that is, "May His Highness Jellâl-ed-din Akbar Pâdishâh live long! Saṁvat 1646 (=A.D. 1590) on the ninth of the light half of Pausha, written by Keśavadâsa, the painter." Thus, by order of the emperor Akbar, this beautiful work was executed by a native artist, called Keśavadâsa. In this statement there is nothing surprising. On the one hand it is known how indulgent that truly great emperor was, how much he promoted the mingling of religious systems, how very warmly he interested himself in the Christian religion among others, so that for a long time the Jesuits reckoned confidently on his conversion. On the other hand, however, we know further from the statement of his like-minded great minister Faizi, in the excellent work called the *Ayîn-i-Akbari*, that the emperor warmly favoured painting also, that he even founded a kind of academy of painting, whose members, among other things, had to illustrate Persian books with paintings (*Hamza's History* contains not fewer than fourteen hundred of them!); drawing portraits, too, of the chief officials of the court formed part of their business,—see Gladwin's *Ayîn-i-Akbari*, vol. I. p. 115, and the Petersburg *Catalogue des Manuscrits* . . . p. 423.

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AT BÂDÂMI, IN THE DEKHAN.

Bâdâmi is a moderate-sized town in the Kalâdgi collectorate, about twenty-three miles south-east from the town of Kalâdgi, and nearly three from the Malprabhâ river. It is the chief town of the tâlukâ of the same name. A little to the south of it is Banaśaṁkarî; among the hills to the east is Mahâkûṭa; eight miles to the east and on the river is Paṭṭadkal; and another eight miles down the river is Aihoḷe—all noted for their ancient temples and inscriptions. As pointed out by Mr. Fleet, there seems little doubt but that Bâdâmi was the ancient Vâtâpipurî or Vâtâpînagari of the Châlukya kings of the Kanarese country, and made the capital by Pulikêśî I. in the sixth century of the Christian era. Early in the seventh century it is mentioned by the name also of Bâdâvi; Paṭṭadkal is the old Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal, the capital of the Sindavaṁśa chiefs about 1162 A.D.; and Aihoḷe may be the Ayyâvoḷe mentioned in a grant of the reign of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya the Great, 1093 A.D.*

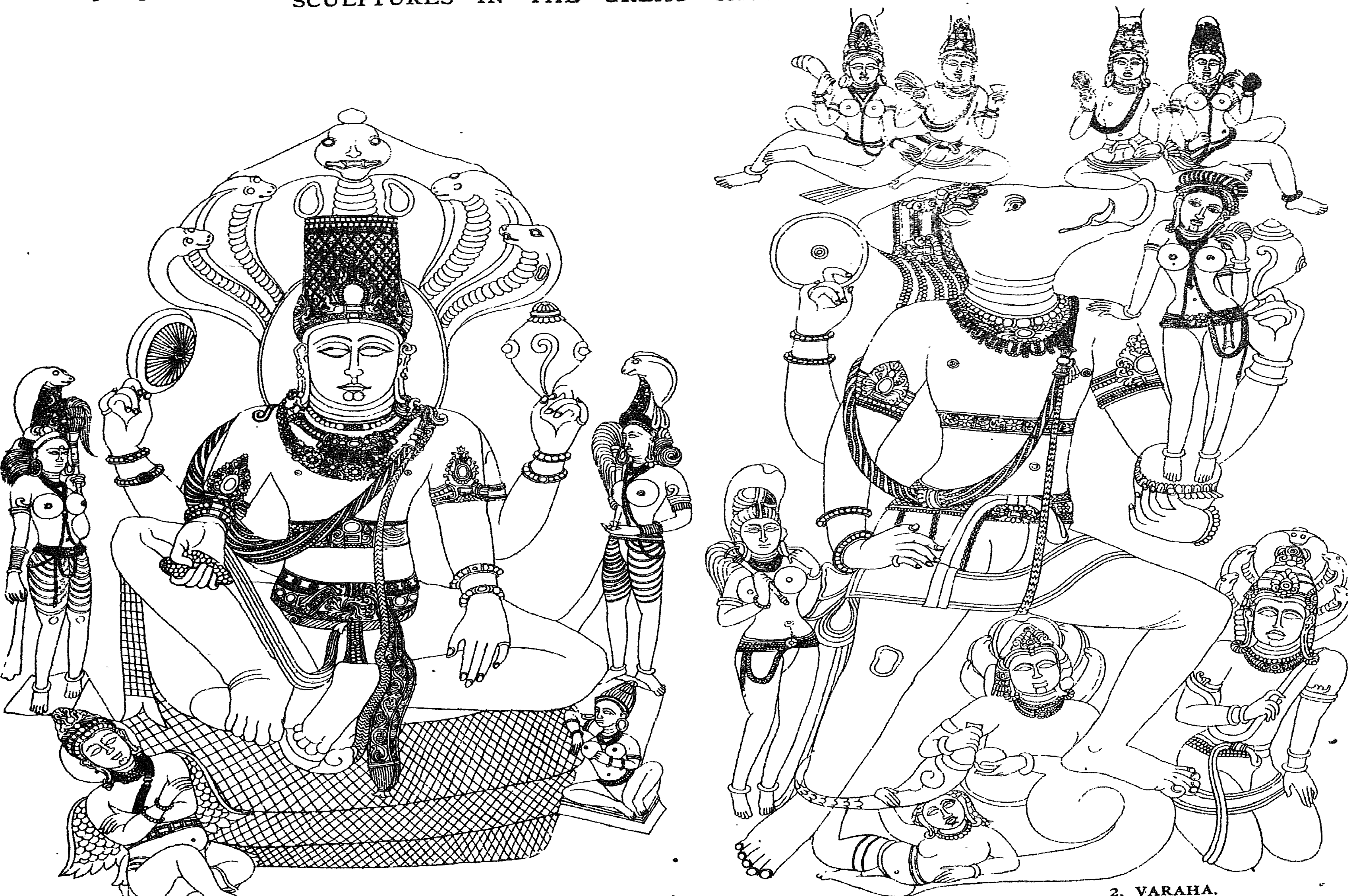
Bâdâmi is situated at the outlet between two rocky hills on its north and south sides, a dam to the east of the town between the bases of the hills forming a large tank for the supply of water to the town. All along the north side of this small lake are old temples, most of them built of very large blocks of hard stone, while the hill behind them is a ruined fort, taken by a British detachment under Sir Thomas Munro in 1818. It must have been a place of great strength in early times; the passages through it are cut to great depths in the rock and are narrow, long, and winding, so that if the gate were stormed the besieged had their enemies far below them, and from above they could easily hurl destruction on the heads of all that could enter the pathways before any of them could reach a place of vantage. In and about this rock-fort are some temples also. But it is in the scarp of the hill to the south-east that the cave temples are excavated. They are four in number: the lowest, on the west end of the hill, is a Śivâlaya or Śaiva cave; the next is a Vaishṇava temple considerably higher up in the rock and to the north-east of the Śivâlaya; the largest, also Vaishṇava, is still further to the east on the north face of the hill; and the last is a little beyond it, but is a Jaina cave and of much smaller dimensions than the preceding three Brâhmaṇical ones. All four are still in unusually excellent preservation, and are very rich in mythological sculpture.

The Great Cave is by far the finest of the series, and one of the most interesting Brâhmaṇical temples in India; it is also the only cave-temple of which we know the age, for it is on a pilaster in it that the inscription of Maṅgalîśa, the son of Pulikêśî I., the Châlukya king who made Bâdâmi his capital, is found. Though it cannot compare in size with Elephanta or some of the larger caves at Elurâ,

this explanation holds good for *vatsa* also, in case this can really be proved to have the signification of 'year,' and then the etymological reference to ἔτος, *vetus*, would naturally become doubtful in the highest degree.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 305; vol. V. pp. 19, 51, 67, 68, 71, 174, 344; vol. VI. pp. 72, 74, 85, 137, 139, 142.

SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI.



1. VISHNU OR ADI NARAYANA.

2. VARAHA.

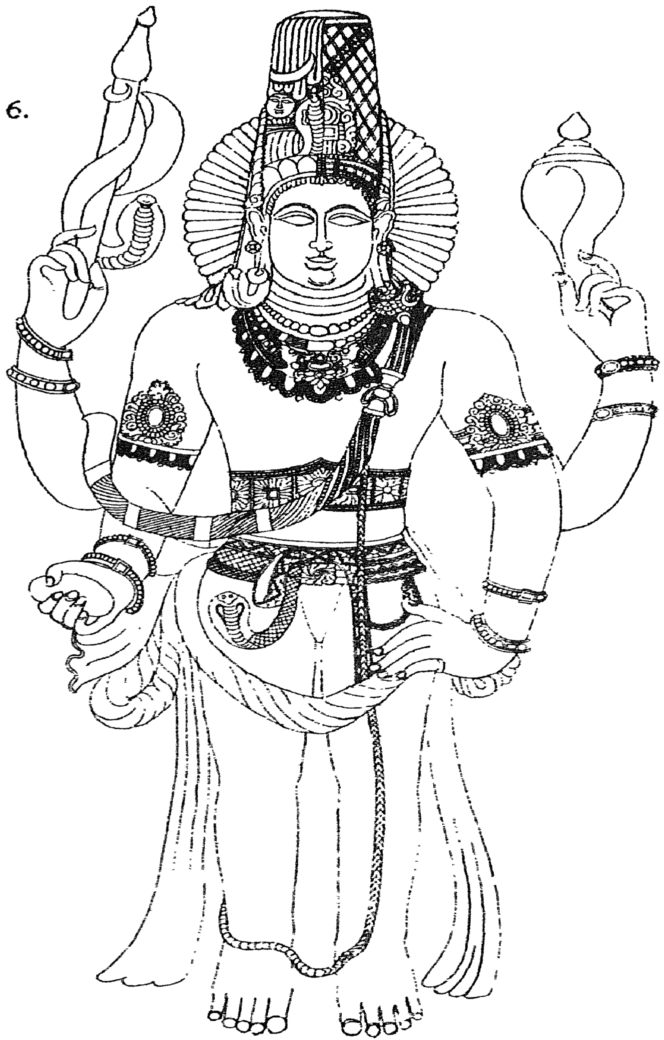
W. Griggs photo-lith

SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADAMI.

5.



6.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

it is still a temple of considerable dimensions, the verandah measuring nearly seventy feet in length, and the cave inside sixty-five feet, with a total depth from the front of the verandah pillars to the back wall of forty-eight feet,—the shrine going into the rock about twelve feet further, while the general height throughout verandah and hall is fifteen feet. It is considerably higher up in the rock than the other Vaishṇava cave, and is entered by an ascending stair through a door in the west end of a square court in front of it, the north side of this court being formed by a large mass of rock left unexcavated there; the east and west ends are formed by old walls of masonry, that on the east entirely precluding all access from this side to the Jaina cave just beyond it, so that the Jainas must have formed a path for themselves from the shore of the *talâo* below up to their rock-cut shrine.

The cave faces the north, and the level of the floor of it is eight or nine feet above that of the court outside. A narrow platform is built up the whole length of the front, the cave being entered by a flight of steps in the centre of it, but which have now been torn down,—probably because the long treads of the steps were found useful for some purpose or other in the village. The front of the platform has a moulded cornice, and under it a *dado* of blocks,—many of them seven feet in length—divided into more than thirty compartments throughout the length of it, and in each compartment two of those little fat dwarfs or *gaṇas* that are such favourites with the early Hindu sculptors for the decoration of basements, and which they were fond of representing in every possible attitude and in every form of grimace, even with the heads of animals. All sects—Brâhmaṇs, Buddhists, and Jains—seem to have employed such figures in similar positions: in fact they appear to have been conventionalities dependent more upon the taste and imagination of the craftsmen than upon the mythology of the sect for which any particular temple was constructed.

The verandah is supported in front by six pillars each two and a half feet square, and two pilasters, with deep bases and capitals,—the latter almost hidden by the three brackets attached to the lower part of the capitals on the backs and sides of each, and by the eave or drip which comes down in front. The brackets on each side the pillars in every case but one represent a pair of human or mythological figures—a male and female standing in various attitudes under foliage, in most cases attended by a small dwarf figure; the only exception to the pair of figures is one in which Ardhanârî is represented, four-armed and with two dwarf attendants. The brackets on the backs or inner sides of the pillars are all tall single female figures, each with one or two small attendants. These brackets extend from near the bottom of the capitals to the roof. The necks of the pillars below the capitals are carved with broad bands of elaborate beaded festoon work, and on each of the four sides of the lower portions of the shafts are medallions carved with groups of figures within a border.

The verandah is nine feet wide, and is separated from the hall by four free-standing columns and two demi-columns in *antis*, all with high bases, the two central pillars being of that purely Hindu type, so often met with, consisting of a square shaft with thin and slightly narrower slabs applied to each face: in this case two of these slabs are superimposed on each side, forming five exterior angles at each of the four corners. The two pillars outside these are octagons with capitals of the Elephanta type. There are thus left for sculptures the two ends of the verandah, and the spaces on the back between the attached pillars and the ends.

In the east end of the verandah is a large figure of Vishṇu seated (see *Fig.* 1) on the body of the great snake Śesha or Ananta, which is thrice coiled round below him, while its hoods—five in this instance—are spread out over and round his big *muguta* or crown as if to protect it. He is represented as four-armed (Chaturbhuj) — the front left hand resting on the calf of his leg, and the other holding up the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell, one of his most characteristic emblems,—being the shell that was among the fourteen precious things produced from the churning of the ocean which Vishṇu conducted in his second or Kûrma *avatâra*, and which was said to confer victory on whoever should sound it. In the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* and *Harivaṁśa*, however, it is said that when Kṛishṇa was getting up his military acquirements, his *âchârya* or tutor, Sândîpani Kâsya complained that he had lost his only son in the sea at Prabhâsa (Somanâtha). Kṛishṇa

plunged into the sea, but was told by Samudra that it was the Daitya Pañchajana or Śankhâsura, the chief of a race dwelling in shells, who had carried off the youth. Krishṇa then, descending to the bottom of the ocean, encountered and slew him, bringing up his bones (or the shell he had inhabited), of which he made the *Śaṅkha Pañchajanya*, that he bore ever after as an emblem.†

In the front right hand he holds some object perhaps representing wealth or fruit, and in the other his *chakra* or discus—a sharp-edged heavy quoit, which seems to have been used as a missile instrument in early warfare by the Hindus, being thrown with force against the enemy, and recovered by a string attached to it. In later mythological representations Vishṇu is represented as twirling it round his forefinger, when, it is said, irresistible fire flames from its periphery, destroying all in its course. It is called *sudarśana*, and is said to have been formed from the rays of Tvashṭri for the destruction of the Dânavas.‡ He has three necklaces, each represented with a mass of gems in front, among which it was perhaps intended to represent the *Kaustubha* or *Bhrigulita*. Round his waist is another belt of gems, while over his left shoulder and under his right arm hangs a thick cord apparently formed of twisted strands of strings of beads or pearls; and again round his loins are other richly embroidered belts; on his arms and wrists§ also he wears rich armlets and bracelets. To his right and below is Garuḍa, his *vâhana* or vehicle, who carries him and attends him also as a page, sitting with folded arms leaning against the coils of Śesha. Opposite to him sits a little female figure with high *muguta*, which may possibly represent Lakshmî, the wife of Vishṇu. Above these stand two taller female figures, each holding a *chauri* or fly-flap: they have jewelled head-dresses, and large chignons, out of which rises a single cobra-hood overshadowing the head. These attendants remind us of the supporters we so often find under the *padmâsanas* or lotus-thrones of figures of Buddha, where the male supporters of the lotus-stalk are represented with three, five, or even seven snake-hoods shielding their heads, while their female companions or wives have only one hood.

This large sculpture fills the end compartment of the verandah. Under it is a plinth the front of which is carved with little fat gambolling figures or *gaṇas*.

Turning to the right we find on the back wall of the verandah another large sculpture, and one which in the early ages seems to have been a great favourite, for we seldom miss it in a Vaishṇava shrine (*Fig.* 2). It is also repeated in several of the Śaiva rock-temples of Elurâ, and always in nearly the same form as here. It is the Varâha or third *avatâra*, assumed to rescue the earth from the Asura Hiraṇyâksha, the chief of the Dânavas, who had carried it off to the bottom of the ocean, when Vishṇu, taking the form of a boar, dived down and rescued it, after a contest of a thousand years.‖ Here he is represented again as four-armed, similarly dressed as in the other figure, and with the *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in his uplifted hands, but with a boar's head, standing with his left foot on the coil of a snake, the head of which is human, with five hoods behind it—seen under his thigh. In one of his left hands he holds a lotus-flower on which stands Prithivi,—the Earth personified,—steadying herself against his shoulder. Prithivî, also called Bhûmidêvî or Bhûdêvî, derives her name from Prithu, the first king who taught the mode of cultivating the ground, and whose daughter she is said to have been. She is the wife of Vishṇu in his Varâha *avatâra*, and to her he delivered one of the *Purâṇas*. She is represented in mythology as a woman with two arms, standing on a lotus-flower, and holding in one hand another lotus-blossom, with a crown on her head, her long black locks reaching to her feet, of yellow complexion, and with a *tilaka* of red paste on her forehead. Bhûmidêvî is the goddess of patience and endurance, but receives no special worship.¶

In front of Varâha's knee kneels a human female figure with the five Nâga-hoods over his jewelled *muguta*, and behind stands a female *chauri*-bearer with the single hood; another figure lies between Varâha's feet, holding by the long cord or *yajnopavîta* that hangs down from his shoulder, but which is broken away in front of the head and shoulder of the Nâga figure.

† Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 1st ed. p. 562; *Harivaṁśa*, adh. lxxxix.; Wilford in *As. Res.* vol. VIII.; Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 218. ‡ *Harivaṁśa*, adh. ix. and ccxv.

§ On his wrist Vishṇu wears the jewel called *Syamantaka*.

‖ Conf. *Harivaṁśa*, adh. xli., ccxxiii., and ccxxiv.

¶ Prithivî is from *prithu*—'extended'. On Bhûmidevî see *Manu*, iii. 85, 86; ix. 311; Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. I. p. 137.

SCULPTURES IN THE GREAT CAVE AT BADÂMÎ.



3. NRISIÑHA



4. VIRATARUPA

W. Griggs photo-lith.

COPPER ŚÂŚANAM OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

Over Varâha's shoulders are two pairs of figures like the cherubs in Bauddha shrines, each apparently with offerings.

On the pilaster, beside this figure, is the inscription of the sixth century of our era (A.D. 579), to which we shall again refer below.

At the west end of the verandah we have another of the *avatâras*, namely the N a r a s i ñ h a or man-lion (*Fig.* 3), which, like the Varâha, is represented as having taken place in the Satya-yuga. The demon H i r a ṇ y a k a ś i p u, the son of Kaśyapa and Ditî, and brother of H i r a ṇ y â k s h a, having, in consequence of severe penance, obtained from Brahmâ the boon that he should be invulnerable to gods, men, snakes, &c., became imperious and troubled earth and heaven, when, at the desire of P r a h l â d a the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, N a r a s i ñ h a bursting out of a column destroyed him, to the great joy of the *devatas*. He is here represented four-armed, one of the left arms resting on his huge club or *gadha*, called *Kaumodakî*, beside which stands G a r u ḍ a in human form. On the other side is a dwarf attendant, and above Narasiñha's shoulders are figures floating with garlands and gifts. Over the lion-head is a lotus, and his jewelled necklaces are elaborately carved.

On the other side of the front pilaster of the verandah from this last is a large and very striking sculpture, repeated also on a smaller scale in the other Vaishṇava cave here, in the Dâs Avatâra cave and in other places at E l u r â (see *Fig.* 4). Locally it is called Virâtrupa, but, from the place it occupies among these sculptures, there can be no doubt that it relates to V i s h ṇ u in the fifth or V â m a n a *avatâra* of the Tretâ-yuga. He is represented in this case as eight-armed (A s h ṭ a b h u j a), with the *chakra*, the *Nandaka*, the sword, the *gadha* or club, and an arrow in his right hands, and the *śañkha*, the bow called *Śârñga*, and shield in the left, while with the fourth on that side he points to a round grinning face, perhaps R â h u, to which he lifts also his left foot. Over this face is the crescent moon, beside Vishṇu's jewelled *muguta* is a Varâha and two other figures, and below on his right G a ṛ u ḍ a. In front stand three figures, probably representing B a l i the son of Virochana and king of Mahâbalipura, and his wife with Ś u k r a his counsellor, the first holding the pot out of which he had, against Śukra's advice, poured the water on the hands of the dwarf in confirmation of his promise to grant V â m a n a's request for as much ground as he could compass at three strides. But scarcely was the water poured on his hands when, say the legends, " he developed all his divine form. The earth became his feet, the heaven his head, the sun and moon his eyes, the P i ś â c h a s his toes, the G u h y a k a s his fingers, the V i s v a d ê v a s his knees, the S â d h y a s his legs, the Y a k s h a s his nails, the A p s a r a s a s the lines on his face, the lightning his glance, the solar rays his locks, the stars the spots on his person, the intermediate points of the horizon his arms, the cardinal points his ears, the A ś v i n s the interiors of his ears, V a y u his nose, C h a n d r a m a s (moonbeams) the light of his face, duty his sentiment (*manas*), truth his voice, S a r a s v a t î his tongue, A d i t i his neck, M i t r a and T v a s h ṭ r i his eyebrows, A g n i his mouth, B r a h m â his heart, the V a s u s his back, the M a r u t s his joints, the C h h a n d a s his teeth, &c. &c. At the sight of this divine form the A s u r a s, Bali's subjects, enraged dashed at him." Among them we find such names as Viprachitti, Hayagrîva, Kêtumân, U g r a, P r a h l â d a, Anuhrâda, H a r i, H a r a, V a r â h a, Virûpâksha, Suprabha, Dvichakra, Vâyu, Vikshara, Krodha, Naraka, Puloman, R â h u, &c. &c. They were of all animal and monstrous shapes, and armed with all sorts of instruments, their heads decked with diadems, earrings, &c. Vishṇu's form, however, grew as he dispersed them, until the sun and moon were no higher than his breast, and still he grew. "The Brâhmaṇs say that the powerful V i s h ṇ u,* the conqueror of the Asuras, after subduing the three worlds, gave the earth to

* Vishṇu, like Śiva, has a thousand names (*Mahâbh. Anuśâsana parvan*, vv. 6950-7056) of which the more usual are :

1 Achyuta—the undecayable.
2 Ananta-śayana—who sleeps on the serpent Ananta.
3 Daityâri—the enemy of the Daityas.
4 Dâmodara—as Kṛishṇa, bound with a rope.
5 Govinda—raiser of the earth, or cowkeeper.
6 Hari. 7 Janârddana—of whom emancipation is sought.
8 Jalajalôchana—lotus-eyed; 9 Puṇḍarîkâksha—whose eyes are like the white lotus.
10 Kaiṭabhajit—who overcame Kaiṭabha.
11 Keśava—hairy, or who gave being. 12 Keśinishûdana.
13 Kirîṭin—wearing a tiara.
14 Lakshmîpati—lord of Lakshmî.
15 Śrîdhara—bearer of Śrî.

Indra, and to Bali the sixth of the lower worlds (*Pâtâla*), named Sutala."†

Holding by his thigh is Garuḍa, and above the heads of the three figures before him is one with sword and shield falling down, and a half-figure behind.

Facing this, at the other end of the verandah, just outside the pilaster that separates it from the first described of these sculptures, is another large one (*Fig.* 5) representing Vishṇu with eight arms, with *chakra*, arrow, *gadha*, and sword in his right hands, and in the left the *śaṅkha*, shield, and bow (*śârṅga*), the fourth placed against his loin. Behind the head a portion of the head-dress is formed into a circular frill, somewhat resembling an aureole: this may be observed also both in the last described figure and in the next. He wears long pendant links hanging down from the ears, similar to what are found on many Bauddha images, and in the lower portion of the link is hung a heavy ring or jewel that rests against the collar. From the top of his high *muguta*, or cap, springs a figure of Narasiṅha—four-armed and with *chakra* and *śaṅkha*. Whom this is intended to represent is somewhat difficult to say; as it occupies a position beside the entrance, it may be intended merely as a figure of Vishṇu in his more active and terrible form, while the next, inside, represents him in repose seated on Śesha—or it may be for Balarâma, the seventh *avatâra*. It is, like the others, well cut in a close-grained rock, and the only damage it has suffered is a piece out of the long sword, and some slight injury near the ankle. The dress is knotted behind the thighs, and round his body and thighs he wears a belt,—perhaps the same as the *bâhupaddai* of Southern India, represented as worn by sages and other holy beings when they sit.

The last large sculpture to be noticed in this cave is a figure of Harihara, as he is locally known. (*Fig.* 6.) This name is applied to the Ayinar of the south country, the alleged son of Śiva by Môhinî (a female manifestation of Vishṇu), and who is the only male Grâmadêvata worshipped by the Tamils. But there is another legend of Harihara which runs thus:—"In former times there lived an Asura named Guha, the son of a Rishi. He was exceedingly powerful, and performed extremely painful penances. On one occasion, after inhaling a draught of smoke, he performed the penance of standing on his head for ninety-six years, during sixty-four of which he lived solely on the leaves of trees, and for another portion of the time upon fruit, and for the rest of the period he lived entirely without food; and by this means he succeeded in bringing all his bodily senses into complete subjection. As a reward for this great penance, he obtained a boon from Brahmâ, and this blessing so intoxicated him with pride that he became a troubler of the worlds. In course of time Indra and his attendant gods were obliged to make war upon him on account of the universal confusion which he created; but he assumed the different powers of all the gods —the power of Sûrya, of Indra, of Agni, of Anila, of Indu, of Yama, of Varuṇa, and of the other gods, and so succeeded in driving them out of their own paradise.

"Then those exiled gods, together with the Ṛishis, the Munis, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, and the Râkshasas," went to Śiva, and "in order also to make it evident to all creatures that Vishṇu and Śiva are one," says the Śaiva legend, "I (Śiva) assumed the form of Hari. For a thousand years of the gods I made war upon Guhâsura with various divine and mighty weapons. For a while I merely hurled them at him in sport, but at last I pierced him mortally with the tremendous arrow Mahâpaśupatâstra." . . . "When the gods saw the mysterious form which had been assumed to

16 Mâdhava. 17 Madhusûdana—destroyer of Madhu.
18 Mukunda—passionless. 19 Murâri—foe of Mura.
20 Nârâyaṇa—who dwells on the waters, or in the minds of the devout.
21 Padmanâbha—in whose navel is a lotus.
22 Panchâyudha—having five weapons.
23 Pîtâmbara—wearing yellow garments.
24 Hṛishîkeśa—god of all the members of light.
25 Śârṅgin; 26 Śârṅgapâṇi—bearing the bow of horn.
27 Svayambhû—self-existent. 28 Vârshṇeya.
29 Vâsudeva—as Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudeva.
30 Vaikuṇṭha; 31 Vaikuṇṭhanâtha—the destroyer of sorrow, or lord of the heaven named Vaikuṇṭha or limitless.
32 Vishṇu—into whom all is absorbed, or the pervading.
33 Vishṭara-śrava—who (in the form of Virâta) is all eye, all ear.
34 Viśvamvara—protector of the world.
35 Vishvaksena—whose soldiers fill the world.

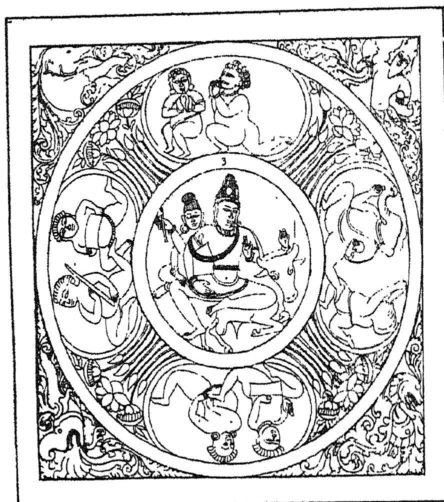
And the ten *avatâras*—1, Matsya, the fish; 2, Kûrma, the tortoise; 3, Varâha, the boar; 4, Narasiñha, the man-lion; 5, Vâmana, the dwarf; 6, Paraśurâma, the son of Jamadagni; 7, Râma; 8, Krishṇa; 9, Buddha; and, 10, Kalkin or Dharma-bhûshaṇa.

† See *Harivaṅśa*, adh. ccliv.-cclvii.



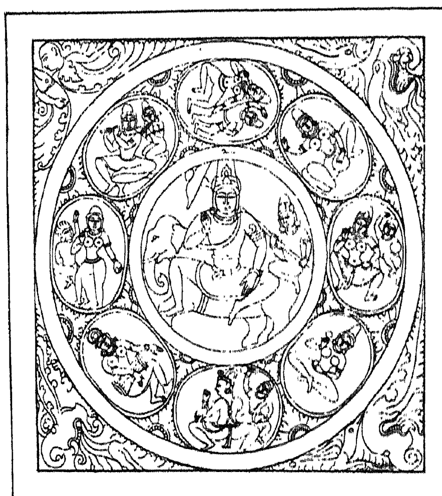
W Griggs photo-lith.

7. GROUP OF SCULPTURE IN THE SIVALAYA OR LOWEST CAVE AT BADÂMI.













W. Griggs photo-lith.

destroy the Asura, they greatly wondered and were very much afraid," until Brahmâ explained the mystery.‡ In the *Harivaṁśa* (adh. clxxx., clxxxi. is another account of the contest between Śiva and Vishṇu, and of their subsequent union in one, concluding with a hymn to Harihara.§

Here the left side of the figure represents Hari or Vishṇu with the *śaṅkha* in his uplifted hand, the other resting against his haunch, while the earring and cap are of a different pattern from that of Hara or Śiva, on which is the crescent and a withering skull, while a cobra hangs from his ear, another from his belt, a third is on the front of his *muguta*, and a fourth twines round the *paraśu* or axe he holds in one hand. In the other hand he holds some oval object.

A more common double figure in Hindu mythology is that of Ardhanârîśvari, Ardhanośvarî, or Ardhânârînaṭeśvara, the union of Śiva and Pârvatî, in a half male half female form. In the *Kâlikâ Purâṇa* it is said—"Hara offered his wife to take half of her body and give her half of his own, or *vice versâ;* and at length she took the half of Śiva and joined it to her right side, and the god took half of Pârvatî and united it to his. Thus forming only one body with his wife, Śiva has the name of Ardhanârîśvara." Other stories are given in other *Purâṇas*.

In the lowest or Śaiva cave of the Bâdâmi group is a representation (*Fig.* 7) of this Ardhanârîśa, in pretty good preservation. It occupies the right end of the verandah, and, as is usually the case at Elephanta and elsewhere, the god is attended by his favourite white bull Nandi, which, the *Śaiva Samaya Vinâvidai* says, is a form of Dharmadêva, the god of justice, who offered himself to Śiva in this form as a vehicle. Behind Nandi, with clasped hands, stands Bhṛingi—a favourite devotee, or perhaps Kâl, the form of Rudra or Śiva himself as the author of destruction,—a gaunt and hideous skeleton. At the left or female side stands a female richly decked, and bearing some flat object in her left hand.

The right side, which is always the male half, represents Śiva,—the crescent moon and skull on his head-dress, a snake in his ear, another coiled round his arm, a third hanging from his belt (the heads of them broken off), and a fourth twining round the battle-axe he holds in his uplifted hand: a portion of the tiger-skin in which he wraps his person hanging down on his thigh, with richly jewelled necklaces, bracelets, &c.

The left half, representing Umâśaktî, has a large flat earring, necklaces, belt, armlets, and bracelets of different patterns from those on the male half. The hair is made up in a sort of chignon over the shoulder, much as it is still worn by the lower classes in the Madras Presidency, and is covered with a network of pearls or gems. A cord hangs down in front of the thigh, terminating in a small flat heart-shaped end—an ornament specially noticeable on many of the figures in the Kailâsa rock-temple at Elurâ. On the foot are two heavy anklets, and these and the very long bracelets on the wrists and also on the female companion cannot fail to remind the observer of the similar abundance of bone and brass rings worn by the Wanjârîs and other aboriginal tribes to the present day. She holds up a flower, and with the other hand grasps one end of a stick, or perhaps a lute, the other end of which is held by the front hand of the male half. The attendant female wears a loose kirtle held up by a richly jewelled belt. Her earrings are different—that in the right ear consisting of a long link hanging down to the shoulder, and in the end of it a thick jewelled ring and short pendant; the other is a broad thick disc like that known in Bengal by the name of *dheṅrî*.‖ Her hair is done up in a very elaborate style, with a profusion of pearls over the forehead. Floating overhead on each side are two figures, male and female, with offerings, and having elaborate head-dresses.

This union of Śiva and Pârvatî in a single body personifies the principle of life and production in its double aspect—the active principle under the name of Purusha, and the female or passive under that of Prakṛitî. It embodies the central idea of nature-worship, and occurred to the early Greeks, as we see from the old Orphic hymn preserved by Stobæus¶ beginning

Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη.

"Zeus was a male, Zeus became a deathless damsel."

‡ Foulkes's *Legends of the Shrine of Harihara* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1876), pp. 37-41.

§ See also Ward's *Hindus* (ed. 1817), vol. I. p. 242.

‖ Râjendralâla Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. I. p. 98, and plate XXVII. fig. 118. It is to be regretted that we have no descriptive catalogue of female ornaments used in India.

¶ Stobæus, *Eclog. Phys.* ed. Heeren, vol. I. p. 42; conf. Muir, *Orig. Sansk. Texts*, vol. I. pp. 9, 36; vol. IV. p. 331; and vol. V. p. 369.

On the male side the figure of Ardhanâ-tîśa* is usually painted dark blue or black, and vermilion or orange on the left or female side, but sometimes the colours are white (Śiva's proper colour) and yellow.

But to return to the great cave: The roof

* The names of Śiva are so numerous, and the forms so various, that it is useful to know the principal names, though in almost every town and village he has a different local designation. In the Dekhan and Southern India the following are the most common:—

1, Ahirbudhna—having a snake below, or the serpent at the bottom, the nether serpent.

2, Ânand—the blissful; 3, Ânandanâtha.

4, Andhakaripu—the enemy of *Andhaka*.

5, Aruṇâchalêśa—lord of Aruṇâchala (the red hill).

6, Annâmalainâtha.

7, Bharga—the shining; 8, Smarahara,—the destroyer of *Kâma*.

9, Bhava—the existing; 10, Bhairava.

11, Bhîma—the terrific; 12, Ugra—the wrathful.

13, Bhûtanâtha, or Bhûteśa; and 14, Bhûtapati,—lord of demons.

15, Bhuvaneśa—lord of the world.

16, Chandraśekhara; 17, Chandramauli; 18, Piraisûdi (?)—moon-crested; 19, Chandrâpîḍa; 20, Chandrila (?); 21, Sudhâsûtikalâmaulin—having the nectar-producing crescent as a crest.

22, Chidambaramûrtti—the intellectual-garment-form, the god at Chelâmbram.

23, Chokkhanâtha—the handsome lord.

24, Ándivannen—twilight-coloured.

25, Dêvamaṇi—the divine gem.

26, Dhûrjjaṭi (?)—who bears the worlds.

27, Ekâmbara—having one garment; 28, Brahmâ—the supreme one; 29, Kadavul (?).

30, Endôlan (?)—eight-shouldered.

31, Gaṇâdhipa—master of the *gaṇas*.

32, Gañgâdhara; 33, Gañgâvenian—having Gañgâ in his hair.

34, Giriśa—lord of the hills, he who dwells on the hills.

35, Hara—the seizer.

36, Îśa; 37, Îśvara; 38, Maheśvara—the great god.

39, Parameśvara—the highest god.

40, Îśâna—the universal ruler.

41, Jatamudi (?); 42, Pingaga (?),—with entangled locks; 43, Kapardin—with braided hair.

44, Jyotis—the light.

45, Kailayâli (?)—lord of Kailâsa.

46, Kadukkaiyen—with *Cassia fistula* garland.

47, Kannisûdi—garland-wearer.

48, Kankâla—bone-wearer.

49, Kapâli; 50, Kapâlabhṛit—who wears skulls.

51, Kâyârônar—the god at Negapatam.

52, Kalingarâja—king of Kalinga; 53, Kâlurâya (?).

54, Dakshiṇârâya (?).

55, Khaṇḍaparaśu—who hews his foes with a battle-axe.

56, Kratudhvansin; 57, Dakshâdhvaradhvansakṛit,—the destroyer of (*Daksha's*) sacrifice.

58, Kṛishânuretas—whose seed is in the fire, or placed in the fire.

59, Kṛittivâsas—clothed with a hide.

60, Mahâdeva—the great god.

61, Mahâbaleśvara—lord of great power.

62, Mahakâla—the great *Kâla*; 63, Kâlakâla—the *Kâla* or destroyer of *Kâla*.

64, Mânidamendi (?)—holding a deer.

65, Maraimuthal (?)—author of the *Vedas*.

66, Mriḍa—who is pleased or purifies.

67, Mṛityuñjaya—conqueror of Death.

68, Munnon (?)—the ancient; 69, Mahâmuni—the great ascetic.

70, Nadeśa or Nadeśvara—lord of rivers; 71, Tâṇḍavamûrtti—the dancing god; 72, Kâliyôdâdi (?)—the dancer with Kâlî; 73, Sudalaiyâdi—the dancer in cemeteries.

74, Pâṇḍuranga—whose limbs are white.

75, Nakka (?)—the naked.

76, Namban (?)—supremely desirable.

77, Nandikeśvara—the bull-lord; 78, Vṛishadhvaja—whose standard is a bull.

79, Nârîbhâga—female-sided; 80, Mangaibhâga (?) 81, Ambikâbhâga.

82, Nâtha—the lord; 83, Iraiyôn (?)—the king.

84, Nîlakaṇṭha—blue-throated; 85, Nîlagrîva; 86, Nanchurikaṇtha (?)—having poison in the throat; 87, Śitikaṇṭha—of the black throat; 88, Śrîkaṇṭha—of the beautiful throat.

89, Nîlalohita—the blue and red.

90, Nirmala; 91, Mâsillâthavar (?)—spotless.

92, Nitya—the eternal.

93, Pañchamukha; 94, Panchânana—five-faced.

95, Parama—the highest; 96, Paramaśiva.

97, Paraśupâṇi—wearer of the battle-axe; 98, Pinâkin; 99, Pinâkapâṇi—bearer of the bow.

100, Kundraviḷḷi (?)—with the (Meru) mountain-bow.

101, Paśupati—lord of cattle or the beasts.

102, Pongaravanindôn (?)—adorned with an angry snake

103, Rudra—the furious, or the disperser of tears.

104, Śambhu—the good; 105, Tarbaran (?)—self-existent.

106, Śaṅkara—author of good.

107, Sârndâraikkûtavar (?)—the protector of those who take refuge in him.

108, Śarva—who destroys; 109, Sarvajna—all-knowing.

110, Śipivishṭa—wrapped in a skin, or surrounded by a glory.

111, Senjatayisa (?)—red-locked; 112, Vyomakeśa—azure-haired.

113, Śiva—auspicious; 114, Mahâśiva; 115, Sadâśiva.

116, Someśvara, or Somanâtha,—lord of the moon.

117, Srashṭri—the creator.

118, Sthâṇû—the everlasting.

119, Śûlin; 120, Śûladhara; 121, Śûlapâṇi—trident-bearer.

122, Svarganâyaka—lord of heaven; 123, Trilochana; 124, Virûpâksha; 125, Mukkannen (?)—having a third eye.

126, Tripurântaka—the destroyer of *Tripura*; 127, Purândhaka.

128, Trayambaka—three-eyed, or of three limbs.

129, Umâpati—lord of Umâ; 130, Umâsahita; 131, Pârvatîkorhunan (?).

132, Vâmadêva—who sports in a contrary way.

133, Vara—the giver; 134, Pillaityaga—(?) the child-giver.

135, Vîrabhadra—the propitious hero.

136, Viśvanâtha—lord of the world; 137, Mâgnânalamûrtti.

138, Vṛiddhâchalamûrtti—the god of the round hill.

139, Yogin; 140, Mahâyogin—the mediator; 141, Dharma Ṭhâkura; &c. &c.

In the *Anuśâsana parva* of the *Mahâbhârata* the thousand names of Śiva and Vishṇu are given, but a good many of the above do not occur in that list. Those in the above list that are queried are not wholly Sanskṛit, and are probably of Drâvidian origin. There is one of which the Prâkṛit word *râya* forms a component part.

of the verandah is divided by cross beams cut in the rock into seven recessed panels each filled with sculpture. Of these, six are represented on the fifth plate to this paper. The first of these, being the panel to the left or east of the middle one, consists of a central circular compartment surrounded by four smaller oval ones, divided by bunches of water-lilies, so as to fill up a circle concentric with the first. The corners of the square are filled in with human and animal heads ending in arabesques. In the central area Śiva is represented, four-armed, seated on his bull, with his spouse Pârvatî behind him. The four oval compartments outside this contain each two figures, apparently all males; and one of them being Gaṇapati or Pramathâdipa, the son of Śiva and leader of his retinue, they are probably all intended as *gaṇa-nâyakas*, or principal members of his *gaṇa*. The corner figures are—the heads of an elephant, man, *makara*, and fish, ending in floral terminations.

The second panel represented on the plate is the central one of the seven, and has Vishṇu in the middle, as lord of the Zenith,—four-armed as usual, and holding up the *chakra* in one right hand, and the *śaṅkha* in a left one: he wears a high square-topped cap (as in Figs. 1, 4, and 5) already described, while his wives Śrî or Lakshmî and Bhûmidevî are huddled in beside him.† Round this central circle are eight ovals each containing some divinity, as in the usual figures of the Dikpâla-maṇḍala. Above the *śaṅkha* Brahmâ is easily recognized, seated ascetic-fashion on his lotus, four-armed and three-faced, occupying the place usually assigned to Śiva or Îśâna. Below him is Indra, regent of the East, holding his *vajra*, with his wife Suchî or Indrâṇî, on the elephant Airâvati. Next to him is Agni, god of fire and regent of the South-East, on his ram, and above him a flying figure, probably of Dhûrma or Smoke. Below Vishṇu is a figure on a lion with an attendant, which might be taken for Sûrya and his charioteer Aruna, but it is probably Yama, the regent of the South, who is described in the *Matsya Purâṇa* (adh. cclxi.) as seated on a *siṅhâsana*. The next, in the place of Nirṛiti, is mounted on a horse, like Mangala, the Hindu Mars. The figure on the left of the panel is *ûshâsana gatam*—seated on a sort of shark as his vehicle; the position is Varuṇa's, and as he is given this vehicle in the *Matsya Purâṇa*, instead of a stag, and here has also the *pâśa*, or snare, the emblem of Varuṇa, we must suppose it is intended for him. The next, on the deer, might be taken for Soma or Chandra, but in the *Dânakhanda* (adh. v.) of the *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi*, Vâyu, the Dikpâla of the north-west, is described as seated on a deer; and that at the top is probably intended for Chandra, who sometimes takes the place of Kuvera, as lord of the North.‡ Kuvera is sometimes figured as borne by a ram, Chandra on a hare, in a chariot, &c.

The third panel represents the compartment at the east end of the verandah, where again the figure in the centre is doubtless intended for Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, an incarnation of Kâma, and one of the four Vyuhas of Vishṇu, two-armed, with his club in the right hand, seated on a pair of *makaras*, and attended by two female *chauri*-bearers—perhaps his wives Rati and Pṛithi. The rest of the panel is filled by four square compartments in the corners, and as many oblong ones at the sides. The corners are filled with pairs, and in one case three figures—males and females much in the style of the flying attendants above both Bauddha and Hindu images; and the side compartments have pairs of figures with human and brute heads, and ending in ornamental arabesques.

The next, being the second from the end and between this last and the first described, is arranged in the usual style, having Indra seated (rather awkwardly, it must be owned) on his favourite elephant, with an attendant holding the royal umbrella over his head as ancient king of gods. The eight smaller oval panels round him contain in five cases a pair—male and female—of *gandharvas* and *apsarasas*, and in the remaining three a single female, all apparently enjoying or contributing to revels, danc-

† If both these figures were not intended to be female, the one kneeling on Vishṇu's right might be Śiva or Îśâna as lord of the Nadir.

‡ Cf. plate in Sir W. Jones's paper on the Hindu Zodiac, *As. Res.* vol. II. p. 303; Moor, *Hind. Panth.* pl. 88. The Dikapâlakas, or Ashtadikapâlakas, with their *vahanas*, are:—1 Indra, of the E., on the elephant Airâvati; 2 Agni, of the S.E.—a ram; 3, Yama, of the S.—a black buffalo; 4 Nirṛiti, of the S.W.—a crocodile; 5, Varuna, of the W.—a stag; Vâyu, of the N.W.—a Bhûta; 7, Kuvera, or Chandra, of the N.—a self-moving chariot; and 8, Îśâna or Iśvara, of the N.E.—a bull.

ing, and music: for, curiously enough, physical enjoyment is the only employment ever pictured in the Hindu Svarga; intellectual or moral happiness is undreamt of. The corners are filled up with other varieties of the usual figures.

The fifth panel from the east end, or that on the west side of the central one, has Brahmâ as its chief occupant, seated upon his *hansa*, three-faced and four-armed, with a very high cap, holding a sort of bottle—his *kumandalu*, or drinking vessel—in his upraised left hand, and a piece of *samidh*, or sacrificial wood, in the corresponding right. In the small oval to his right is probably Varuṇa, and, according to some, the son of Brahmâ, seated on a sort of shark or *makara*, and on the opposite side Indra, with his attendant, on his elephant; above is Îsâna or Śiva on a bull, with some sort of sceptre in his hand, and an attendant running after him at full speed with an umbrella; and below, Yama as lord of the South, or fourth cardinal point. In each of the four alternate spaces, which in this division are somewhat smaller, is a pair of figures—similar to those in the third panel described—probably Vidyâdharas, several of them apparently with small bags, perhaps of money or other precious offerings, or possibly vessels containing something strong. The corners of the outer square are filled up in the usual way, none of them being exact copies from any of the previous ones.

The sixth panel contains in the centre perhaps Kâma, Kandarpa (Makaradvaja), the Hindu Cupid, or—as in the third—Pradyumna, on a *makara*, with a high cap and earrings of very different shapes and sizes, holding in his right hand a bud with a long stalk. The eight little circular compartments surrounding this have been somewhat irregularly arranged, and the spaces between but indifferently filled up by water-lilies, sunflower, human figures, &c. The compartments themselves are occupied by Gandharvas and their mates the Apsarasas in nearly the same positions as in the last—doubtless regarded as one of love and dalliance. The two upper corners are filled with birds, and the other two with *makaras* treated in the usual conventional way.

These by no means exhaust the sculptures of the first cave. The roof of the front aisle of the cave is likewise divided into compartments, in the central one of which are a male and female figure floating on clouds, much in the position of the pairs in the two last described panels of the verandah roof, but the male carrying a sword and shield. The panels right and left of this are occupied by expanded lotus-flowers.

The roof of the hall is divided into nine compartments, by divisions very slightly raised from the level of the ceiling. In the central one of the front row is a man or *deva*—perhaps Agni—riding on a ram, with other figures, one before and another behind. In the compartment to the right or west of this is a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword, but the group is defaced. In the left is a male with a sword, holding a shield overhead, and with him a small female. In the next row we have, in the centre, Brahmâ on a swan, which apparently pecks at a figure which touches Brahmâ's hand with his. In one of his left hands Brahmâ holds what appears to be a bag or bottle, and in the other a *mâlâ* or rosary; and a male touches his cheek with his hand. In the compartment to the right of this again is a *deva*, on a *makara*, holding up a circle or large ring. In the corresponding one on the left are three figures on an elephant, the second holding an umbrella over the first (Indra?). In the back row in the centre is a *deva*, three-faced, like Brahmâ, on a swan, and holding a *triśula* in his right hand, his left resting on his knee. *Chauri*-bearers accompany him before and behind. In the square to the left or east are two flying figures, the male with an offering, and the female with a round fan or mirror; in that to the right are a pair of flying figures, the male with a sword; but the group is damaged. The roofs of the side aisles are plain.

On two of the pillars of the hall are inscriptions in Kanarese characters, the full meaning of which, however, has not been made out. In one of them occur the words—*Sâlivâhana Śaka varshambulu* 1476 *gunadi pramâthisamvatsara âshâḍhaba*, 11. Hence it§ was inscribed in A.D. 1555, in the time of Sadâśivadêvama-

§ By misreading the commencement of this inscription, Dr. Bird assumed that it was dated in an era he read as 'Hala Hala,' and which he assumed to commence from the Nirvâna of Buddha, and taking this as 543 B.C., he made the date of the cave 1476 — 543 or 933 A.D.! See his *Historical Researches* (Bombay, 1847), pp. 50, 51.

h â r â y a, the successor of Koṇḍarâja of Vijayanagara, mentioned below. Of the former, who reigned at least from A.D. 1552 to 1562, there is a short inscription in an old temple on the opposite hill. Again, on one of the pillars of the verandah is an inscription in three lines, thus transcribed and translated by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S. :—

Transcription.

[1] Śôbhakru(*kṛi*)ttu(*tu*)-saṁvatsarada Aśâḍa(*Âshâḍha*). śu 15-
[2] *lu* Koṁḍarâja-maha(*hâ*)-arasugaḷu ka-
[3] ṭi(*ṭṭi*)sida kota(*tta*)ḷakke śubham=asu(*stu*) Śrî

"May prosperity attend the bastion which the great king K o ṇ ḍ a r â j a caused to be built on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Âshâḍha, of the Śôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*|| ! Śri !"

But the most important of all is the inscription, mentioned above, on a pilaster beside the figure of Varâha. A facsimile of it has already been given (vol. III. p. 305), with a translation, but, to render this account more complete in itself, the following by Mr. Fleet may be inserted here :—

[1] स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीस्वामिपादानुध्द्या(ध्या)तानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणाङ्हारितीपुत्राणाम्
[2] अग्निष्टोमाग्निचयनवाजपेयपौण्डरीकबहुसुवर्णाश्वमेधाव-
[3] भृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतशिरसां चल्क्यानां वंशे संभूतः शक्तित्रयसं-
[4] पन्नः चल्क्यवंशाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्रः अनेकगुणगणालंकृतशरीरस्स-
[5] र्व्वशास्त्रार्त्थतत्वनिविष्टबुद्धिरतिबलपराक्रमोत्साहसंपन्न : श्रीमङ्गलीश्वररणवि-
[6] क्रान्तः प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यसंव्व(व)त्सरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंव्व(व)त्सरे-
[7] ष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु निजभुजावलम्बितखड्गधारानमितनृपतिशिरोम-
[8] कुटमणिप्रभारञ्जितपादयुगलश्चतुस्सागरपर्य्यन्तावनिविजयमङ्गलि(लै) का-
[9] गारः परमभागवतो लयनो(नं) महाविष्णुगृहमतिदैर्व¶ मानुष्यकमत्यद्भुतक-
[10] र्म्मविराचित(तं) भूमिभागोपभागोपरिपर्य्यन्तातिशयदर्शनीयतमं कृत्वा
[11] तस्मिन् महाकार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्यां ब्राह्मणेभ्यो महाप्रदानन्दत्वा भगवतः प्रल-
[12] योदित(ता) र्कमण्डल (ला) कारचक्रक्षपितामरारिपक्षस्य विष्णोः प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठाप-
[13] नाभ्युदये (य) निमित्त(त्तं) लञ्जी*श्वरन्नाम ग्रामन्नारायणबल्युपहारात्र्थं षोडशसंख्येभ्यो
[14] ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च सत्रनिबन्धम्प्रातिदिनमनुविधानङ्कृत्वा शेषं च परिव्राजकभो-
[15] ज्यन्दत्तवान् सकलजगन्मण्डल (ला) वनसमर्त्थाय रथहस्त्यश्वपदातसंकुला-
[16] नेकयुद्धलब्धजयपताकावलम्बितचतुस्समुद्रोर्म्मिनिवारितयशःप्रता-
[17] नोपशोभिताय देवद्विजगुरुपूजिताय ज्येष्ठायास्मद्भ्रात्रे कीर्त्तिवर्म्मणे
[18] पराक्रमेश्वराय तत्पुण्योपचयफलमादित्याग्निमहाजनसमक्ष-
[19] मुदकपूर्व्वं विश्राणितमस्मद्भ्रातृशुश्रू(षि)णि यत्फलन्तन्मह्यं स्यादिति [॥] त(न) कैश्चि[त्]
[20] परिहापयितव्यः ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता यस्य
[21] यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ये(य)-
[22] त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर महीम्महीक्षितां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो नुपालनं [॥]
[23] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां श्वविष्ठायां
[24] कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति [॥] व्यासगीताः श्लोकाः ॥

|| Probably the Śaka year 1465 (A.D. 1543-4). For facsimiles of the originals of these three inscriptions see *Archæological Report, Western India*, 1874, plates xxxiii. xxxiv.

¶ In the original this letter, व, is inserted below the line, having been at first omitted.

* In the original the ज् and the ई are clear, but the first consonant of the compound letter has been effaced; judging from the space left and the position of the ज्, the missing letter is probably ञ्, but it might of course be ग्, ज्, or ब्.

Translation.

Hail! In the twelfth year of his prosperous reign, five hundred of the years of the royal installation of the Śaka king having expired†, Śrî-Maṅgalîśvara, who is valorous in war,—whose two feet are tinted with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of kings who have been caused to bow down before him by the edge of the sword which is wielded by his arm,—who is the sole auspicious abode of victory over the (*whole*) earth as far as the four oceans ‡,—who is a most excellent worshipper of (*Vishṇu as*) the Holy One§,—who is born in the lineage of the Chalkyas who meditate on the feet of Śrî Svâmî||, who are of the kindred of Mânavya, who are the offspring of Hâritî, and whose heads are purified by ablutions performed after the celebration of the Agnishṭôma, Agnichayana, Vâjapêya, and Pauṇḍarîka sacrifices, and horse-sacrifices which cost much gold,—who is endowed with the three constituents of regal power¶,—who is the full moon of the sky which is the race of the Chalkyas*,—who is possessed of a body which is adorned with a multitude of many good qualities,—who has an intellect which is intent upon the true essence of the meaning of all the sacred writings,—who is possessed of extreme strength and prowess and energy,—having erected a temple, an abode of the great Vishṇu, surpassing everything which is celestial or human, fashioned with most curious workmanship, most worthy to be looked at on the surface of any primary or secondary division of the earth†, and having given rich gifts to Brâhmaṇs in it on the holy full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, granted, on the occasion of the installation of the image of the holy Vishṇu, who destroyed the army of the enemies of the gods with his discus the shape of which is like that of the sun risen (*again*) after the destruction of the universe, the village called Lañjîśvara‡, having made a daily observance the bestowal of food and alms upon sixteen Brâhmaṇs for the purpose of offering the oblation to Nârâyaṇa, and (*having set apart*) the remainder for the sustenance of wandering religious mendicants,—saying "In the presence of the Sun, Fire, and the (*guild of*) merchants§, the reward of this accumulation of religious merit has been made over with oblations of water to my elder brother Kîrttivarmâ, the lord of valour, who was sufficiently powerful to protect the whole circle of the earth, who was adorned with a canopy consisting of his fame which was propped up by standards of victory acquired in many battles in which there were mêlées of chariots and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, and which was bounded (*only*) by the waves of the four oceans||, and who was worshipped by gods and Brâhmaṇs and spiritual preceptors; let whatever reward belongs to (*me who am*) possessed of a desire to obey my brother accrue to me." (*And this grant*) is not to be diminished by any one; (*for*):—"Land has been given by many and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it. Carefully continue, O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings!, land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; continuing a grant is more excellent than giving. He, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in the excrement of a dog and sinks (*into hell*) with his ancestors:"—(*these are*) the verses sung by Vyâsa.

It only remains to notice the 6th and 7th plates: they represent the greater portion of a frieze round the inside of the verandah of the second cave, which is also Vaishṇava. The figures are all small, but cut with considerable care, and are in remarkable preservation.¶ The first scene represented, perhaps, begins on

† This inscription fixes the Śaka year 490 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgalîśa. Śaka 488 is the date obtained by Sir W. Elliot for his predecessor Kîrttivarmâ I. This inscription also determines, with a precision not hitherto, I think, attained, the commencement of the Śaka era. The era has been considered to date "from the *birth* of Śâlivâhana, a mythological prince of the Dekkan, who opposed Vikramâditya, the Râjâ of Ujjayinî." It is here said distinctly to "date from the *royal installation or coronation* of the Śaka king." (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 154, in Thomas' edition of *Ind. Antiquities*, vol. II.)—J. F. F.

‡ *i.e.*, the northern, southern, eastern, and western oceans.

§ "*Parama-bhâgavata*," a most excellent worshipper of Bhagavân or Vishṇu.

|| A name of Kârttikêya or Mahâsêna, the god of war. This and the following two titles belong also to the kings of the older Kâdamba dynasty of Palâśikâ (see Nos. XXII., XXV., and XXVI. of my series in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI.), and probably to the kings of other old dynasties also.

¶ *Sc.*, majesty, the power of good counsel, and the force of energy.

* This is the first instance that I have met with of the name of the dynasty being spelt as "Chalkya"; the usual form is Chaḷukya or Châlukya, and it is also occasionally written Chalikya. The early Châlukya kings appear to have been very tolerant in matters of religion. In an inscription at Aihoḷe (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 67ff.) in the Kalâdgi district, not far from Bâdâmi, we find Pulikêśî II., the nephew and successor of Maṅgalîśa, erecting and making grants to a Jain temple in the Śaka year 506, and Liṅga or Śaiva temples were erected and endowed by others of them.

† The meaning of the compound "*bhûmibhâgôpa*," &c. is obscure, and my interpretation of it may perhaps not be correct.

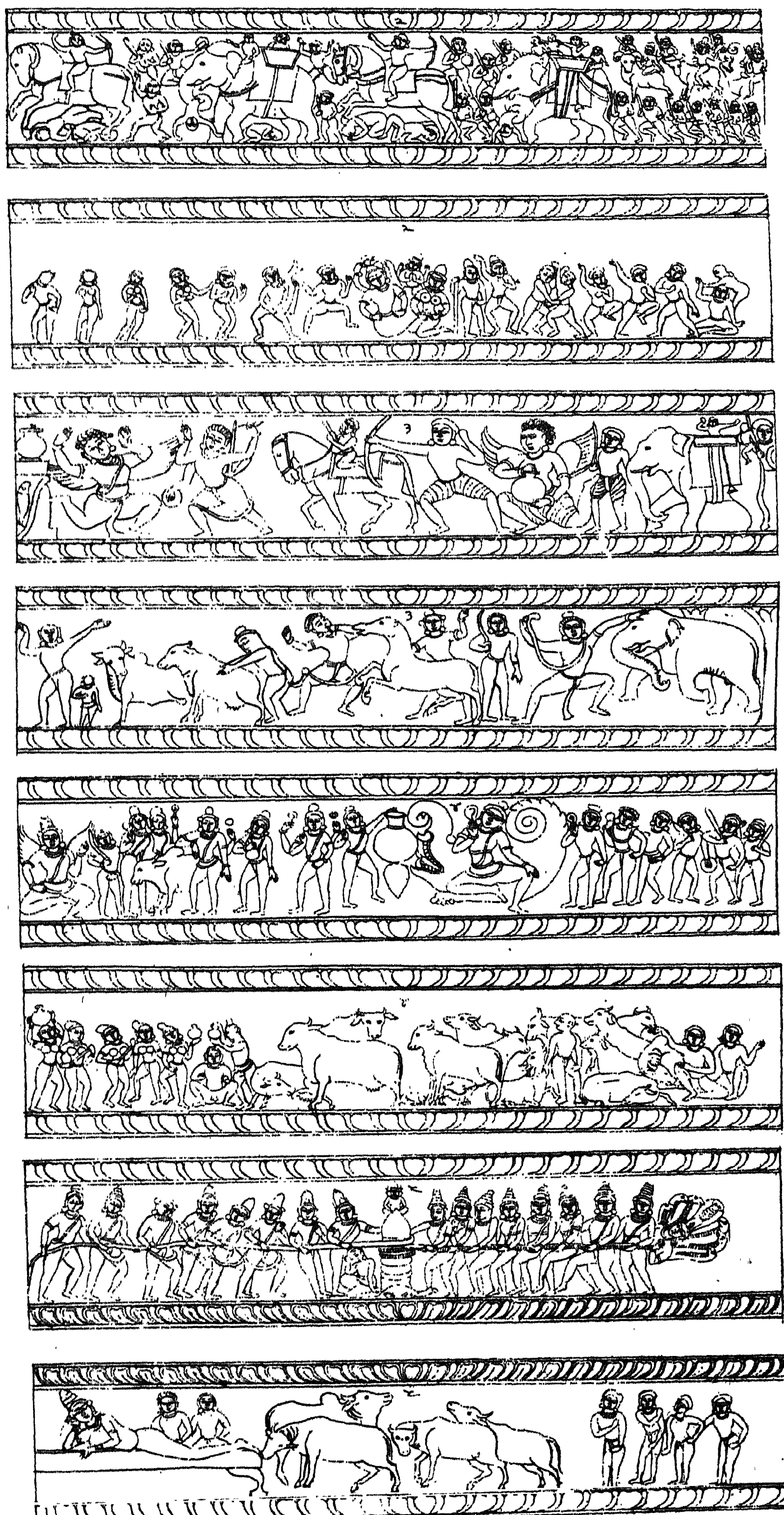
‡ See note * to the transcription.

§ The merchants, or probably the chief men among them, constituted a village jury and investigated disputes, pronounced the results of trials by ordeal (see the Kâdamba inscription of Kittûr, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. pp. 304 *et seqq.*), and witnessed grants with a view to subsequently proving them if required, &c.

|| *i.e.*, which spread over and enveloped the whole inhabited earth.

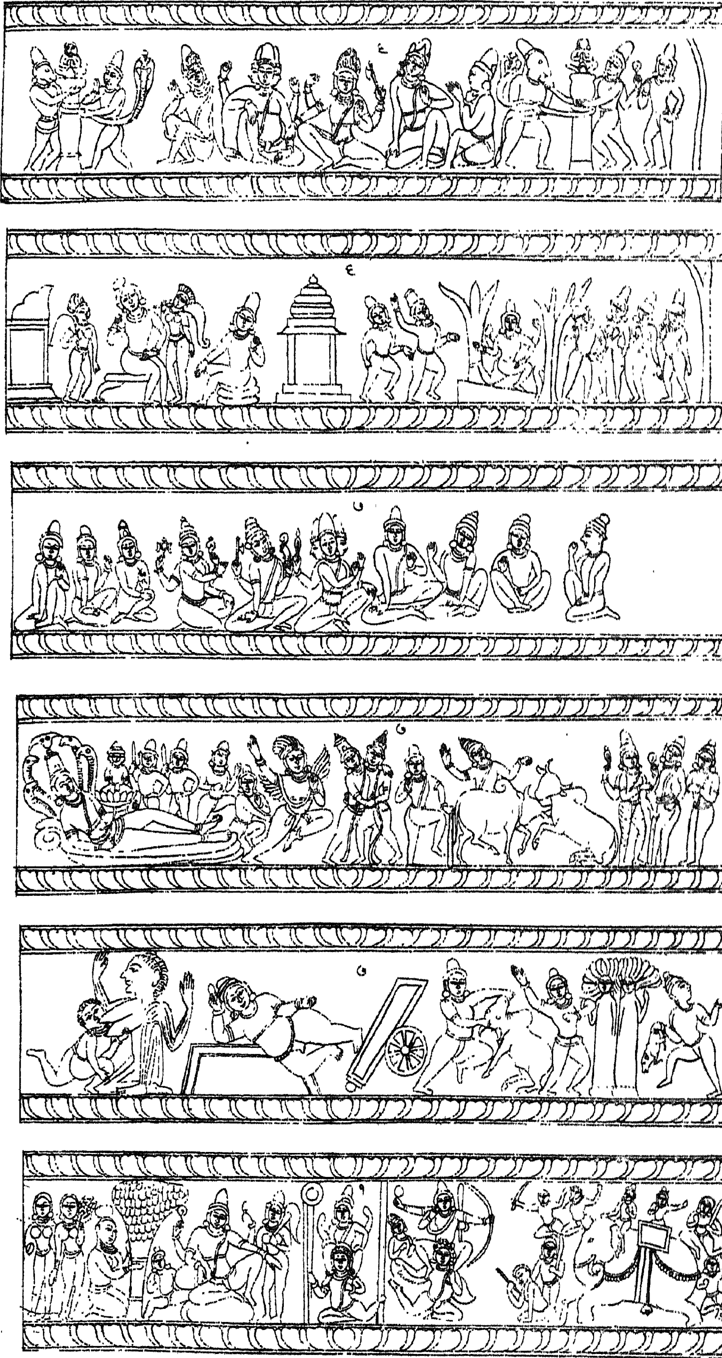
¶ The artist has unfortunately intermixed the sections from the two sides of the verandah.

SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMI.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

SCULPTURES ON THE FRIEZE OF THE VERANDAH IN CAVE II. AT BADAMI.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

the last section of the 7th plate, where we have, first, K ṛ i s h ṇ a as Vishṇu resting beside the Pârijâtaka tree, with Garuḍa behind him, and several other figures, among whom are doubtless his wives Satyabhâmâ and Rukmiṇî, and the sage N â r a d a under the tree; then he is shown mounted on Garuḍa; and, thirdly, going out to do battle with an army of Indra, in which some of his numerous opponents are Agni, Varuṇa, Yama, &c., mounted on elephants and on horses, continued also through the first section on the 6th plate. This is clearly enough the legend of the carrying off from Indra of the Pârijâta tree by Kṛishṇa, as told in the *Harivaṁśa* (adh. cxxiii. to cxxxiv.). After this follow in succession the 4th, 2nd, and 5th sections on the last plate. Here we have first N â r â y a ṇ a reclining upon Ś e s h a, with the lotus springing from his navel, and Brahmâ seated upon it; Garuḍa is at his feet pointing two royal personages who are struggling to the god;—these perhaps represent the wicked kings who oppressed the earth and rendered a new *avatâra* necessary. Beyond them two persons are abusing an ox, representative perhaps of D h a r m a or Religion, and a cow, of P ṛ i t h u—the Earth. Then two others are supplicating Vishṇu. The 2nd section on the plate, which comes next on the walls, seems to represent K a ṅ s a between two female *chauri*-bearers, perhaps Nârada before him, then the house of Vasudeva, then Kaṅsa having thrown the daughter of Yaśodâ on a stone sees her assume the form of E k â n a ṅ ś â (*Harivaṁśa*, adh. lix. and clviii.) or Durgâ. The next group perhaps is the apology of Kaṅsa to D e v a k î and V a s u d e v a. Passing to the 5th section, we have Kṛishṇa sucking the life out of P û t a n â* (atrophy) sent by Kaṅsa as a nurse; then his waking from sleep and kicking over the cart beneath which his mother had laid him; the killing of V a t s â s u r a or A r i s h ṭ a, who had taken the form of an ox;† the relieving of N â l a k u b a r and M a ṇ i g r î v a, two sons of Kuvera who were turned into trees by the curse of a sage; and the seizing and killing of the Asura D h e n u k a, who had assumed the form of a donkey.‡

The next four sections are the 8th, 6th, 4th, and 2nd on the sixth plate. In the first of these Kṛishṇa is represented lying on a couch, playmates beside him, cows licking his feet, and *gopas* or herdsmen standing by. In the next are *gopîs* and *gopas* with pots of milk, cows and Kṛishṇa in the midst of them stopping the way. And in the third are more of the herd, and Kṛishṇa slaying K e ś i n, the brother of Kaṅsa, who assumed the form of a horse and attacked the Gopas, and of another enemy who took the form of the elephant Kuvalayâpîḍa.§ Then on the 2nd section on the plate we have the Gopîs and Gopas on the banks of the Yamunâ when Kṛishṇa brings K â l i y a, the great N â g a, whom he had subdued, and his two wives.||

The 3rd and 1st sections on the last plate belong to a different part of the legend: In the first of these we have B r a h m â, seated, and the gods or Suras assembled to ask his advice as to how they were to get the better of the Daityas. He advised them to churn the sea of milk.¶ The *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* then describes a contest which arose as to which should hold the head of Vâsuki and which his tail, while they used him as a cord wherewith to twirl Mount Mandara as a churn-stick. Here they are twisting him round, a Deva being at his head, and a Daitya, represented with an animal's face, at the other side, but not satisfied with the tail. Next come Indra, Brahmâ, Śiva, and others seated ready to begin the task, and still further along the Daitya has seized on the head of the serpent-king, which he considers it more honourable for his fellows to pull by. The next scene is on the 7th section of the sixth plate, where, the Asuras at the head and Devas at the tail, with Mount M a n d a r a for a churn-stick, and Vishṇu in the form of a K û r m a or tortoise, as a pivot, and helping in another form above, all are working with a will to churn out the *amṛita*, or ambrosia, that is to make them immortal. In the 5th section on the same plate the gods are assembled, and I n d r a, who had got charge of the *amṛita*, is delivering it to V a r u ṇ a. Under the pot is the shining *chakra* of the gods, who stand on each side, while on the left, G a r u ḍ a, the son of Vinatâ, as described in the *Mahâ-*

* *Bhâgavata Dasmakanth.* adh. vi.; *Harivaṁśa*, adh. lxii.

† *Hariv.* liv., lxi., and lxxvii.; *Bhag. Das.* vii.

‡ *Bhâg. Das.* x. and viii.; *Harivaṁśa*, lxix., also liv., civ., cxix., cxlvi., clviii., and ccxlii.

§ *Hariv.* adh. lxxx., clviii., clxvii., and lxxxv., also xli., civ., clviii.

|| *Hariv.* adh. lxviii., lxix.

¶ See *Vishnu Purâna*, Bk. I. c. ix. (H. H. Wilson's *transl.* vol. I. pp. 142ff.); *Mahâbhârata*, *amritomanthana parva*, adh. xvii.; *Harivaṁśa*, adh. ccxiv., ccxv.

bhârata, is coming to carry it off. In the next section he is seen speeding off with it, and then, having placed it at the entrance of the dwelling of the N â g a s, Indra meets him and strikes him with his *vajra*, which, however, does him no harm, he having previously met Vishṇu, who granted him immortality without the use of the *amṛita*.*

MISCELLANEA.

HEMÂḌPANT (*ante*, p. 277).

On the fall of the Châlukya dynasty of K a l y â ṇ a in the end of the twelfth century, the Y â d a v a s of D e v a g i r i established a kingdom in the northern Dekhaṇ. The kings of this line are thus enumerated†:—

1.	Bhillama or Bhallamdêva...	Śaka 1110,	5 years.
2.	Jayatugadêva or Jaitrapâla.	1115,	17 ,,
3.	Singhaṇa Dêva, his son ...	1132,	? ,,
4.	Kandarai or Krishṇa Dêva.	1170 ?	? ,,
5.	Mahâdêva, his brother	1182,	11 ,,
6.	Râmachandra dêva, son of Krishṇa, styled also Râya Nârâyaṇa, Râya Pitamaha, Dvârâvati parivriḍha	1193,	39 ,,
7.	Śaṅkara Dêva..................	1232,	2 ,,

At the commencement of the *Vrata Khaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi*, H e m â d r i gives this genealogy as far as M a h â d e v a, in whose reign, he says, he became "minister with possession of all the regal powers. (?) The capital was D e v a g i r i in S e t u n a-d e ś a."‡ His own pedigree he gives as—V â m a n a of the Vatsa-gotra, "from him V a s u d ê v a, a very learned Brâhmaṇ, from him K â m a-d ê v a, and from him H e m â d r i S û r i. Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, in a paper just quoted from, says that, "according to tradition, H e m â d r i was of the Mâdhyandinîya Śâkhâ of the Śukla Yajur Veda." The works attributed to him are—(1) *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi*, a treatise on Dharma Śâstra, in five *Khaṇḍas*, viz. 1 *Vrata Khaṇḍa*, 2 *Dâna Khaṇḍa*, 3 *Tîrtha Khaṇḍa*, 4 *Moksha Khaṇḍa*, and 5 *Pariśesha Khaṇḍa*, but the third and fourth of these sections are as yet unknown except by name; (2) *Muktâphala*, which, however, belongs rather to V o p a d e v a, who was patronized by Hemâdri§; and (3) *Âyurvedarasâyana*, a commentary on Wâgbhaṭṭa's medical treatise called *Ashṭânga-hṛidaya*, in which the author mentions that he was the Mantri of R â m a r â j a. His date may therefore be fixed as A.D. 1250-1300. He seems to have been a zealous temple-builder, and doubtless many of the temples known as H e m â ḍ p a n t î scattered over Khândesh and the Haidarâbâd territory owe their origin to him; many others going by the same name derive it merely from similarity of style and age.—ED.

PLATE OF A SYRIAN ŚÂSANAM.

This grant, now in the possession of one of the rival Syrian metropolitans at Koṭṭayam, is written on nine sides of five copper plates; the first seven pages are in old Tamiḻ-Malayalam or V a ṭ ṭ e ḷ u t t u characters, apparently written by different hands, the letters in places indistinct, being injured by the breaking of the plates, and corrosion. They record an endowment to the T a r i s â church at Kranganur by one M a r v â n S a p i r I ś o, the church being said to have been built by a certain I s ô d â t a v î r â i. The grant was made with the sanction of the palace-major (probably the commissioner of P e r u m â l S t h â n u R a v i G u p t a), and with the concurrence of the V ê ṇ â d u (or Travankor) râja. The two sides given in the accompanying plate contain the names of the witnesses in three different characters and languages, viz. eleven names in the Kufic character and Arabic language, ten in the Sassanian Pahlavi character and language, and four in the Hebrew character and Persian language. Among the names in the latter character are those of H a s a n 'A l i, I s h a q, M î k i â î l, and A b r a h a m.

The grant probably belongs to the early part of the ninth century: it has been translated by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. pp. 116, 123-135), and commented on by Dr. A. Burnell (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 310ff.), Dr. E. W. West, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. pp. 388-391), and the late Dr. M. Haug (Essay in *An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, 1870, pp. 80-82).

* For much help in tracing the meaning of these scenes on the frieze, as well as for some important information respecting those in the panels immediately preceding, I am indebted to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 4; vol. V. pp. 178-188; and N. S. vol. I. pp. 411, 417.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 164.

§ See Monier Williams; *Indian Wisdom*, p. 178,—who calls Hemâdri 'king of Devagiri.' *Conf.* Weber in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 161, note ‡. H. H. Wilson describes the *Dânahemâdri* (*Mackenzie Coll.* vol. I. p. 32). or *Dânakhaṇḍa* of the *Chaturvarga Chintâmaṇi* as "by a writer patronized by H e m â d r i, a man of rank, whose name is therefore affixed to the performance; in general, the works named of H e m â d r i are attributed to V o p a d e v a, who was patronized by him, and H e m â d r i is said to have been the minister of a king of D e v a g i r i: in this work he is entitled M a h â r â j â d h i r â j a." May not चारुदेव, the name of Hemâdri's father, as read by Prof. Weber, and वसुदेव, the name of his grandfather, as read by the late Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, have arisen out of a copyist's mistake, making वासुदेव the son of Vasudeva into चारुदेव? The three Hemâdris of Prof. Weber are evidently one and the same.

INDEX.

ERRATA IN VOL. VI.

p. 22*b*, l. 16, *for* Châlukya *read* Chalukya.

„ 23*a*. As regards the last two sentences of this paragraph, I have now met with a stone-tablet inscription from Lakshmêśwar, to be published hereafter as No. XXXVIII. of this Series, which renders it necessary to abandon this identification of the two Kṛishṇavarmâs.

p. 23, transcription l. 6, *for* बेदावर *read* बेळ्ळोवर.

„ 23*b*, note §§, for *guṇa* read *gaṇa*.

„ 24*a*, l. 13, *for* Badôvara *read* Beḷôvara.

„ 24*b*, note †, for *sagôtrâṇâṅ*, *Siṅha*, and *vaṅśa* read *sagôtrâṇâṁ*, *Siṁha*, and *vaṁśa*; *and for* a Châlukya grant *read* a (?) Chalukya grant.

p. 25*b*, l. 12, *for* for the purpose of supporting the Kûrchakas, who are naked religious mendicants *read* (*for the benefit*) of the Yâpanîyas, the Nirgranthas, and the Kûrchakas.

p. 27*a*, note †, *for* Châlukya *read* Chalukya.

„ 27*b*, l. 10, *for* that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumâradatta,* * * *, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness *read* that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumâradatta, and who are ascetics of the Yâpanîya sect, * * * *, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness during the four months of the rainy season.

p. 30, transcr. l. 11, *for* भेाजनायंति *read* भोजना-यंति.

p. 31*a*, l. 35, *for* Vârishênacharya *read* Vârishêṇâchârya.

p. 32*a*, note ‡, *for* the time of one of the Vikramâdityas of the Châlukya family *read* the time of Vinayâditya of the Chalukya family; *and erase the words*—'probably the first of that name in Sir W. Elliot's list.'

p. 32*b*, l. 26, *for* temple *read* Chaitya hall.

„ 47*b*, last line but one, for *ḳhasab* read *ḳhkaśab*.

„ 48*a*, l. 6, for *pâdâdiyd* read *pâsdâdiyd*.

„ 48*b*, l. 3, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

„ 48*b*, l. 7, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

„ 49*b*, l. 2, *for* 1123 *read* 1133.

„ 50*b*, l. 24, *for* Râd Sura Sang Karnaṭta *read* Râdhâ Surasanga Karṇâṭa.

p. 50*b*, l. 32, *for* Agâsiyak *read* Agasiyaka.

„ 72*a*, l. 1 of No. XXVII., and p. 73*b*, ll. 15 and 17, *for* Châlukyas *read* Chalukyas.

p. 74*a*, l. 16, *for* Pôlikêśivallabha *read* Polikêśi vallabha.

p. 74*b*, note ‡, for *klîpta* read *kḷipta*.

„ 75*a*, l. 34, and 76*b*, l. 11, *for* Châlukya *read* Chalukya.

p. 75*b*, l. 47, *for* Châlukyas *read* Chalukyas.

„ 77, transcr. l. 33, *for* अशितितर्क्कस्य *read* अशि-तितर्क्कस्य.

p. 78*a*, note ||, for *Châlukyas* read *Chalukyas*.

„ 85*a*, ll. 7 and 18, and *b*, l. 29, *for* Châlukya *read* Chalukya.

p. 89, transcr. l. 26, *for* एलुंगुन्दले *read* एळ्ळुंगुन्दले.

„ 92, transcr. l. 21, *for* येनाळु......र्गाद्य- *read* येनाळुवगङ्गाद्यै.

The original plates have been examined by the Rev. T. Foulkes of Bangalore, and some corrections have been pointed out by him, which I shall notice more fully hereafter. This is one of them.

p. 92, transcr. l. 27, *for* शानशर्म्मणे *read* ईशान-शर्म्मणे, *and cancel* note ‡.

p. 93*b*, l. 19, *for* Âḷu....rga *read* Âḷuvas and Gangas, *and cancel* note †.

p. 93*b*, l. 31, *for* Śânaśarmâ *read* Îśânaśarmâ.

„ 133*b*, notes, *last line but two*, *for* Paśchâdangulajas *read* Paśchâdangulayas.

p. 134*a*, l. 24, *for* 57 *read* 47.

„ 134*b*, l. 26, *for* Mâdhava I. *read* Mâdhava II.

„ 136*a*, in col. 3 of the transliteration table, opposite Jihvâmûlîya, *for* h *read* ẖ.

p. 137*a*, l. 18, for *viḍinoḷ* read *viḻinol*.

„ 137*a*, l. 29, for *tiḷakam* read *tiḻakam*.

„ 138, transcr. l. 12, *for* dhâtriyoḷu *read* dhâtriyoḻu.

p. 141, transcr. l. 28, *for* ida[n=eyde *read* ida[n=eyde].

p. 182, note ¶, line 2, *for* Leśâjye, or Leśâjâya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 72) as Leśâbhai, *read* Leśâjye, Leśâjaya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 72) or Leśâbhai.

p. 212*b*, note ||, *for* Blâdrapada *read* Bhâdrapada.

„ 214*b*, l. 21 *from bot.*, *for* 'Pearl-foot' *read* 'Pearl-pool.'

p. 214*b*, l. 17 *from bot.*, *for* cracking *read* crashing.

„ 249, footnote ¶, l. 2, for *Svayambhuva* read *Svayambhuva*.

p. 251*a*, l. 29, *for* record *read* regard.

„ 251*b*, last line, for *râjâs* read *rajas*.

„ 274*b*, note, l. 1, *for* Śanângasa *read* Sanânjasa.

„ 331*a*, ll. 1 and 3, *for* Ferishtah *read* Ferishtah.

ERRATA.

p. 337*b*, l. 2, *for* † read ‡, *and in* l. 3 dele ‡.

„ 363, transcr. l. 2, *for* सुवर्णा *read* सुवर्ण्णा.

„ „ l. 4, *for* पूर्ण *read* पूर्ण्ण.

„ „ l. 5, *for* पराक्रमो *read* पराक्र(क्र)मो.

„ „ ll. 5-6, *for* विक्रान्त : *read* विक्रा(क्रा)न्तः

„ „ l. 7, *for* ऽवतिक्रान्तेषु *read* ऽवतिक्रा(क्रा)न्तेषु.

„ „ l. 8, *for* मङ्गलि(लै)-का- *read* मङ्गलि(लै)का

p. 363, transcr. l. 9, *for* दैवं॥ मानुष्य *read* दैव॥ मानुष्य.

„ „ l. 17, *for* वर्मणे *read* वर्म्मणे.

„ „ l. 19, *for* शुश्रू(षि)णि *read* शुश्रू[षि]णे.

p. 364*b*, note*, l. 4, *for* early Châlukya *read* early Chalukya.

p. 366*a to note* *, *add* For the drawings that illustrate this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.